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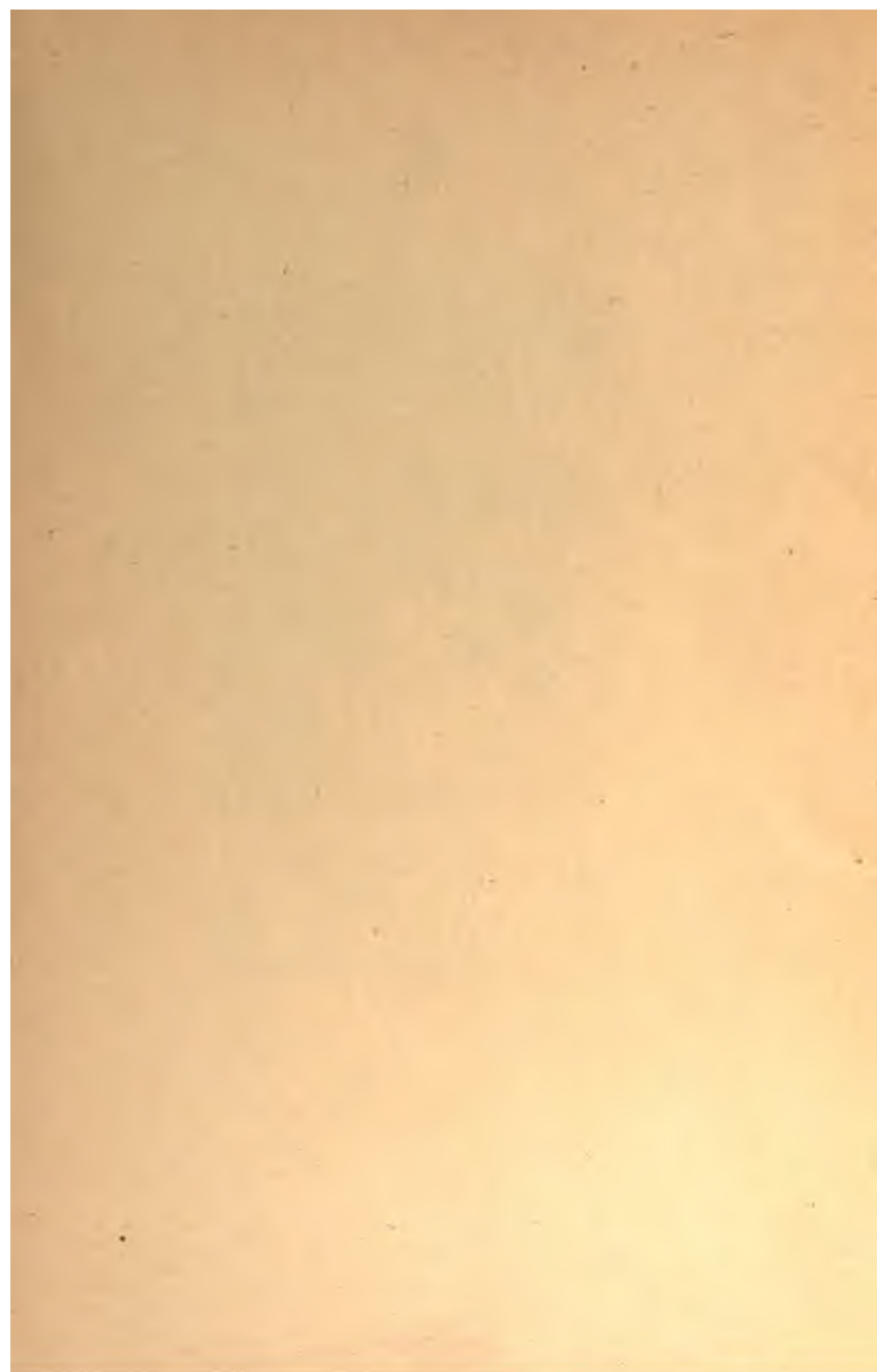
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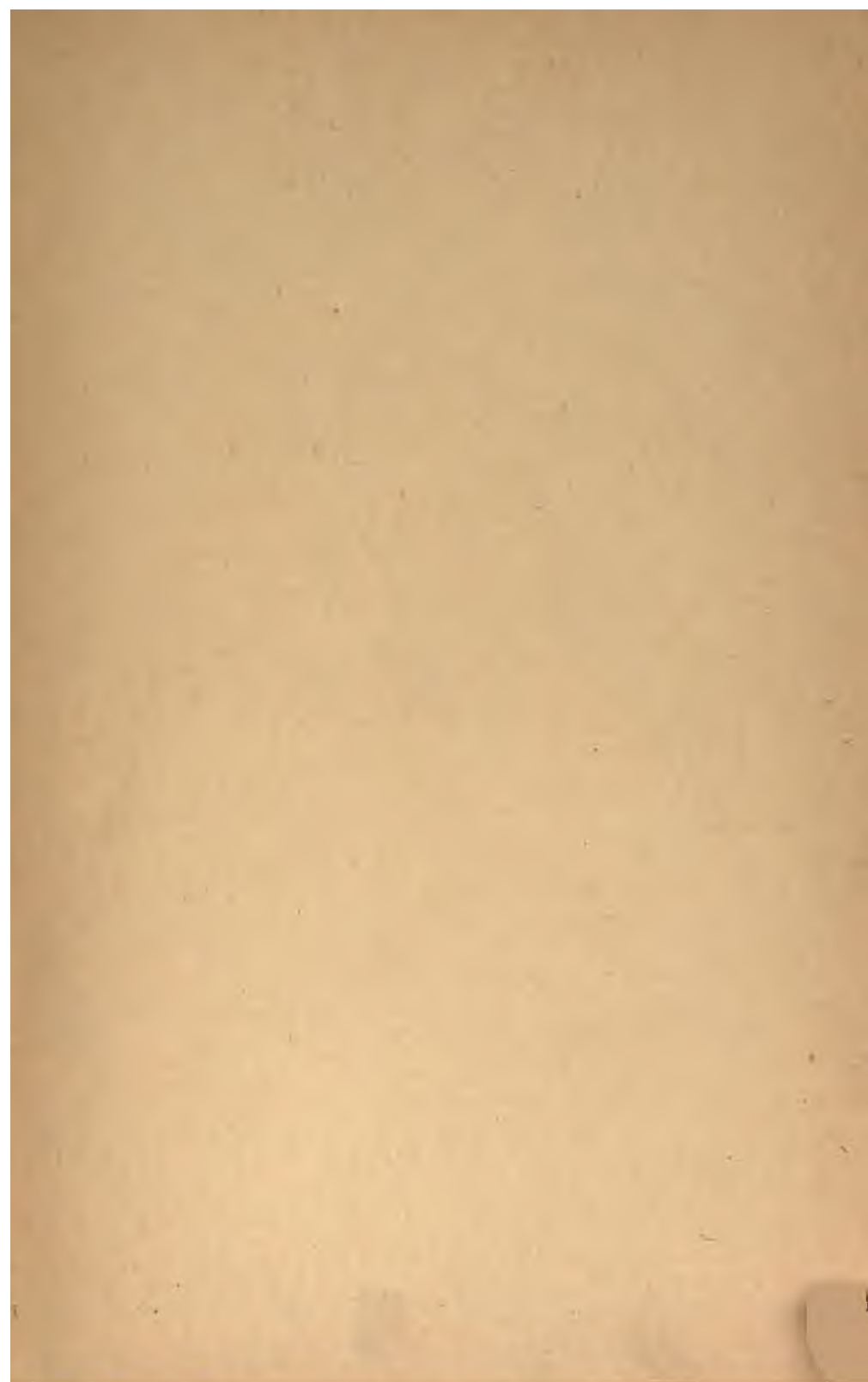
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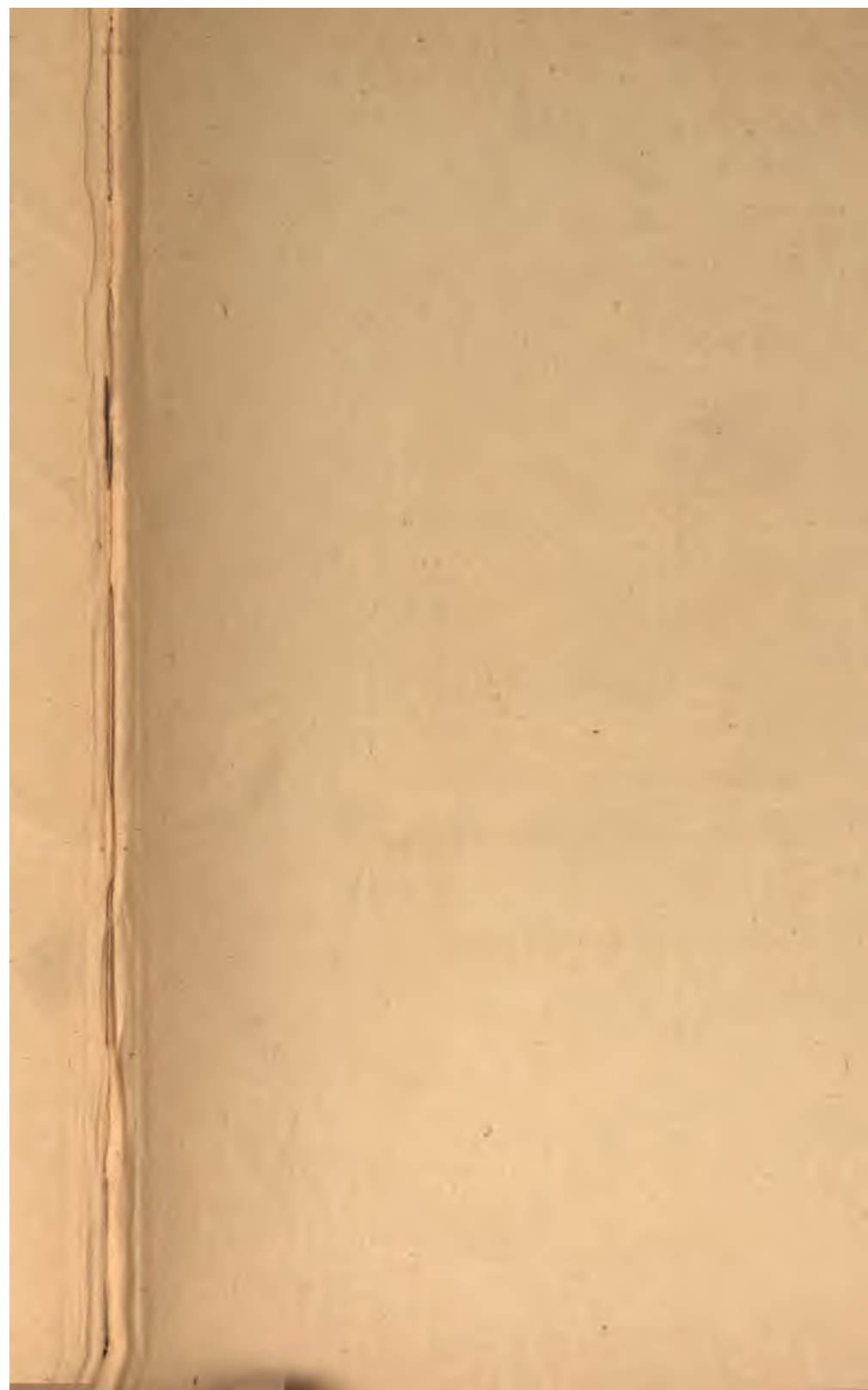
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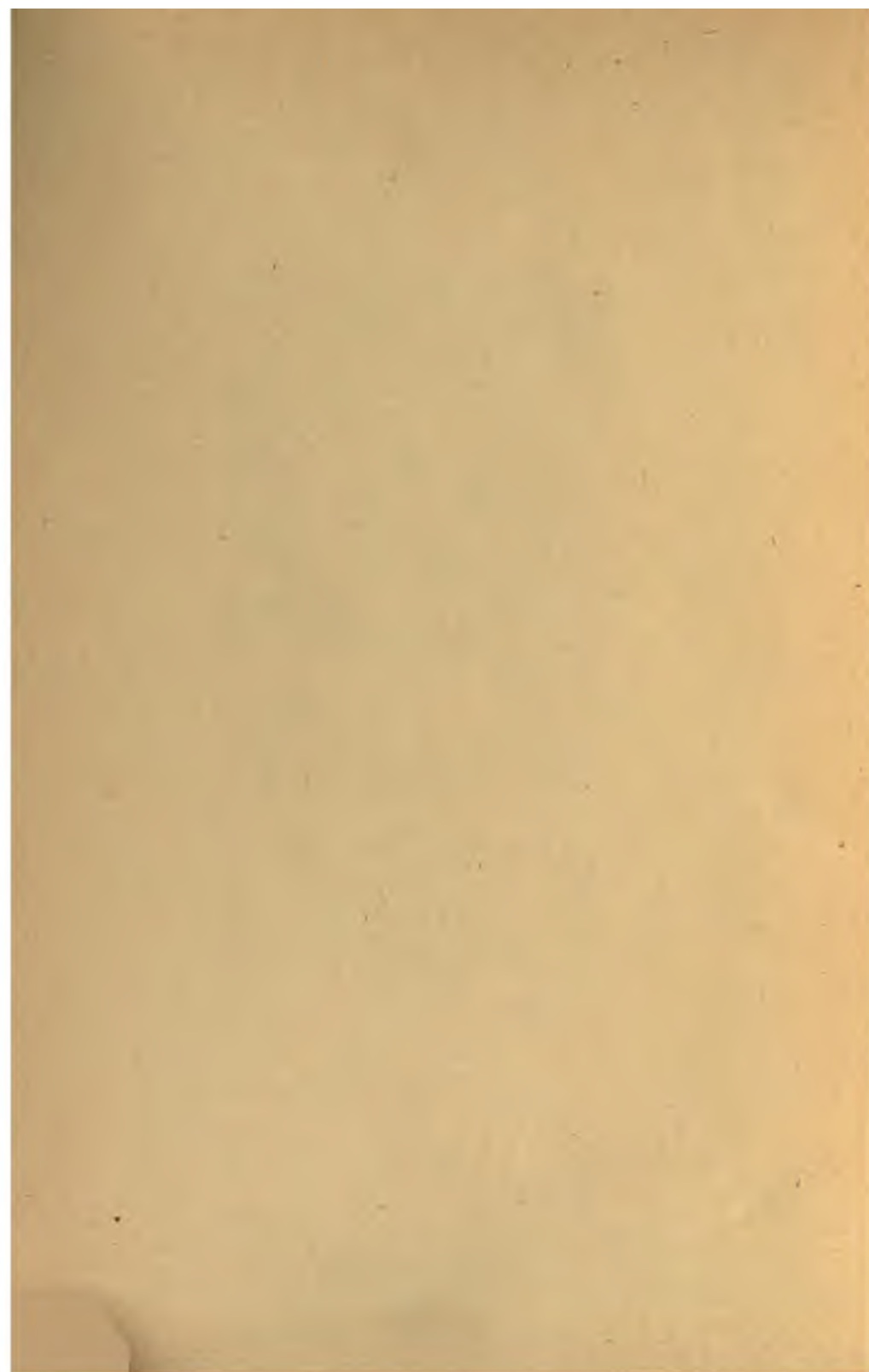


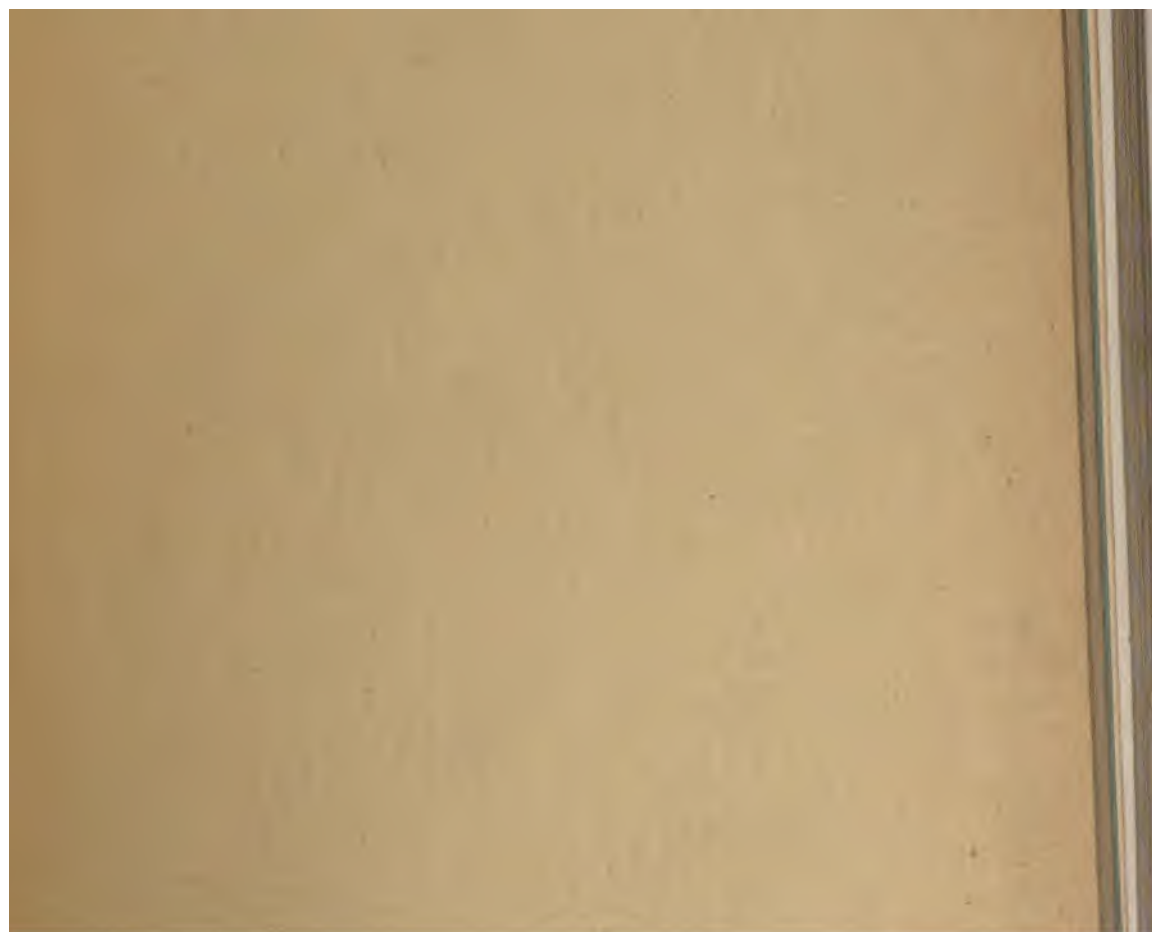




THE GIFT OF
North Carolina Historical
Commission









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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

BULLETIN No. 1.

THE NORTH CAROLINA

HISTORICAL COMMISSION

"THE ROOTS OF THE PRESENT LIE DEEP IN THE PAST,
AND NOTHING IN THE PAST IS DEAD TO THE MAN WHO
WOULD LEARN HOW THE PRESENT CAME TO BE WHAT
IT IS."—Stubbs.



THE NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

CREATION AND ORGANIZATION.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

PLANS AND PURPOSES.

PREPARED BY THE SECRETARY.

COMMISSIONERS:

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh.

THOMAS W. BLOUNT, Roper.


M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

D. H. HILL, Raleigh.


R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT THE PRIDE TO RECORD THEIR
HISTORY, WILL NOT LONG HAVE THE VIRTUE TO MAKE
HISTORY THAT IS WORTH RECORDING.

1907.



NO MAN IS FIT TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH CONTROL OF THE PRESENT
WHO IS IGNORANT OF THE PAST: AND NO PEOPLE WHO ARE INDIFFER-
ENT TO THEIR PAST NEED HOPE TO MAKE THEIR FUTURE GREAT.



PREFATORY NOTE.

By the publication of this bulletin we hope to accomplish three objects:

1. To explain the organization, plans and purposes of the North Carolina Historical Commission.
2. To interest *you* in our work.
3. To secure *your* co-operation.

Many of the States of the Union have created similar agencies for the preservation and publication of their historical sources, all of which are diligently at work performing their functions. Our State cannot afford to lag behind in this important work. We wish, therefore, to receive the hearty co-operation of all the people of the State who have an interest and a pride in their splendid history. We cannot compel this very desirable object; we can only appeal to their intelligence and patriotism.

We therefore call your attention especially to the section of this bulletin relating to the collection and publication of our historical sources. This section is directed as a personal appeal to all persons who possess such documents. If you have any such documents which you are willing to give or lend to the Commission the Secretary will go, upon notice, to examine and receive them, or to have copies made. If you know of the existence of such documents elsewhere, give us the information and lend us your aid in securing them. If there is any spot of historic interest and importance in your neighborhood that should be properly marked, we will be glad to co-operate with you in having it done. In any way in which the Commission can be of service to encourage and stimulate interest in our history—local, State or National—among our people, we stand ready to do so.

We appeal to our people to aid us in our work, confident that North Carolina needs only to set forth her records in such form as to be accessible to students of history to convince the world that we have a history as interesting, as worthy and as inspiring as any of our sister States.

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*,
W. J. PEELE,
THOMAS W. BLOUNT,
M. C. S. NOBLE,
D. H. HILL,

Commissioners.

132035

CHAPTER 767. PUBLIC LAWS OF 1903.*

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH AN HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That an Historical Commission be and the same is hereby established, whose duty it shall be to have collected from the files of old newspapers, from court records, church records and elsewhere valuable documents pertaining to the history of the State.

SEC. 2. That the Commission shall consist of not more than five persons, of whom three shall constitute a quorum. They shall be appointed by the Governor and shall hold office for a term of two years from the date of their appointment. They shall serve without salary, mileage or *per diem*.

SEC. 3. That the Commission shall be authorized to expend a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars annually in the collection and transcription of documents.

SEC. 4. That the documents collected and approved shall be published by the State Printers as public printing, and shall be distributed by the State Librarian, under the direction of the Commission.

SEC. 5. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this 9th day of March, 1903.

* Brought forward in the Revision of 1905 as chapter 96.

CHAPTER 714 OF PUBLIC LAWS OF 1907.

AN ACT TO AMEND CHAPTER 96 OF THE REVISAL OF 1905, RELATING TO THE STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That chapter ninety-six of the Revisal of one thousand nine hundred and five be amended by striking out all after the word "quorum," in section one, line three, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: They shall be appointed by the Governor on the first day of April, one thousand nine hundred and seven, who shall designate one member to serve for a term of two years, two members to serve for a term of four years, and two members to serve for a term of six years from the date of their appointments, and their successors shall be appointed by the Governor and shall serve for a term of six years and until their successors are appointed and qualified: *Provided*, that in case of a vacancy in any of the above terms the person appointed to fill such vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term. They shall serve without salary, but shall be allowed their actual expenses when attending to their official duties, to be paid out of any funds hereinafter appropriated for the maintenance of said Commission: *Provided*, such expenses shall not be allowed for more than four meetings annually or for more than four days at each meeting.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Commission to have collected from the files of old newspapers, court records, church records, private collections, and elsewhere, historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the earliest times; to have such material properly edited, published by the State Printer as other State printing, and distributed under the direction of the Commission; to care for the proper marking and preservation of battle-fields, houses and other places celebrated in the history of the State; to diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina; to encourage the study of North Carolina history in the schools of the State, and to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State; to make a biennial report of its receipts and disbursements, its work and needs, to the Governor, to be by him transmitted to the General Assembly; and said Commission is especially charged with the duty of co-operating with the Commission appointed by the Governor to make an exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition in making at said exposition an historical exhibit illustrating the history of North Carolina from the earliest times.

SEC. 3. Said Commission shall have power to adopt a seal for use and official business; to adopt rules for its own government not inconsistent with the provisions of this act; to fix a reasonable price for

its publications and to devote the revenue arising from such sales to extending the work of the Commission; to employ a secretary; to control the expenditure of such funds as may be appropriated for its maintenance: *Provided*, that at least one copy of its publications shall be furnished free of charge to any public-school library or public library in North Carolina, State officers and members of the General Assembly making application for the same through its constituted authorities.

SEC. 4. Said Commission shall have an office or offices set aside for its use by the Board of Trustees of the State Library in the State Library building: *Provided*, that until such office or offices become available said Commission may rent an office or offices, the rent to be paid out of its maintenance fund.

SEC. 5. Any State, county, town or other public official in custody of public documents is hereby authorized and empowered in his discretion to turn over to said Commission for preservation any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books or portraits not in current use in his office, and said Commission shall provide for their permanent preservation; and when so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified under the seal of the Commission upon application of any person, which certification shall have the same force and effect as if made by the officer originally in charge of them, and the Commission shall charge for such copies the same fees as said officer is by law allowed to charge, to be collected in advance.

SEC. 6. For carrying out the purposes and objects of this act the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as shall be needed over and above all of the funds derived from the sale of the publications of the Commission and all of the fees collected under section five of this act, is hereby annually appropriated out of funds in the hands of the State Treasurer not otherwise appropriated, and upon order of the Commission the State Auditor is hereby empowered and directed to draw his warrant for this sum upon the State Treasurer.

SEC. 7. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this the 8th day of March, A. D. 1907.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

CREATION AND ORGANIZATION.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, at the annual meeting, January 23, 1903, adopted a resolution requesting the Legislature to pass an act creating an Historical Commission, charged with the duty of having collected, edited and published the historical sources of the State. The Legislature accordingly passed an act (chapter 767 of the Public Laws of 1903) creating a commission of five members, appointed by the Governor, to serve for a term of two years, without salary, *per diem* or mileage. The act declared it their duty "to have collected from the files of old newspapers, from court records, church records and elsewhere valuable documents pertaining to the history of the State," to have such documents published by the State Printer as public printing, and "distributed by the State Librarian, under the direction of the Commission." The Commission was "authorized to expend a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars annually in the collection and transcription of documents."

Under this act the Governor appointed W. J. Peele, of Raleigh; J. D. Hufham, of Henderson; F. A. Sondley, of Asheville; Richard Dillard, of Edenton, and R. D. W. Connor, of Wilmington. At a meeting of the Commission, November 20, 1903, at Warsaw, N. C., Mr. Peele was elected Chairman and Mr. Connor Secretary. Owing to the fact that the members lived in widely separated parts of the State and that the law expressly forbade the payment of expenses incurred in attending to their duties, it was extremely difficult to secure a quorum at meetings, as shown by the fact that only one meeting was held during the two years of the first term. Efficient work under such circumstances was impossible; and, realizing the necessity of having members who were nearer to each other, the Governor, in 1905, appointed the following: W. J. Peele, of Raleigh; J. Bryan Grimes, of Raleigh; Thomas W. Blount, of Roper; C. L. Raper, of Chapel Hill, and R. D. W. Connor, of Raleigh. The Commission held its first meeting June 8, 1905, in the office

of the Secretary of State, at Raleigh, and re-elected Mr. Peele Chairman and Mr. Connor Secretary. Though better work was accomplished than before, it soon became apparent that if the work expected of the Commission was to be done properly a different and more effective organization was necessary. The Legislature of 1907, therefore, amended the act of 1903 (chapter 714 of the Public Laws of 1907), increasing the duties and enlarging the powers of the Commission. The members are now appointed for terms of two, four and six years, their successors to serve for six years. They receive no salary or *per diem*, but are allowed "actual expenses when attending to their official duties." The appropriation was increased to \$5,000 and the Commission was authorized to employ a salaried Secretary. The members of the present Commission are J. Bryan Grimes, W. J. Peele, Thomas W. Blount, M. C. S. Noble and D. H. Hill. At a meeting of the Commission held in the office of the Secretary of State, at Raleigh, May 20, 1907—the first meeting since the creation of the Commission in 1903 at which all members were present—Mr. Grimes was elected Chairman and Mr. Connor was re-elected Secretary. An office was set apart in the State Capitol for the Secretary and he was authorized to purchase such equipment as was necessary for the work of the Commission.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

The duties of the Commission are best stated in section 2 of the act of 1907:

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Commission to have collected from the files of old newspapers, court records, church records, private collections and elsewhere historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the earliest times; to have such material properly edited, published by the State Printer as other State printing, and distributed under the direction of the Commission; to care for the proper marking and preservation of battle-fields, houses and other places celebrated in the history of the State; to diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina; to encourage the study of North Carolina history in the schools of the State, and to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State; to make a biennial report of its receipts and disbursements, its work and needs, to the Governor, to be by him transmitted to the General Assembly; and said Commission is especially charged with

the duty of co-operating with the Commission appointed by the Governor to make an exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition in making at said exposition an historical exhibit illustrating the history of North Carolina from the earliest times.

It will thus be seen that the Historical Commission is expected to do for the entire history of the State what Colonel William L. Saunders and Chief Justice Walter Clark, by their monumental labors in the editing and publication of "The Colonial Records" and "The State Records" of North Carolina, did for the period prior to 1790. The great value of their work has been recognized by students of American history throughout the United States, and because of these volumes the Colonial and Revolutionary history of North Carolina is beginning to receive the recognition to which it is entitled. Before the publication of these records it was fashionable among a certain class of "historians" to ignore the first century and a half of North Carolina history, or to mention it only to sneer. Such an attitude now would condemn any author to deserved oblivion. But it must be remembered that these volumes relate only to the period prior to 1790. It is, therefore, peculiarly the duty of the Historical Commission to continue this work for subsequent periods, though the Commission is not limited to any particular periods in its work.

The powers of the Commission are outlined in the act, in section 3, as follows:

SEC. 3. Said Commission shall have power to adopt a seal for use and official business; to adopt rules for its own government not inconsistent with the provisions of this act; to fix a reasonable price for its publications and to devote the revenue arising from such sales to extending the work of the Commission; to employ a secretary; to control the expenditure of such funds as may be appropriated for its maintenance: *Provided*, that at least one copy of its publications shall be furnished free of charge to any public-school library or public library in North Carolina, State officers and members of the General Assembly making application for the same through its properly constituted authorities.

TO COLLECT AND PUBLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

The most important duty imposed upon the Historical Commission is the duty of having collected, edited and published "historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and

the territory included therein from the earliest times." These documents are to be found in the files of old newspapers, court and church records, public and private letters of prominent men, diaries and journals, and manuscripts of all kinds which have historical value. The importance of this work is equaled only by the almost insuperable difficulties in the way. Many hundreds of invaluable historical documents and records have been lost or destroyed in North Carolina, or carried away from the State to the archives and libraries of other States,* through the indifference of the State and the ignorance and carelessness of their owners. Most of these are, of course, lost forever, but many others remain, which can yet be preserved. Stuffed away in dark corners, in desks and in cellars, all over North Carolina and in other States are innumerable manuscripts, which in the present situation are absolutely of no use to anybody, but if collected, properly edited and published or otherwise made accessible to students, would be of incalculable value to students of our history.

History cannot be written from tradition. Documentary evidence is the foundation of accurate history writing. The collection of such evidence as to the history of North Carolina and her eminent men is the duty of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The Commission, therefore, appeals to all patriotic citizens who love the State and her magnificent history to aid in this work. Do you own letters or other documents of historical value? Let the Commission have them and make them accessible to students. Do you know of the whereabouts of other such documents? Lend the Commission your assistance in procuring them. If the owners of such documents do not wish to part with them permanently, let them be placed with the Commission as a loan, or let the Commission have copies made. Originals or certified copies of valuable documents, church and court records, letters, maps, newspapers, portraits and pamphlets should be placed at the disposal of the Commis-

*The catalogue of the manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin shows that that Society has in its library at Madison a large collection of manuscripts relating to North Carolina, among them being 18 volumes of King's Mountain Mss.; 3 volumes of Mecklenburg Declaration Mss.; 3 volumes of Mecklenburg Declaration Miscellanies; 1 volume of North Carolina Mss.; 10 volumes of Rudolph-Ney (Peter S. Ney) Mss.; 7 volumes of Tennessee Mss., before Tennessee was separated from North Carolina; and hundreds of other Mss., relating to North Carolina in various collections. These Mss. were collected in North Carolina and other Southern States by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, author of "King's Mountain and its Heroes." The State of Wisconsin has erected a magnificent building for the preservation of these treasures.

sion. All expense connected with such work will be met by the Commission. Attention is here called particularly to the following section of the act of 1907:

SEC. 5. Any State, county, town or other public official in custody of public documents is hereby authorized and empowered in his discretion to turn over to said Commission for preservation any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books or portraits not in current use in his office, and said Commission shall provide for their permanent preservation; and when so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified under the seal of the Commission upon application of any person, which certification shall have the same force and effect as if made by the officer originally in charge of them, and the Commission shall charge for such copies the same fees as said officer is by law allowed to charge, to be collected in advance.

Though "public documents" only are mentioned in this section, the same care will be taken of valuable private papers that may be given or loaned to the Commission. It should be borne in mind that such gifts or loans are not made to the members of the Commission as individuals, but as trustees for the State, and that they will be preserved in the State archives by the State for the benefit of students of our history. All such material, after being carefully edited, will be published by the Commission or otherwise made accessible, and due acknowledgment will be made to all who aid in the work. Those who have such material should not hoard it as the miser does his gold!

It is perhaps not too emphatic a statement to say that there is in the whole State of North Carolina not a single private house suitable for the care and preservation of valuable historical documents. They can never be safe from ignorance, negligence or fire so long as they remain in private hands, nor can they be accessible to students. But, placed in the keeping of the State, they will not only be made available for students, but will also be certain of preservation. The office of the North Carolina Historical Commission is in the State Capitol, a structure of solid granite, with not enough wooden material in it to make a respectable bonfire, and is accordingly absolutely fire-proof. All documents placed in the hands of the Commission will not only be safe from fire, but will be filed and cared for according to the best of modern methods. If placed with the

Commission as loans, they will always be subject to recall by the owners; if placed with the Commission as gifts, certified copies under the seal of the Commission can be had upon application. Already the Commission has been practically assured of several such collections of great value.* It is not too much to expect that those men whose papers are thus made accessible to students will in the course of a few years enjoy enhanced reputations as the direct result of this course.

Many a man who served his country well and faithfully, who hoped for recognition by posterity and whose memory deserves to live, has been forgotten and the influence of his life lost to posterity because his family have hoarded his papers and letters, which alone would furnish the data from which the historian or biographer could write the story of his career. Thus many a man's ambition to live in history has been frustrated by those whose chief care should have been to preserve his memory.

The history of North Carolina and the biographies of our distinguished men can never be written until such work has been properly done. It should not be a matter for pride that no biography of a North Carolinian has yet found its way into the American Statesmen series, or the American Men of Energy series; nor should we find pride in the fact that no volume on North Carolina has yet been published in the American Commonwealths series. These omissions cannot be charged to the prejudice of publishers and historians against North Carolina; they are due to the fact that North Carolinians have, until recent years, failed to collect and preserve their historical sources. Nor can the North Carolina Historical Commission complete this work unless those who possess such material will give their hearty co-operation. It is a work that cannot be accomplished in a year, nor in two years, but is rather the work of a generation. It is earnestly to be hoped that no cessation will be permitted until it is done, and thoroughly done. Need one urge upon intelligent people the importance and necessity of such work?

*Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton, Associate Professor of History in the University of North Carolina, is now editing for the Commission the letters of Governor Jonathan Worth, placed at his disposal by Governor Worth's children. These will be published by the Commission and will be the most valuable addition to our historical literature since the completion of the State Records by Judge Clark. A large part of Governor Worth's letters and papers was destroyed by the burning of his house in Randolph county! Fortunately, quite a collection was saved!

The Commission earnestly appeals, therefore, to all patriotic citizens to lend their aid and give to the Commission the benefit of such information as they may have, or such suggestions as they may desire to make. Any communication addressed to the Secretary will receive prompt attention.*

TO ERECT MEMORIAL TABLETS.

"It shall be the duty of the Commission * * * to care for the proper marking and preservation of battle-fields, houses and other places celebrated in the history of the State."

A visitor traveling through North Carolina will look in vain for any statue or monument, stone, bronze or marble tablet, with a very few striking exceptions, commemorating the services of eminent sons of the State, or marking the sites of historic events. It is surely a striking commentary on the development of civic pride and spirit among our people that in all the two hundred and fifty years of our history the State has found but one son to whom she has been willing to pay the tribute of a statue! In the rotunda of the State Capitol are eight niches, designed to hold the busts of eight eminent servants of the State. These niches were completed nearly three-quarters of a century ago, yet they are as empty to-day as on the day the Capitol was finished. Is it possible that no son of North Carolina, in all these years, has rendered such service to the State as to merit from the State the tribute of such a bust? The North Carolina Historical Commission, at least, will not admit it, and one of the objects to which its attention will be directed will be to fill these eight niches with handsome marble busts and to place on the walls of the Capitol memorial tablets commemorating the services of our forefathers. The Commission further desires to

*The history of the records of the meeting at Charlotte in May, 1775, which has given rise to the great controversy over the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence is surely a warning sufficiently pointed to sustain the appeal the Historical Commission makes for the proper care and preservation of valuable private collections. The story, as told by Tompkins in his History of Mecklenburg County, runs somewhat as follows: "The official papers [of the 20th of May meeting] were burned in the fire which destroyed John McKnitt Alexander's house, in 1800."

"A copy of the original was sent before the burning of the house to the historian Williamson, in New York, and it, together with the other sources of his history, were [sic] destroyed by a fire in that city."

"The papers from which [Francis Xavier] Martin compiled his history [of North Carolina] were sent to France and have disappeared."

"The data for Garden's anecdotes [containing a copy] has [sic] been lost."

"No copy of the Cape Fear Mercury of June, 1775, [which contained an account of the proceedings at Charlotte] has ever come to light, except the copy which Governor Martin sent to London, and which Mr. Stevenson, of Virginia, borrowed and did not return."

co-operate with any local or State organization or with any person in setting up on historic sites in any part of North Carolina suitable commemorative stones, with suitable ceremonies.

**TO ENCOURAGE THE STUDY OF NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY
IN THE SCHOOLS.**

The law also charges the Historical Commission "to encourage the study of North Carolina history in the schools of the State." Surely it would be difficult to find a more important or a more inspiring work than to teach the children of North Carolina to know their State and to develop in them a desire to serve the State, based upon knowledge of her Past and Present, and an intelligent forecast of her Future. It is perhaps not going too far to say that such knowledge is absolutely essential to intelligent public service. No man is fit to be entrusted with control of the Present who is ignorant of the Past; and no people who are indifferent to their Past need hope to make their Future great. The proper study of history will keep us in mind of the continuous development of civilization and warn us of the danger of living in the Present without regard to the Past. The Present is born of the Past and is the parent of the Future. No people can long endure who continually neglect the lessons of the Past. We have been accustomed to boast in North Carolina that we have made history and other people have written it. It marks a distinct advance in our intellectual life that this boast is now heard less frequently than formerly. A people who have not the pride to record their history will not long have the virtue to make history that is worth recording. We are beginning to see the importance of writing our history. More work of this sort is now being done in the State than at any former period. This work will make it possible to teach the history of North Carolina to our children.

The history of North Carolina will soon be taught in every school in the State. Text-books should be used, but pupils, especially in the high schools, should be led to extend their studies beyond the narrow covers of the text-book. The North Carolina Historical Commission desires to co-operate with the teachers of the State in this work, furnishing such material as will enable them to do it intelligently. To meet this need the

Commission will issue leaflets giving contemporary accounts of important events, and reprints of important historical documents, such as may be used in the class-room. These leaflets will be distributed among the schools of the State, to those teachers who apply to the Secretary of the Commission for them. It is hoped that they will develop interest in the history of the State and stimulate students to continue their investigations into larger fields.

**TO ENCOURAGE HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND
INVESTIGATION.**

The Historical Commission is to seek to stimulate and encourage historical research and investigation among the people of the State. The only practical method by which this can be done is through local and county associations and patriotic societies. Such organizations can do much to stimulate interest in the history of the State, in the care and preservation of local archives, in the collection of documents illustrating social, industrial and educational conditions, in the preservation of church and family records, in the marking of historic sites and the celebration of anniversaries of historic events, and by general co-operation with the work of the Historical Commission.

How much such work is needed was revealed by an investigation made by Mr. Clarence H. Poe, Secretary of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, in 1904. Mr. Poe sent to every county superintendent of public schools in the State a postal card, with return card attached, asking these questions:

1. Has the history of your county ever been written?
2. Are there any organizations for the study of local and State history in your county?

There were ninety-seven superintendents in the State. Thirty-two of them did not feel enough interest in the matter to reply. Of the sixty-five who replied, seven answered the first question affirmatively; fifty-eight in the negative. To the second question one replied in the affirmative; sixty-four in the negative.

There is not a county in North Carolina that does not have a history well worth recording. There is not a county in North Carolina in which there are not documents of historical impor-

tance and interest. There is not a county in North Carolina in which these documents are not being destroyed by the dozens annually for want of some efficient county historical association to preserve them. The Historical Commission will gladly cooperate with any persons who desire to form such associations or to develop those already in existence. .

WHAT THE COMMISSION HAS DONE.

Though considerably handicapped by inadequate powers and funds under the act of 1903, the Commission was not altogether idle, as the following results show:

The Commission has printed the following:

Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission to Governor Charles B. Aycock, 1903-1905.

Advanced Sheets of Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905, Part I, relating to the Work of the State Literary and Historical Association. Compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe.

Advanced Sheets of Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905, Part II, relating to the Reports of Historical Organizations in North Carolina. Compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe.

Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861-1865. The Report of the Committee appointed by the State Literary and Historical Association, 1904, to reply to the Charges of Judge George L. Christian, of Virginia.

A State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records. An address delivered by R. D. W. Connor before the State Literary and Historical Association at Raleigh, November 15, 1906. Reprinted from "The North Carolina Booklet."

Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina, 1700-1750, by J. Bryan Grimes. Reprinted from "The North Carolina Booklet."

The Beginnings of English-America: Sir Walter Raleigh's Efforts to Plant an English Colony on Roanoke Island, 1584-1587. By R. D. W. Connor. Prepared for distribution at the Jamestown Exposition.

The Commission has the following in press:

Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905. Compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe.

Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina, 1800-1840. Compiled and edited by Charles L. Coon.

The Commission has had copied for publication:

Records of St. Paul's Vestry, Edenton, N. C., from January 3, 1714-1715, to October 15, 1776. Copied under the direction of Dr. Richard Dillard.

The Private Letter-books of Governor Jonathan Worth. Compiled and edited by Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton.

The Official Letters from the Executive Letter-books of:

Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight, 1792-1795.

Governor Samuel Ashe, 1795-1799.

Governor William Richardson Davie, 1799.

Governor Benjamin Williams, 1800-1802.

Governor David Stone, 1808-1810.

The Commission has had placed in the Hall of History, under the direction of Colonel Fred A. Olds, Director, the following pictures illustrating the history of North Carolina:

Three pictures of treaty with Tuscarora Indians.

Ten pictures illustrating colonial Edenton.

Three pictures illustrating colonial Wilmington.

Two pictures illustrating colonial Bath.

Two pictures of Hayes.

Seven pictures illustrating War of the Regulators.

One picture of General Robert F. Hoke.

One picture of Andrew Johnson's birth-place.

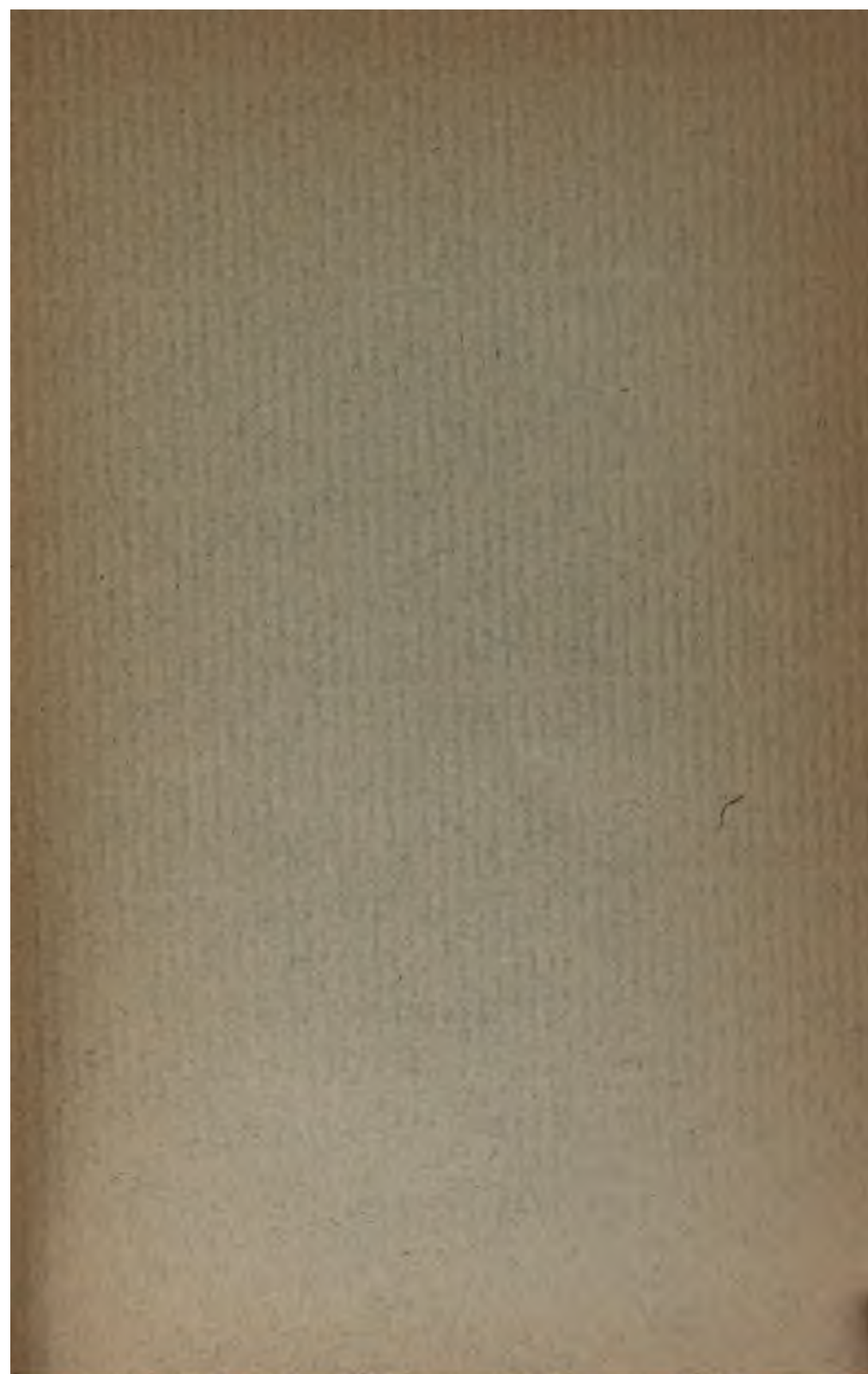
One picture of "The New Bern Gazette," containing the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775.

One picture of Richard Cogdell's letter relating to the above copy of "The New Bern Gazette."

Twenty-six pictures illustrating Indian life in North Carolina. Painted by John White in 1586 and photographed from the engravings of Theodore DeBry, 1590.

The Commission has had painted by Mr. Jacques Busbee pictures of the site of Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke Colonies as they appear to-day. These pictures are on exhibition at the Jamestown Exposition.

The Commission appropriated one hundred dollars (\$100) to aid the History Committee of the North Carolina Commission of the Jamestown Exposition in making an historical exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition.





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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
North Carolina Historical Commission

BULLETIN No. 2.

THE
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL EXHIBIT
AT THE
JAMESTOWN
TER-CENTENNIAL
EXPOSITION



1607-1907.



THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL EXHIBIT

AT THE
JAMESTOWN TER-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION,

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA,

APRIL 26—DECEMBER 1, 1907.

**A HISTORY OF THE EXHIBIT, TOGETHER WITH A
COMPLETE CATALOGUE OF THE RELICS,
PORTRAITS AND MANUSCRIPTS
EXHIBITED.**

PREPARED BY
MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
CUSTODIAN.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION,
1908.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh.

THOMAS W. BLOUNT, Roper.

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

D. H. HILL, Raleigh.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

THE NORTH CAROLINA COMMISSION OF THE
JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

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JAMESTOWN HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

MRS. LINDSAY PATTERSON, *Chairman*, "Bramlette," Winston-Salem.

MISS REBECCA SCHENCK, Greensboro.

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON, "Midway Plantation," Raleigh.

"We sometimes meet with persons who want to get away from their past; they care nothing for it, and will actually tell you 'The past is dead and gone; I care nothing about it.' And yet our life and breath and strength and language are a part of the past. We may ignore it, but we cannot separate ourselves from it; we may sneer at it, but we are still a part of it; we are, after all, what the past has made us, and into our lives has come the common life of our forefathers. We must, therefore, if faithful to our past, conserve their experience and ours; for we must know how we became what we are in order to become better than we are. At the same time, we might with perfect charity say to those who ignore or sneer at the past that, when the wisdom of this world selects for its leaders, in church or state, in army or navy, those who have least experience; that when this world gives its steamships to captains who throw overboard all the maps and charts of the past; gives its banks and insurance companies to men who are exploiting brand-new systems of finance; gives its colleges and schools to professors who sneer at history and will have nothing to do with the philosophy, the literature, the logic, the art or the mathematics of the past; that when men *thus* conduct the world's business, *then*, and *not till then*, can the past be neglected by any true man or woman."—*Dr. Isaac Brittingham, in a sermon delivered before the Daughters of the Revolution at St. Luke's Church, Wheeling, West Virginia, May, 1907.*



THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL EXHIBIT.



AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

In compiling this brief account and complete catalogue of our Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition we cannot forget the names of those who gave so freely their time, sympathy and unfailing assistance—without which our plans would have been merely air castles. First of all we extend heartiest thanks to the North Carolina Commissioners—particularly to Colonel J. E. Pogue, the Commissioner-General, and Messrs. G. S. Powell and G. W. Hinshaw—from whom came the financial support; to the State Historical Commission for supplementing this appropriation; to the Wachovia Historical Society for the loan of its priceless relics, thereby starting the loan exhibits; to Governor Glenn, the Council of State and Justices of the Supreme Court for the portraits from the Executive Mansion, the State Library and the Supreme Court Library; to Colonel Fred A. Olds, for treasures from the Hall of History and for supervising the packing and shipping of the State property and various other essential details; to the late Mr. T. K. Bruner, whose advice on all points was sought and cheerfully given, and proved invaluable; to the Chairmen who collected from every section of the State our exhibit; to the patriotic men and women of North Carolina who risked so much in the cause, and for whose confidence and public spirit we offer expressions of genuine appreciation and lasting obligation. If there is one name whose generous patriotism merits special mention it is that of Colonel Bennehan Cameron—but we are grateful to all, and the list is very long, proving the warm interest of our people: The Vestrymen of St. Paul's Church, Mrs. and Miss Drane, Mrs. W. D. Pruden, Mrs. James Warren, Mrs. Patrick Matthew, Miss Moore, Miss M. F. Skinner, Dr. Richard Dillard, Messrs. John, Julian and Hal Wood, Edenton; Miss Albertson, Mesdames S. S. Nixon, E. C. Chaytor and J. P. Overman, Elizabeth City; Misses Harvey and Norcom, Hertford; Mr. Cadwallader Iredell, Mrs. R. L. Payne, Norfolk; Mrs. G. P. Collins, Hillsboro; Mrs. P. C. Graham, Durham; Mesdames E. E. Moffitt, Helen DeB. Wills, Peter E. Hines and Walter Clark, Dr. P. E. Hines, Misses Katharine Badger, Elizabeth P. Jones, Mary Laurens Hinton, Messrs. Jacques Busbee and Marshall De Lancey Haywood, Raleigh; Mesdames T. M. Washington, Ernest Deans, F. A.

Gorham and G. H. Wainwright, Wilson; Mrs. F. A. Jenkins, Nashville; Mrs. A. W. Middleton, Birmingham, Ala.; Miss Susie Gentry, Tennessee; Mrs. William Hart, Tarboro; Judge A. W. Graham, Oxford; Mrs. S. R. Fowle, Washington; Major William A. Graham, Machpelah; Messrs. J. O. Carr and J. S. Hooper, Wilmington; Mr. W. M. Miller, Memphis, Tenn.; Miss Catherine Carrigan, Cabarrus County; Mr. J. S. Hall, Rowan County; Mr. John Miller, Kenansville; Mrs. P. B. Kennedy, Houstonville; Mr. Robert Ramsey, Rowan County; Mr. A. M. Ledford, Cleveland County; Mrs. J. E. Wells, Magnolia; Mrs. Cox, Mount Olive; Mrs. J. M. Roberts, Patterson Springs; Misses Stirewalt, Davidson; Mrs. P. E. Smith, Miss Adelaide Smith, Mrs. Norfleet Smith, Scotland Neck; Miss Lake McNary, Guilford County; Mr. W. N. Hall, Iredell County; Miss Susan Lattimore, Cleveland County; Mrs. W. H. Cloyd, Lenoir; Miss Sallie C. Jackson, Carthage; Miss Virginia Payne Hargrove, Washington; Mrs. E. J. Justice, M. Dawes Appleton Staples, Mrs. John D. Staples, Mrs. Lucy M. Moss, Misses Rebecca Schenck, Jennie Johnston Horney, Freda Buhman, The Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro; Mrs. S. G. Ayr, Rev. F. N. Skinner, Mr. Robert Carver, Miss Mary Langdon Ayr, Colonel Wharton J. Green, Fayetteville; Mrs. J. B. Winders, Warsaw; Mrs. F. C. Roberts, Messrs. R. B. Miller and J. J. Wilkins, Shelby; Mesdames Ruth Baker and J. R. Thomas, Waynesville; Mesdames Amanda Jameson, S. M. Furr, F. R. Sharpe, S. W. Stevenson, Miss Sue C. Creswell, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Nell, Messrs. Julius A. Melchor, Barron W. Pressley and David Z. Gray, Mooresville; Mesdames F. E. Sellars, T. C. Vaughan, T. W. Smith and Captain W. H. Turrentine, Burlington; Captain Samuel Webb and Rev. D. A. Long, D. D., Graham; Mrs. S. A. Lawrence, Iredell County; Mesdames Bost and W. E. Turner, Messrs. J. Paul Leonard and T. M. C. Davidson, Statesville; Mesdames George Green and C. A. Stevens, Miss Cordella Whitford, New Bern, and others.

To the people of Edenton we are more than grateful for innumerable courtesies, and especially to Mr. and Mrs. John Wood, Miss Sophie Wood, Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Pruden, Mrs. Patrick Matthew and Dr. Richard Dillard.

To Major Joseph M. Morehead, President of The Guilford Battle Ground Company, we tender our hearty thanks for generous aid and encouragement.

To Miss Lida T. Rodman for the great pains taken, and the loan of a priceless collection of heirlooms, we are deeply grateful.

We have never thanked Mr. A. R. Chisholm sufficiently for continuous courtesies while at the Exposition, and never can.

To Mr. Julius A. Lineback and Mr. Fred Crist, of Salem, we offer cordial thanks for assistance in installation and packing. Also, we are indebted to Mr. Lineback for data in preparing the article on Wachovia's Exhibit. To Messrs. W. S. and Bernard Pfohl and Rev. J. H. Clewell we return thanks for assistance in collecting information for the same purpose.

The custodians were exceedingly thoughtful and helpful. To Lieutenant-Governor Ellyson and Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, of Virginia, we owe much; to Messrs. Albert Cook Myers, Pennsylvania; W. Clayton-Torrence, Virginia; H. B. Handy, Maryland; Dr. William C. Mills, Ohio, we feel there exists a debt of gratitude that can never be paid. We are also deeply in debt to Mr. Cuyler Reynolds, New York; Miss Benning, Georgia; Mr. Justice J. T. Blodgett, Rhode Island; Mr. F. B. Lee, New Jersey; Mrs. C. Albert Hill, South Carolina; Misses Heth and Baker, of the Colonial Dames' Exhibit; Dr. Marion D. Learned, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Maupin, D. A. R. Exhibit, and the custodians of West Virginia's display—all were kind and friendly, and the pleasant memories of those days can never be forgotten or love for the History Building grow dim. It was there we realized "The sun nowhere shines so bright as in Virginia," or quite so warm.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

NORTH CAROLINA'S HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

The keynote of American life is progress—an excellent and most powerful characteristic; yet harm and ultimate ruin will surely follow in its trail unless safeguarded by conservatism. No study so engenders and promotes the cultivation of this check to vandalism as does History. At last the dominant trait of the Anglo-Saxon race is asserting itself and we are becoming more like our relatives oversea, who guard sacredly whatever bears on their glorious past. The various original thirteen States differ widely in the possession of a genuine historic appreciation. Massachusetts awoke long ago, and now has no equal for vigilance in protecting her treasures. Virginia, due largely to circumstances, slumbered many years longer, but now rivals her sister New England State. Others are lethargic, but heard the bugle call to duty sounded at Jamestown Exposition. North Carolina, like Rip Van Winkle of old, has been aroused from an apparently comatose state in the mountains of silence, and has sought the intellectual activity of the new life beyond. Uncertain how to proceed, by degrees she became at last accustomed to the demands of the times, and is making rapid advancement. Signs of the historical awakening are visible on all sides: the publication of the Colonial and State Records, the formation of patriotic societies of her sons and daughters, the organization of a Literary and Historical Association, the Hall of History, the creation of a State Historical Commission, the establishment of North Carolina Day in the public schools, and the awarding of medals for historical work—all reveal the need of the hour and the trend of public thought.

Nothing has shown so forcibly this historical awakening in the Old North State as the exhibit she placed in the History Building at Jamestown. This was made with the people's money, by the people and for the people. It is, indeed, gratifying to know she was creditably represented at this most interesting Exposition of the century, where history was given a place never before accorded in the annals of America. As fashion and history repeat themselves, so again the daughters of Carolina have taken the lead and have done their duty in placing her where she justly belongs—in the front rank. Too much praise cannot be given Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Vice-President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who first planned and arranged this exhibit. The Jamestown Commission for North Carolina appropriated as much money as could be spared for this object, which was not a large sum. This was supplemented by a small amount from the State Historical Commission. Mrs. Patterson was assisted by Miss Rebecca Schenck, of Greensboro, and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh, who gave months of arduous toil to this patriotic cause. North Carolina and South Carolina were the only States in which women had sole charge of the exhibits.

In order to work systematically, the State was equally divided by an imaginary line between Misses Schenck and Hinton. The former collected relics in the west, while the eastern half was assigned the latter. Chairmen were appointed in the chief towns and counties to gather articles of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, which greatly facilitated the task assumed, which would have been quite impossible without the generous aid of these patriotic Carolinians. To the following, who composed the list, is due a lasting debt of gratitude. Their patience seemed exhaustless, their patriotism most keenly alive:

Mrs. S. G. Ayr.....	Fayetteville.
Mrs. George Green.....	New Bern.
Miss Lida Tunstall Rodman.....	Washington.
Mrs. Marshall Williams.....	Faison.
Miss Adelaide Smith.....	Scotland Neck.
Mrs. C. M. Parks.....	Tarboro.
Miss Catherine Seyton Albertson.....	Elizabeth City.
Mrs. W. D. Pruden.....	Edenton.
Mrs. T. M. Washington.....	Wilson.
Mrs. W. O. Shannon.....	Henderson.
Misses Emma and Rachel Harvey.....	Hertford.
Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom.....	Hertford.
Miss Hinton	Raleigh.
Colonel Fred. A. Olds.....	Raleigh.
Colonel Bennehan Cameron.....	Raleigh.
Mrs. Phifer Erwin.....	Morganton.
Mrs. George C. Goodman.....	Mooreville.
Mrs. J. F. Roberts.....	Shelby.
Mrs. Banks Holt.....	Burlington.
Mrs. Josephine L. Branner.....	Waynesville.
Mrs. Beale	Arden.
Mrs. W. R. Reynolds.....	Winston-Salem.
Miss Rebecca Schenck.....	Greensboro.
Mrs. Henry D. Blake.....	Greensboro.
Mrs. John N. Staples.....	Greensboro.
Mrs. Lucy M. Moss.....	Greensboro.
Mrs. J. N. Fry.....	Greensboro.
Miss Buhman	Greensboro.
Mrs. Jenny C. Horney.....	Greensboro.

The exhibit was in charge of a custodian all the time. These ladies filled that position in the following order: Misses Schenck, Hinton, Vaughan and Minnie Albertson.

The space allotted North Carolina was 22 x 28 feet, between the sections filled by New Jersey and Georgia, which was rather small for the number of articles collected, and for lack of room some relics were necessarily rejected. Thirteen cases were purchased; an accident ren-

dered one useless, due probably to its tabooed number; so only one dozen were utilized. Owing to these facts, the collection was restricted to the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and the War of 1812, and much of our most valuable history was eliminated. The Daughters of the American Revolution, represented by Mrs. Patterson, enlisted their efforts for the State, instead of placing their exhibit with that of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The arrangement of the relics was chronological, save whenever the artistic demanded precedence. How can one write of this hallowed past and the gallant statesmen and attractive dames of that trying period without shrinking, as it were, from the task? Can justice be meted with the lapse of so many decades? Indeed, the Hall of History was a veritable Gallery of Ghosts! To write of them is no easy task. Then, again, to touch upon such a multiplicity of various topics, without degenerating into a tiresome catalogue, is quite unavoidable. Only the salient points will be touched upon, to avoid enumeration of detail. A complete list appears farther on, to show of just what our collection consisted.

With a desire to start with the beginning of our State's history, and not with an ambition to antedate the first *permanent* English settlement at Jamestown by twenty-two years, the story of the "Lost Colony" was given in paintings. The coat-of-arms of Sir Walter Raleigh hung on the post, crowning all. Then were placed, so as to form a frieze extending along the top of the two partitions which formed the side walls of our space, the White Pictures, these being "the true pictures and fashions of the people in that part of America discovered by Englishmen, sent thither in the year of our Lorde 1585, at the special charge and direction of the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stannaries in duchies of Cornwall and Oxford, who therein hath bynne favoured and authorized by her Majeste and her letters patents, diligently drawne by John White, who was sent specially and for the same purpose by the said Sir Walter Raleigh, the year aforesaid, 1585, and also the year 1588." The seventy-three originals, after being long lost to the world, were finally restored to the British Museum, where they are now kept in the Grenville Collection. Copies were made last year by Mr. Spencer Baird Nichols for the United States Government, to be placed in Smithsonian Institute. At the same time Colonel Bennehan Cameron gave the artist an order for these paintings to be executed for exhibition in the North Carolina Historical Exhibit, permission having been granted by the Government. Afterwards they were brought to Raleigh and now adorn the Hall of History. A more generous act from a more patriotic citizen it would be hard to find. John White was ordered to repair to Roanoke Island to study and make sketches of the aborigines. This was accomplished in one year, less five days. The paintings on exhibition represented the Indian features, their



THE WOOD SILVER SERVICE FROM "HAYES."



modes of prayer, dancing, fishing, cooking and eating; the styles of dress adopted by their chiefs, religious men, medicine men, warriors; their women and children; views of their villages and tombs; their canoes and means of making the same. The pictures depicting their toilettes are as follows: (2) A Herowan Chief; (3) The Flyer; (6) Their Chief Herowan's Wife of Pomeæ and her daughter; (7) One of the wives of Wyngyno; (8) The manner of their attire and painting their faces when they go hunting; (10) The Young Pomeæ; (11) An aged man in his hunting garment; (12) The Wife of a Herowan of Secotan; (13) One of the religious men of Secotan; (17) A Chief's Wife of Florida; (1) A Chief of Florida.

Their mode of worship is revealed in No. 4, their manner of prayer, with their rattles about the fire, and (5) their dances which they had at their high feasts.

Three pictures give clear ideas of their catching fish, broiling the food, when caught, on a frame above a roaring fire, and, lastly, the primitive custom of dining, "sitting at meat."

Two villages are shown—curious wooden houses, arranged in a circle, surrounded by a stockade. The mode of burial is interesting. There is the tomb, in which the bodies, prepared so that they resemble the Egyptian mummies, are laid on a shelf, to be cured by the smoke of the fire built beneath.

Beneath these first impressions of our Indians were arranged the excellent oil paintings, thirteen in number, from the brush of Mr. Jacques Busbee, of Raleigh, which give the story of Roanoke Island of to-day. The sand dunes, the blue sky overhead, the brilliantly tinted water, the waves lashing the shore, the forests of original growth—all are so vividly portrayed that one feels that one is in reality gazing upon this sacred spot, where was enacted the saddest tragedy of American history. There were Ballast Point, where Raleigh's colony landed; the site of Fort Raleigh, whose entrenchments have defied the storms of the three centuries and are still visible, and the monument to Virginia Dare, nestling in a bower of greenery. Mr. Busbee was appointed by the State Historical Commission to fill this order to be exhibited at Jamestown. He spent six weeks on the island for that purpose, which he accomplished well and conscientiously.

King Charles II. and the Lords Proprietors—the noble and the ignoble blending—types of monarch and cavalier of the period, looked not out of place in this republican land, with a mingled array of democratic Americans, so gradual has been the evolution. There they hang in the order of their rank: the King; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkeley. Sir John Colleton's likeness has been omitted, because there is no known portrait of him. These photographs were made from oil portraits in the possession of Mr. James

Sprunt, British Vice-Consul at Wilmington, the only collection in existence. John Locke, who, while secretary to the Earl of Shaftesbury, drafted his extraordinary Fundamental Constitutions, has not been ignored, but an engraving of him is given an elevated position. Lawson's map of the colony, close by, was a good guide to the wilderness filled with the redskins, wild animals and "the forest primeval."

The group of portraits, while not exhaustive, was comprehensive. Many of the most prominent North Carolinians who gave their lives to the service of their State and country looked down from canvases and gilded frames on the passing throng. Mrs. Beale's picturesque painting of Charles I. brought out all the grace and distinction of the unfortunate House of Stuart, and was given a central position on the rear wall. Historians differ widely as to the name of the Carolinas. To Charles IX., of France, Charles I. and Charles II., of England, each has been assigned the compliment. However, it is most probable that Charles I. was the sovereign for whom it was called. The three signers of the National Declaration of Independence, William Hooper, John Penn and Joseph Hewes, were placed side by side—a gift from the Historical Commission, Messrs. John G. Wood and Charles L. Van Noppen. The judiciary was represented by Judge William Gaston, who wrote "Carolina"; Associate Justices James Iredell and Alfred Moore, of the Supreme Court of the United States. An etching of Chief Justice Christopher Gale hung among the celebrities. Two masterpieces from the brush of the American Reynolds—among the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the Hall—were loaned by Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom, of Hertford. These were the portraits of the handsome Dr. James Norcom, skilled surgeon of the War of 1812, recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and appointed by Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, and Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, who, at the Edenton Tea Party, filled the office of Secretary. Near by, the haunting eyes of the beautiful Theodosia Burr* riveted the attention of sightseers and frequently drew from the custodian in charge the story of her tragic fate on our treacherous coast in the winter of 1812-'13. "The Patriot," boarded by "bankers," was found empty, and among other treasures was this painting, pronounced by members of the Burr family to have been that of the lovely Theodosia, daughter of Aaron Burr and wife of Governor Alston, of South Carolina. Desperate characters, afterwards, when facing their doom, confessed their share in her untimely death. Two well-executed paintings of the Appleton family were the property and loan of Mrs. John D. Staples, of Greensboro. From the "Hayes" library, teeming with historic relics, came the rare old water color of Governor Samuel Johnston, patriot, lawyer, statesman, planter, one of the intellectual giants of the Revolutionary period in the colony. The Secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress at Halifax, James Green, and Martha Cogsdell, his wife—com-

*For a full account of this portrait of Theodosia Burr, see "The Eyrie and Other Southern Stories," by Bettie Freshwater Pool.

panion pieces—were loaned by Mrs. George Green. Garl Brown's excellent likeness of Governor William A. Graham, one of the greatest men the Union has produced, and that of his distinguished father, General Joseph Graham, hero of the Revolution and War of 1812, recall the fact that this notable family have maintained the high standard of their clan in Scotland.

No effort was made to obtain a collection of miniatures. The few sent proved that our colonists, while remote from artists, left to posterity these evidences of culture and refinement. Sully's miniature of Captain Thomas Amls, of the Continental line; that of Major Howell Lewis, of the Revolution; memorial locketts of Stephen Moore and Tristram Lowther, which showed the wonderful art now lost. Those of Tristram Lowther, Martin Fiske and Elizabeth Gilbert, his wife, and John Dawson were tastefully arranged on velvet-covered boards. For a short while the miniatures, in gold frames, of Judge Iredell and Madam Farquard Campbell could be seen.

The handsomest, most showy case, and perhaps most valuable, was that devoted to the silver. Each piece, aside from its intrinsic worth, has attached to it an historic value. Here one learned of the aristocracy of the colony and found an opportunity for study of the armorial bearings of some of our early and most prominent settlers. The service of the Cameron family, more than a century old, bearing the arms of that distinguished clan, which has the best record of any in Scotland, loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, is beautiful in its simplicity and a fine specimen of the style of silver of that period. The elegant service, also over a hundred years old, and a trifle more ornamented, which was once owned by Governor Samuel Johnston, of "Hayes," was generously loaned by members of the Wood family. A portion (four pieces—cream pitcher, ladle, waiter and bowl) of the plate presented by Prince Charles Edward Stuart to the dauntless Flora MacDonald (whose pictures hung above), once a resident of the Highland-Scotch settlement in Cumberland County, was loaned by Mrs. E. J. Justice, of Greensboro. The oldest pieces were the paten and chalice from St. Paul's Church, of Edenton, built in 1745. They were of American manufacture and were presented by Edward Mosely. "The gift of Colonell Edward Mosely, for ye use ye Church in Edenton, in the year 1725," is inscribed on each. This was four years prior to Colonel William Byrd's unjust attack on the religious state of that most worthy little borough town, and disproves his exaggerated statements. John Harvey, President of the Council, was remembered by the very quaint punch ladle, his crest engraved on its silver bowl, and a tortoise-shell "pap spoon," joined with silver rivets, sent by his descendants, the Misses Harvey, of Hertford. Spoons owned by William Hooper, James Green (Secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress), the DuBrutz family and Governor Samuel Johnston, bearing their respective crests, were arranged to advantage. The Colonial coffee pot and cream pitcher, with the Eden crest, and cruets, with the

Paget arms engraved thereon, were secured through the kindness of Mrs. and Miss Drane, of Edenton. The set of tablespoons, once the property of Louis Poisson, of France, now in the possession of Mrs. E. J. Justice, has had an exciting history, being snatched from the dangers of two revolutions and moved to foreign fields. The table and salt spoons of Richard Bennehan are perfectly plain. The very handsome tankard and curious ladle loaned by Mrs. James Warren always attracted the masculine gaze. The tankard, too tall with the top on to stand upright in the case, was separated. It was won by an American horse at Pembroke, England, in the year 1754. The bowl of the ladle is the shape of a jockey cap, with a serpentine handle. The original owner was Mr. Thomas Barker, of Edenton, husband of that noted Carolina heroine of the Revolution, Penelope Barker. The toast rack suggested the favorite bread of the English breakfast table. The very odd bouquet holder, of filigree work, has been of service at many a wedding. Three relics that belonged to General Frederick Hargett were exhibited. The pewter, polished till it presented its brightest luster, consisted of the communion service from the First German Reform Church, which came from Alamance, and sugar bowl, mug and cream pitcher, sent by different individuals. Two rare bits of china of especial interest were placed in this case, on account of their historic value. One was a royal Sèvres plate, with green and gold border surrounding a festive scene, set in a broad red velvet frame. This belonged to a set of thirty pieces, made at the command of Napoleon for a coronation gift to his brother Joseph when he reluctantly ascended the Spanish throne. The exiled king brought it with him to Bordentown, and later it was bought by General Patterson, from whom it was inherited by Mrs. Lindsay Patterson. The other was a Chinese plate, pronounced by an expert to be several hundred years old, one of the few existing relics of the noble George Durant, whose treaty with the Tuscaroras (a copy of which is preserved in the courthouse at Hertford) deserves a national reputation, but is one of the obscure facts of our history. This plate is carefully kept in a gilt frame and is highly prized by a descendant.

Manuscripts are regarded by our State officials, like true antiquarians, as being of such priceless value that the splendid collection owned by the Commonwealth is never allowed to leave the fireproof Capitol at Raleigh; hence, not one was taken to Jamestown. The exceedingly valuable documents sent came solely from individuals. Miss Susie Gentry, from far-away Tennessee, like the true patriot she is, entrusted to our keeping heirlooms that have come down in her family—a copy of the will of Colonel Joel Lane, written in 1794, and survey of land and land grant to Nathaniel Jones, of "White Plains," the latter signed by Governor Samuel Johnston. Miss Schenck, of Greensboro, contributed many priceless manuscripts, among them letters from the Marquis de La Fayette, Baron de Rochambeau, Willie Jones, Samuel Johnston, Judge Richard Henderson, Colonels Reading

Blount, Henry Dixon and David Fanning, Generals Nathanael Greene, Anthony Wayne, Jethro Sumner, and the signature of General Joseph Graham. The register of Bute Courthouse, county seat of the vanished county of Bute, and day book belonging to Patrick Nennaye about a century ago, when a merchant of East Tennessee, were of use from many standpoints to the scholar and the student. From the safety deposits at "Hayes" Mr. John G. Wood allowed to be exhibited letters from William Hooper and John Penn to Joseph Hewes, Governor Samuel Johnston and Judge James Iredell, and the gem of all the manuscripts—a court-martial drawn in the handwriting of John Paul Jones.

The battle case told the part the State had taken in the struggle for independence. Trophies from the battlefields of Alamance, Moore's Creek Bridge, King's Mountain and Guilford Courthouse, and arms that had done service, borne by patriots in those engagements, were grouped effectively. Martial spirits and army officers paused indefinitely here, contemplating these significant implements of that crucial, fundamental period of our nation's existence. From the map of the Battle of Alamance one could learn the route taken by Governor Tryon and his army, and the stand occupied by the short-sighted Regulators. The old "Liberty Bell," the intended harbinger of that coveted blessing—freedom—but only the precursor of suffering, was used by the Regulators in lieu of a drum to gather together the bands of rebels on that fatal day in May, 1771. Swords of James Stewart, seventh Baron of Blantyre, 1781, and of Colonel Stephen Miller; the powderhorn of Governor Jesse Franklin, and many other arms, were packed in the bottom of the case. The manual of arms, loaned by Dr. Peter E. Hines, told of the very different tactics employed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The shaving case, of walnut, was indeed a handsome piece when presented by General Greene to Peter Francisco for courage. The tray is lined with dark purple velvet and originally contained a razor for each day of the week, with the name thereon. On the top is this inscription: "Peter Francisco, New Store, Buckingham City, Va., July 4, 1776. A tribute to his moral worth and valor. From his comrade in arms, Genl. N. Greene," scratched by the General himself with a sharp-pointed instrument. The pistol captured from Cornwallis for many years had a brass label attached, on which appeared the British leader's name.

Limited space forbade the acceptance of numerous articles of historic furniture. The following were of such significance that they were not only exhibited, but permission was granted a renowned American historian to photograph these heirlooms, with a view to publication in a book now being written: The chair from the parlor at "Sweet Hall," that elegant seat of the Ruffins in Virginia, by inheritance came into the Cameron family of this State, in whose hospitable ancestral home it was occupied by the leading Carolinians of several generations. The brave heroes of the Revolution there reposed,

while the bright stars of that later galaxy—Graham, Manly, Morehead, Mangum, Swain, Gaston, Caldwell and their contemporaries, the warm friends of Judge Duncan Cameron and his son, the late Mr. Paul Carrington Cameron—have sat and entertained their audiences with the leading topics of the times. Another chair also came from "Stagville," and has appended the story that James Iredell, a rising lawyer of Chowan, attending court at Hillsboro, more fortunate than his colleagues, escaped the fury of the Regulators by that day visiting his friend, Richard Bennehan, at "Stagville." On that occasion tradition, handed down in the family of the latter gentleman, says James Iredell occupied this chair. The chair from Mount Vernon suggested many scenes through which it passed, in which General and Mrs. Washington were ever the ideal host and hostess of the days that have passed away forever. "Buncombe Hall," in Washington County, will ever be remembered for the renowned hospitality and royal welcome of its master, Colonel Edward Buncombe, who sleeps where he gave his life for his country, having died a prisoner in Philadelphia from wounds received on the field of Germantown, even though this Colonial home has long since gone to decay.* This handsome specimen of Chippendale that has held many a notable patriot or dignified dame of "ye olden time," alone in this collection recalled that gallant soldier. "The Cornwallis chair," as modern historians named the very substantial and well-kept treasure that once afforded comfort temporarily to that peer in his retreat from Guilford Courthouse, bids fair to witness the passage of many more years. The handsome mahogany card table that belonged to President Andrew Jackson has been used when playing many a game of cards in his law office at Salisbury. It stood below the deck of cards brought to Edenton in Colonial times. The wrapper to this was not broken till a few weeks before being brought to Jamestown. The figures and signs on the cards were very crude, and the regulations concerning the exportation and relanding were somewhat extraordinary.

The fashions of the long ago were not omitted, but were displayed in quaint clothing, arranged in a case and a half. The North Carolina dames of the eighteenth and earlier half of the nineteenth centuries should put to the blush the matrons and damsels of to-day, so fine were their stitches, almost invisible; so smooth and artistic the finish of their needlework. The material used for such delicate handiwork was of the thinnest texture, which rendered the task more difficult. The little baby dress, worked by Mrs. Elizabeth Hancock Franklin, daughter of Lieutenant Hancock, of the Revolution, was the daintiest bit of fancy work, in perfect state of preservation. A handkerchief, past the century mark, elaborately embroidered, is a contrast to those small articles of my lady's wardrobe of the present, being about three-quarters of a yard square, of fabric like mull. An antique veil,

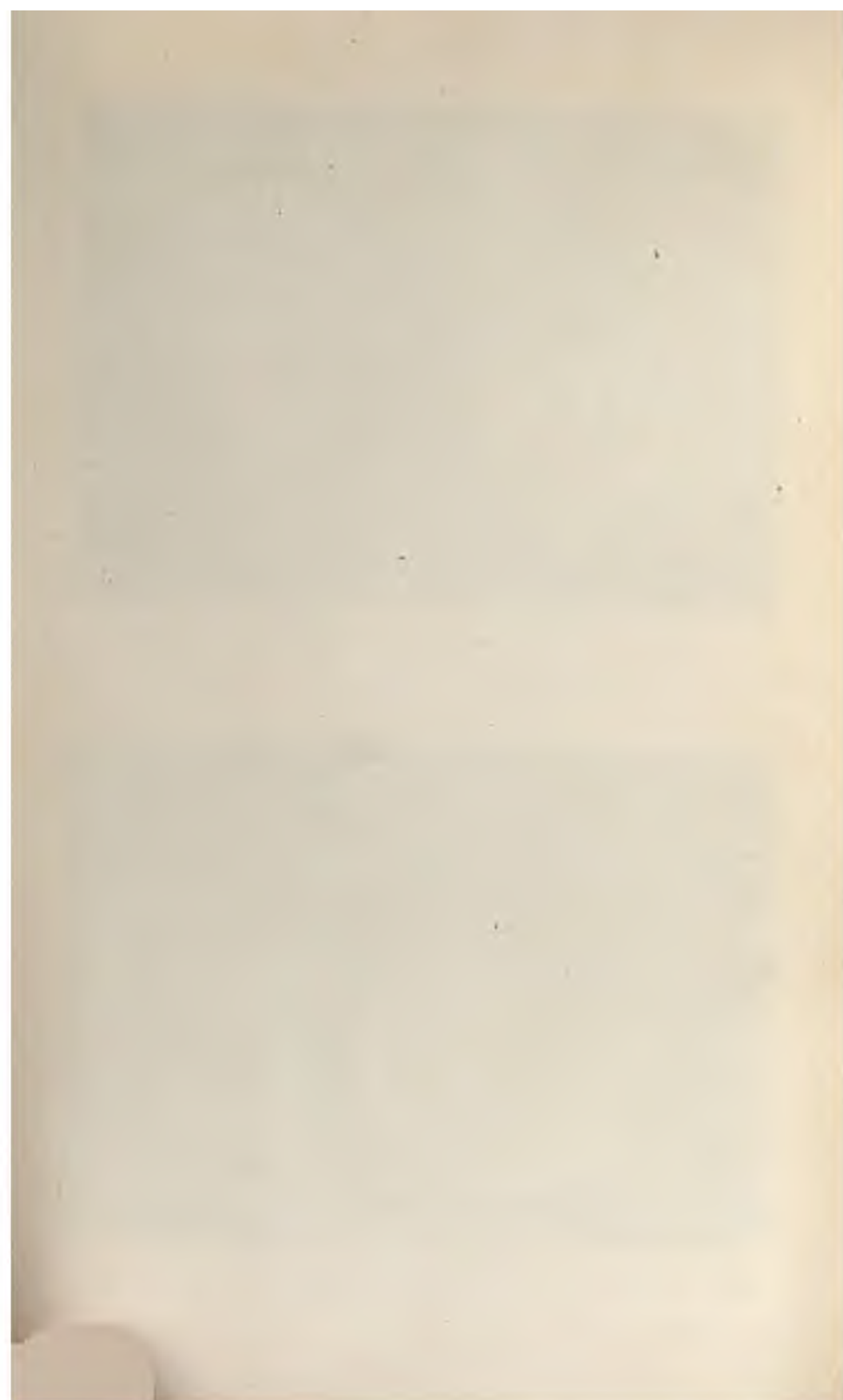
* On the arch of the outer gate of Colonel Buncombe's mansion were inscribed the following lines: "Welcome all to Buncombe Hall."



THE DURANT AND BONAPARTE PLATES.



THE COMMUNION SILVER OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON. PRESENTED TO THE CHURCH BY COLONEL EDWARD MOSELEY IN 1725.



a bead bag, a scarf, a Persian shawl (age, three centuries), a China crepe shawl—all show the accessories in vogue in the Province a cycle ago. Judge Iredell's judicial satin gown has fallen a victim to the ravages of time. Enough, though, was intact to show the general effect. The elaborately quilted green satin petticoat recalled the days of the brocaded panniers and the Watteau plait, and corresponded with the white satin slippers of the slender heels worn by the beautiful wife of Governor Turner of North Carolina one hundred and five years ago. The miniature bonnet was a delight to the little folks. What a sensation this must have created in Halifax County in the year 1770, when the Misses Jenkins received it from their sister, in distant Moravia, as a model of the bonnets then in vogue in Europe, and how many must have copied it! Of the apparel worn by the gentlemen were shown a vest and trousers of Martin Roberts, forage master of the Revolution, and General Seagle. Of a later period were a cloak and two silk waists. The coverlet, dark blue and white; four counterpanes, one woven and embroidered a hundred years ago by the great-aunt of the present owner, Mrs. T. W. Smith, of Burlington; a tablecloth, with unique design, showed something of the contents of the lavender-scented linen closets of the Revolutionary days.

The "Edenton Tea Party," so dear to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution, who have labored long and patiently to raise funds, by publishing the *North Carolina Booklet*, to erect a suitable memorial to those fifty-one patriotic women, is well told in relics. To begin, there are the *Booklets*, bound and in order, from the first to the sixth volume, containing the greatest events in North Carolina history, most cleverly written by our leading men and women. The most unique of our treasures was the dainty little model, an exact reproduction of the "Tea Party House," the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, in which the resolutions were signed, October 25, 1774. This was a gift from that versatile writer and historian, Dr. Richard Dillard, of Edenton. Above hung the painting of that historic gathering, also presented by the same patriotic gentleman to the State Library. Another of his gracious acts was placing in the exhibit for distribution a number of pamphlets containing his article, revised, which appeared in the *Booklet*, August, 1901. It is well illustrated. A photograph of the stately Penelope Barker, president of the Tea Party; the portrait of Winifred Hoskins, already mentioned; the cut-glass dish, rare china plate and Prayer Book of Elizabeth Horniblow, the china plate of Mrs. Hoskins and the candle stand that came down from the Valentine family—all bring those fascinating dames of the Revolutionary days very close to us, and we can *feel* their very presence, hear their voices in a conglomeration of discussion, and are inspired by their zeal and patriotism. They were true, noble, refined women, who fulfilled the duty of the home, yet forgot not their country. Can the daughters of to-day act unwisely in following such examples?

Many photographs, etchings and water colors of our great men and women, notable events and historic places covered the walls. Here one learned that North Carolina gave three Presidents to the Union—Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson. The birth-place of each—small shanties—tell what opportunities are within the grasp of every American boy. Likenesses of the first two accompanied the cuts. One of the three most popular and charming mistresses of the White House—Dolly Payne, wife of James Madison—was born at New Garden Settlement, North Carolina, May, 20, 1772. This event was frequently mentioned by the custodians when speaking of the writing desk and Bohemian glass cologne bottle bought by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt at a sale of Dolly Madison's personal property several years ago in Philadelphia. Edenton, "the hotbed of the Revolution" in the Colony, has played an important part in our history. Here could be found many interesting scenes relating to her past, such as the courthouse, where are stored innumerable documents, some dating far into the Colonial period; St. Paul's Church, a picturesque specimen of Colonial architecture, whose vestry room contains the noted Declaration of Independence signed by the vestrymen June 19, 1776;* the densely shaded churchyard, showing the spot where sleep the Colonial Governors, Thomas Pollok and Charles Eden, and the wife of Edward Moseley; the water colors of the "Tea Party House" and the "Cupola House," still standing, the most ancient in the town; Washington's chair, in the Masonic Hall of the courthouse; "Hayes," said to be the most interesting old home in the South—it was built in 1801. No mere picture can convey an idea of the beauty and elegance of this seat, a lingering memento of the cavaliers. Here, in terms of intimacy, have been entertained men renowned in the various walks of life, for Governor Samuel Johnston claimed as friends the greatest men of his time; and his son, James Cathcart Johnston, while never active in politics, knew well the most notable of his countrymen. The old mansion is rich in portraits, marble busts, rare volumes and manuscripts—silent reminders of those historic personages which so enhance the charm of the place. The present owner, Mr. John G. Wood, fully appreciates this priceless possession, and so reveres the past that "Hayes" is kept in perfect condition, preserving in detail the arrangements, exterior and interior, that existed in the old days. In the burying ground near by sleep Governor Samuel Johnston, Judge Iredell and Hannah Johnston, his wife, whose romance was one of the most beautiful of the Colonial days; Governor Iredell, Thomas Barker and Penelope, his wife. The empty grave of James Wilson, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, from Pennsylvania, whose remains were removed with much pomp and ceremony to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1906, has been fittingly marked. All these tombstones can be seen in the photograph. The old-fashioned

* This was the test adopted by the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, August 23, 1775. See Colonial Records of North Carolina, X, 171, 612.

tavern has long since been relegated to the past, but "Ye Old Eagle Tavern," at Hertford, of Colonial days, still hangs out its sign and is kept open to the public. The headquarters of Cornwallis at Wilmington makes one shudder to think of the cruel treatment meted out to our patriots while prisoners in its dungeons. The Treaty of Peace between the whites and the Tuscaroras, led by Tom Blount, which has been photographed, is drawn in terms of cruelty which remind us of all the horrors of the Tuscarora War. Liberty Point, Fayetteville, has attached the history of Cumberland's sons gathering for the drawing up of a Declaration of Independence, June 20, 1775,* and the subscribing of many names still prominent in that section, where loyalty to the crown and patriotism were strong, for here dwelt the Highland-Scotch. Daniel Boone looked the sturdy woodman, the sure marksman and the brave pioneer he was. While Pennsylvania claims his birthplace, he once dwelt within our borders and was associated with Judge Richard Henderson in settling the Colony of Transylvania and preceded him thither with wagons, teams and supplies. Another of our adopted sons was the greatest of naval heroes, John Paul Jones, whose only home was that of Willie-Jones, in Halifax County, known as "The Grove." In one case could be found a bit of moulding from this house, long since in a state of dilapidation, and a view of it to-day. One of the greatest of Carolinians was Judge George E. Badger, soldier, statesman, brilliant orator, able jurist. At an early age he served as an officer in the War of 1812. Tryon Palace was built with funds raised by taxation, causing loud discontent, which culminated in the battle of Alamance, 1771. Fire destroyed the last remaining vestige a few weeks ago. Hence, only pictures like this remain to show that center of the social world in the Province. Two of our historians, Hawks and Carruthers, were by no means handsome men, which nearly debarred their appearing in such distinguished company. Colonel Joel Lane's home at Bloomsbury, the site of the present city of Raleigh, is one of our few Colonial houses in existence and use. Here the General Assembly met and elected Thomas Burke Governor. The etching is a fine piece of work, by the late W. G. Randall. The law office of Judge Gaston, in which he wrote the first State song, "Carolina," and in which he breathed his last, was hung with the poem, deftly illuminated by Miss Sallie C. Jackson.

Miss Rodman's collection of relics was of such value (being treasures handed down in the Blount and Harvey families, and now the property of Miss Marcia Rodman, her aunt, and herself) that she herself brought them to Jamestown and installed them, with the assistance of Miss Mary Blount. These filled one and a half cases and were attractively arranged and greatly admired.

The map of Old Brunswick Road, 1735, and that of Washington, county seat of Beaufort County, N. C., the first town named after the famous General, are fine specimens of penmanship and drawing. The

*This was the text adopted by the Council of Safety at Charleston, June 3, 1775, and copied by the Committees of Safety for the District of Wilmington, June, 19, 1775.

plan of Bath, our first town, dates back as early as 1705. Three rare Colonial documents were displayed, viz., a land grant made to Chief Justice Gale in 1706, another signed by Governor Charles Eden, 1714, and a document with the signature of Governor Arthur Dobbs attached, 1755. The silver luster pitcher, a century and thirty years old, was admired by all observers. This represented a long-since forsaken art. The baby dress and caps, with their invisible stitches, were the handiwork of Mary Harvey, "Harvey Hall," during the Revolution. The fans were very handsome and of exquisite workmanship.

Many personal articles that had belonged to Major Reading Blount, of the Revolution, have been preserved. Among them, a spur worn during his military service, a brass candlestick, a cup and saucer of a ware now very rare, the indispensable silver snuffbox and knee buckles.

What a handsome man was Dr. Simmons Baker, of "Palmyra," whose features were Grecian! This picture rested on a mahogany spoon case, once his property.

This invaluable collection comprised relics of all classes, many of which would have been ornaments to the Colonial Dames' Exhibit, being of sufficient age and historic value to have been sought. It was indeed our gain to have secured such a loan. Had the North Carolina Dames sent an exhibit, Miss Rodman would doubtless have placed at least a portion of these treasures there.

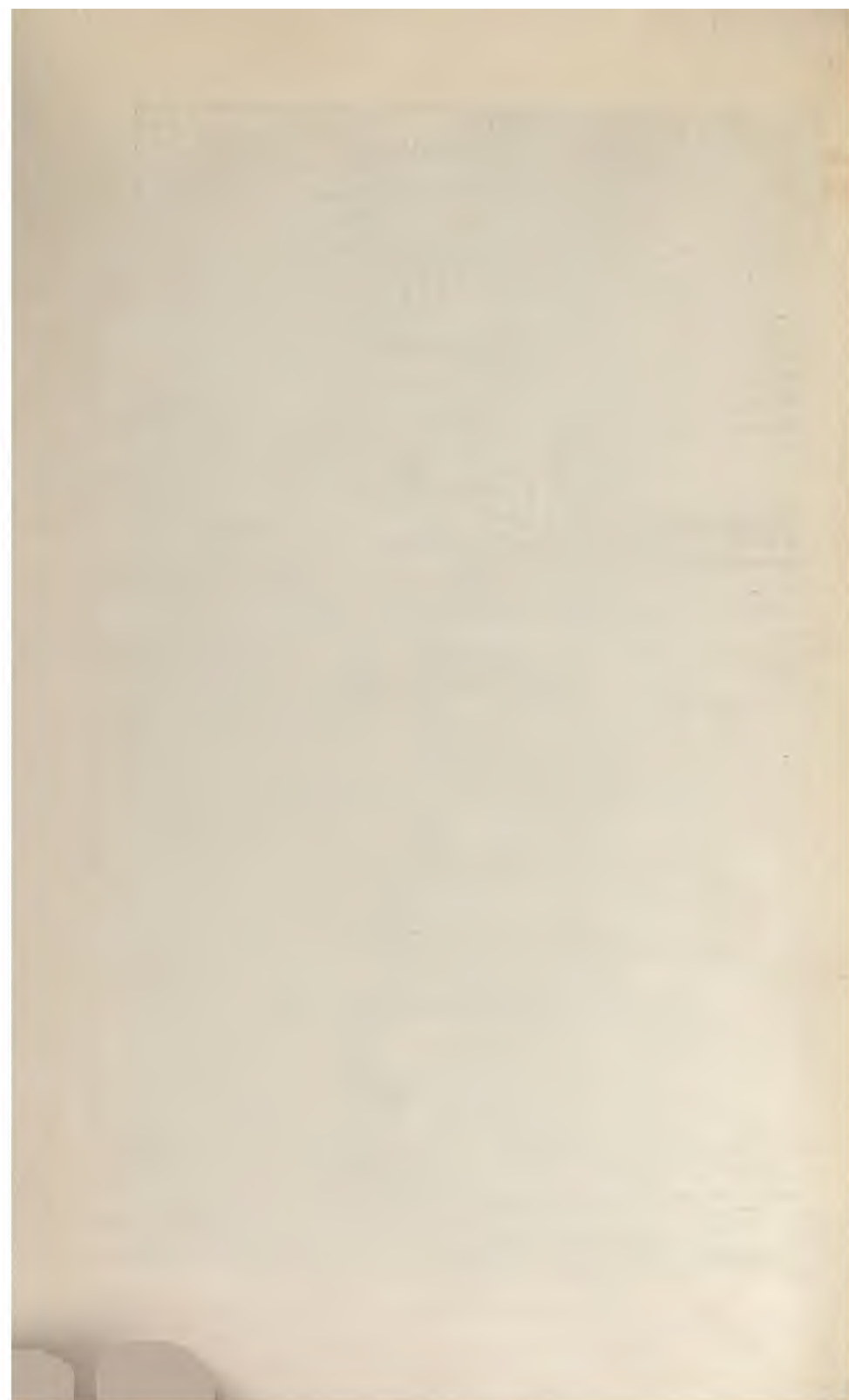
The Wachovia Historical Society deserves special recognition, for it was this remarkable organization that responded primarily to the appeal for aid from patriotic Carolinians. It is the oldest society of the kind in the State, and has set an example worthy of emulation. Wachovia's exhibit revealed the life of the people, their industries, household utensils, implements of war and peace, accomplishments, comforts and literature. The Moravians had an excellent display in the Pennsylvania exhibit, of which this was the complement. The entire history of these thrifty, religious, peace-abiding citizens, that have ever remained a distinct colony, affords unusual opportunity for the student.

The Moravian Church, whose official name is "*Unitas Fratrum*," can claim the distinction of being the oldest of all Protestant denominations, dating back to 1457, when the followers of the great reformer and martyr, John Huss, organized the "Unity of Brethren." The cruelties and persecutions of the Thirty Years' War threatened annihilation, but these zealous Protestants were crushed, not exterminated; for not only was the Moravian Church reorganized and established in foreign lands, but is now being restored in its mother country, and the apostolic succession has been preserved unbroken. To escape the oppression in some European kingdoms, a tract of land containing nearly one hundred thousand acres was purchased in North Carolina in 1752. This is included in the present county of Forsyth. To this sweet



THE WASHINGTON, BUNCOMBE, CORNWALLIS, RUFFIN, AND BENEHAN CHAIRS, AND THE VALENTINE CANDLESTAND.





haven of rest was given the name of Wachovia, an anglicism of the German term *Wachau*, derived from the words *wach*, a stream, and *awe*, a meadow. The selection of this nomenclature was due to the marked resemblance of the natural features of this territory, particularly its many streams and rich meadows, to the estate of the noble Count Zinzendorf, in Austria, the home of the restored Moravian Church. Here has flourished for more than a century and a half a people whose pronounced traits have been the ennobling virtues of the Teutonic race. In time Salem became the center of the community, and so continues. It is most refreshing to know that there is one spot in this Commonwealth where Progress is not king, but where the old ideas and the old customs are so cherished that they are upheld as a sacred trust. The bustle and up-to-date standard of the twin city of Winston exert no influence, ever proving that heredity is stronger than environment.

From the headquarters of the society have gone forth to previous expositions a few treasures, but never before has so large a collection been allowed to leave Salem. On this occasion consent was not obtained until a custodian was permitted to accompany and install it. It is doubtful whether the loan could have been secured but for the efforts of Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, one of the officers of the society. The collection was installed by Mr. Julius A. Lineback, with that care and system for which the Moravians are noted, and embraced the twelve following classes: Light, heat, water, household tools and manufactures, earthenware, firearms, literature, maps, etc., music, scientific and professional, historic relics, sundries. "A century of lights" showed a remarkable series of candlesticks, of iron, tin and brass (with the quaint methods of manufacturing tallow and wax candles), lanterns, lard and oil lamps, terminating with the earliest electric globe. The different stages of the "tile stove" were illustrated, from the moulds for making the pantiles, the iron frame and grate, to the photograph of the old stove used in the rooms of the society, suggestive of those still in vogue in Germany. The wooden foot warmer is similar to those seen in foreign churches.

The Salem waterworks were the most important of their conveniences, and deeply interested General Washington during his visit in 1791. Four years were required to complete the first system. The last pipes were laid March 25, 1778. "The source of supply was a number of springs, situated where Calvary Moravian Church, Winston, now stands. The pipes were made of hard pine logs, bored their full length and neatly joined together, through which the water flowed by gravity to a cistern in the north end of town, and from which it was distributed to the principal buildings of the community. This system was in operation about fifty years."* The new system of 1828 had a pump house at the east end of Bank Street, from which water was forced by a large overshot wheel to the large cistern at the south

*See "History of Wachovia," by Rev. J. H. Clewell.

end of Cedar Avenue, and conveyed thence to smaller cisterns by gravity, through earthen pipes, to the main buildings and dwellings throughout the town. These cisterns were brick lined and cemented. The capacity was 3,000 gallons and more, and each cistern had a pump.

The stand, with its swinging frames, required days of study. The most salient points of Wachovia's history were presented, such as: The first settlement of Wachovia, 1753; Indian trouble and French and Indian War, 1756-'59; founding of Salem, 1766, and Salem during the Revolutionary War; Governor Tryon's two visits to Wachovia; the Mecklenburg Declaration, as mentioned in the Records of Wachovia (data recently discovered); a collection of Provincial money; a collection of postage stamps, and numerous views of the old town. The maps, which covered a goodly portion of the wall, were considered of great worth. The document of the greatest value was the original Amnesty Proclamation, issued by Governor Tryon to the Regulators after the battle of Alamance. The British and Provincial seal attached thereto is four inches in diameter. The original copy was sent to the Moravians at Bethabara. This is a true copy of the proclamation:

"NORTH CAROLINA.

*"By His Excellency Wm. Tryon, Esquire, His Majesty's Captain
General and Governor in Chief in and over the said Province.*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas I am informed that many persons who have been concerned in the late Rebellion are desirous of submitting themselves to Government. I do therefore give Notice that every Person who will come in either to Mine or General Waddell's Camp, lay down their Arms, Take the Oath of Allegiance, and promise to pay all Taxes that are now due, or may hereafter become due by them respectively, and submit to the Laws of this Country, shall have his Majesty's most Gracious and Free Pardon for all Treasons, Insurrections and Rebellions, done or committed on or before the sixteenth of May last, Provided they make their Submission aforesaid on or before the Tenth of July next. The following Persons are however excepted from the Benefit of the Proclamation, viz., All the Out-Laws, The Prisoners, All Those concerned in blowing up General Waddell's Ammunition in Mecklenburg County, and the undernamed Persons, to wit, Samuel Jones, Joshua Teague, Samuel Waggoner, Simon Dunn, Jr., Abraham Creson, Benjamin Merrill, James Wilkerson, Sr., Edward Smith, John Bumpass, Joseph Boring, William Rankin, William Roberson, John Winkler, John Wilcox, Jacob Felker and Thomas Person.

"Given under my Hand and the great
Seal of the said province this Eleventh
Day of June, Anno Domini 1771.

"By His Excellency's Command.

WM. TRYON."

After the victory of Alamance the Governor repaired to Wachovia with his prisoners and army of three thousand men, who were sustained by the plentiful supplies of the Moravians. The church diary at Bethabara shows many entries concerning this sojourn. Among them mention was made of the fireworks and of celebrating the king's birthday, "when manœuvres of the battle of Alamance were repeated. Volley after volley was fired, both from the musketry and the artillery, until the houses in the village trembled and shook." Here for three or four days the Governor established court, and many Regulators returned to their allegiance. Of this second visit to Wachovia general history has lost sight, but in the Archive room of the Society the student can glean knowledge of this date of importance.

The Moravians are born lovers of music. Wherever their church has spread, there can be found music, vocal and instrumental, for singing enters largely into their form of worship. Hymns have been often composed for special occasions. The first notice of instrumental music was made in the records February 24, 1754, and the first instrument—a trumpet of wood—was manufactured at Bethabara. An organ was imported in 1762, and later, 1765, trombones were introduced. Choirs of vocal and instrumental musicians were in the different churches. As organs were uncommon, wind instruments were substituted for them; hence the Trombone Choir was formed and proved of great service, both for religious and social purposes. When Governor and Mrs. Tryon visited Wachovia in September, 1767, they were welcomed with music, which also entered largely into their entertainment during their stay of four days. The Trombone Choir sounded forth a royal welcome for President Washington as he entered Salem, May 31, 1791, and played afterwards for his pleasure. A French horn, without valves, and a trombonist's book, containing music, among other selections, "God Save Great Washington," arranged just for that event, were used in serenading our chieftain. These historic relics were taken to Jamestown, along with many other old instruments and some manuscript music. The harpsichord was both rare and curious. It comes after the spinet and before the piano. The natural keys are black, the sharps white.

Among the scientific and professional articles, the "cyclometer of 1785" and the silhouette machine and a group of silhouettes were most interesting.

Salem Academy has ever instructed its pupils thoroughly in the art of needlework, for which it is famous. The specimens shown have sustained the reputation of this renowned institution of learning.

The fire department dates back to 1785, when precautionary steps were taken by purchasing two fire engines. The very unique one exhibited was one of the first brought to America. This was intended to go into buildings and other places where the larger one could not be taken. It has known no injury from time, and could have been of service had anything so impossible as a fire occurred in a perfectly

fireproof structure. It can throw a stream of water three-eighths of an inch seventy-five feet. On the pump appears the name of "Johann Thomas Puehler, Gnadenburg, 1784," the manufacturer. Hanging by the engine were two leather water buckets. Each household was required to keep several, in case of emergency.

The iron chest was the forerunner of the more complicated combination safe. It possessed a false and a concealed lock.

The first house built in Salem, in 1766, has long since fallen to decay. Only a picture remains, which could be seen in the exhibit.

The first printing press brought to Salem could be of service to-day, though the manipulation would be clumsy, compared with the modern machine. This information was furnished on a card tacked to the press:

"This printing press was brought to Hillsboro, North Carolina, before the Revolutionary War, and while there it was used to print some of the numerous proclamations of Lord Cornwallis.

"About 1827 it was purchased by John C. Blum, of Salem, N. C., who established the printing business in Salem and began the publication of *Blum's Almanac*.

"*The Weekly Gleaner* was the first paper published in Salem, in 1829. After this, *The Farmer's Reporter and Rural Repository*, about 1835. In 1852, John C. Blum was succeeded by his two sons, who founded the well-known firm of L. V. & E. T. Blum, who then began the publication of *The People's Press*.

"After the death of E. T. Blum, in 1895, the old press became the property of the Wachovia Historical Society, but so far it has been impossible to find who brought it to Hillsboro, from which place John C. Blum secured it.

"The original screw in time became so worn that it was necessary to replace it by another, and this fact accounts for the present screw bearing the name of A. Ramage, of Philadelphia, Pa., whose business was conducted after the Revolution, and not before."

The collection crowded four cases in all. Wachovia, by her ready and prompt response, aroused ambition and gave encouragement to go on to higher efforts. Her loyalty to the land of her adoption can never be questioned, even in the minutest details.

What has been the result of all these months of wearing toil, ceaseless responsibility, personal discomforts from extreme heat and cold, the risk of losing precious heirlooms which could never be replaced, and the expenditure of money? Did it pay?

The compensation was more than adequate. Here are some of the rewards of a year's labor: When the awards of merit were bestowed, North Carolina won the silver medal, together with New York and the Church Exhibits. Surely we were in goodly and pious company. More visitors sought the North Carolina Exhibit than any other in the History Building, while numbers came just for a glimpse of that alone. Great pains were taken by the custodians in charge to show and ex-

plain all things. During those strenuous days of installation, when admission was restricted to cards, the duties of the Powhatan Guard, stationed at the entrance, and of the courteous Custodian and Superintendent were increased daily, announcing and admitting North Carolina's guests. We were just across the border, and our people in general were deeply interested. The unfolding of the State's noble past has been a revelation to many. The point emphasized more than any other was the first English settlement at Roanoke Island. Perhaps, in future, when orators and historians address audiences they will not ignore the priority of this English colony. One historian of national reputation, since having his attention drawn to our Exhibit, has visited the State, making a systematic study of her unpublished archives and gathering material therefrom for a prospective volume. Another has had many photographs taken of the chief relics, to appear in a work on the historic South. Our silver hall marks are to be published in the pages of still another valuable embryonic work. From various sections of the Union came persons who found there information of value to them, personally. As an educational factor, the success was complete, and it is believed that this engrossing work will greatly aid in developing the historical awakening already begun in our midst.

Jamestown Exposition is now but a delightful memory, which must remain "a joy forever" to those who saw it from an historical standpoint. No description can convey any idea of its worth or artistic effect. To the generous men and women of Carolina who made this exhibition a possibility by the loan of their priceless heirlooms, and by their untiring energy; to the custodians of other States, who, by their courtesy and encouragement, rendered the installation an easier task, there are existing obligations which can never be repaid.

HISTORIC RELICS.

SILVER.

Communion service (American) from St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C. It consists of paten and chalice and was the gift of Colonel Edward Mosely in 1725. Loaned by the vestry.

Coffee pot and cream pitcher, 1715, owned by Governor Charles Eden, bearing the Eden crest. Loaned by Miss Eliza Harwood Drane, Edenton, N. C.

Service consisting of five pieces, owned by Governor Samuel Johnston, of "Hayes," which were: one tea pot, loaned by Mrs. W. D. Pruden; tea pot and cream pitcher, loaned by Mr. Julien Wood; sugar bowl, loaned by Mr. Hal. Wood.

Dessertspoon, owned by Governor Samuel Johnston, bearing the Johnston crest. Loaned by Mrs. W. D. Pruden, Edenton, N. C.

Cruets, about 1760, belonged to the Paget family and bearing their crest. Loaned by Miss Eliza Harwood Drane, Edenton, N. C.

The Cameron service (American, Johnson and Treat), consisting of coffee pot, sugar dish, cream pitcher, cup (gold-lined) and one tea pot (Sheffield plate), owned by Mr. Richard Bennehan, of "Stagville," member of the Committee of Safety during the Revolution. His daughter, Rebecca Bennehan, was pouring tea from this pot when she met her future husband, Judge Duncan Cameron. Each piece bears the Cameron arms, having been inherited by Mrs. Duncan Cameron. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, of "Stagville."

Two tablespoons, owned by Mr. Richard Bennehan, of "Stagville." Became the property of Rebecca Bennehan, who married Judge Duncan Cameron. Loaned by Colonel Cameron.

Two coffeespoons, owned by Mr. Richard Bennehan. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, of "Stagville."

Bouquet holder, owned by a very old lady in Macon, Georgia, used to hold bridal bouquets. A gift to Mrs. Graham from a friend. Loaned by Mrs. Paul Cameron Graham, Durham, N. C.

Toast rack. Loaned by Mrs. George P. Collins, Hillsboro, N. C.

Portion of the service presented to Flora MacDonald by Prince Charles Edward Stuart. It consists of waiter, bowl, ladle and cream pitcher. Loaned by Mrs. E. J. Justice, Greensboro, N. C.

Five tablespoons, owned by Louis Poisson, a native of France, and brought during the French Revolution to San Domingo. During the uprising there they were taken to North Carolina. Loaned by Mrs. E. J. Justice, Greensboro, N. C.

Tankard (English), owned by Mr. Thomas Barker, of Edenton, N. C. Won by an American horse at Pembroke, England, 1754.

Ladle (English), 1754, owned by Mr. Thomas Barker. Loaned by Mrs. James Warren, Edenton, N. C.

Teaspoon, one of a set owned by William Hooper, one of the three



FLORA MACDONALD'S SILVER.



North Carolina signers of the National Declaration of Independence. The silver was in the possession of James Hooper, the youngest son, but, having no children, his widow gave them to his grandniece. It bears the Hooper crest. Loaned by Mrs. Helen DeBernière Hooper Wills, Raleigh, N. C.

Sugar tongs, owned by General Frederick Hargett. Loaned by Mrs. George Green.

Candle snuffers and tray (Sheffield plate), owned by General Frederick Hargett, of the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. George Green.

Ladle (American), bearing the Green crest. Loaned by Mrs. George Green, New Bern, N. C.

Ladle, wedding silver of Gabriel DuBrutz and Deborah Montgomery, March, 1791. Loaned by Mrs. E. J. Justice, Greensboro, N. C.

Goblet, presented to William Hooper, LL. D., by a class of young ladies. Mr. Hooper was a grandson of William Hooper, who signed the Declaration of Independence. Loaned by Mr. B. F. Beasley, Fayetteville, N. C.

Cake basket (Sheffield plate), originally owned by John Appleton, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1699. It bears the arms of Great Britain. Brought with the founder of the Appleton family to America, whose ancestors were John Appleton, of Waldingfield, Magna, Suffolk, England, and John ap Ulton, of Wales. Arms granted to him by Henry IV., 1412, and name changed in England to Appleton. Loaned by M. Daves Appleton Staples, Greensboro, N. C.

Spoon, belonged to Andrew Miller, Rutherfordton, N. C. He was captured by the British and threatened with death unless he gave information concerning the American army. So steadfastly did he refuse that it commanded the admiration of Colonel Ferguson, who released him and gave him his own knee buckles, from which this spoon was made. Loaned by Mr. R. B. Miller, Shelby, N. C.

One knee buckle, owned by John Lewis, of Virginia. Loaned by Mrs. S. R. Fowle, Washington, N. C.

Cuff buttons, owned by Captain Gilbraith Falls. Loaned by Mesdames Amanda Jameson and S. M. Furr, Mooresville, N. C.

Belt buckle, slide and badge, owned by General Morgan, of the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. F. A. Jenkins, Nashville, N. C.

Spoon (Colonial). Loaned by Mrs. J. R. Thomas, Waynesville, N. C.

Punch ladle, with Harvey crest, owned by President John Harvey, of the Council. Loaned by Misses Harvey, Hertford, N. C.

Basket (Sheffield plate), brought from Scotland, 1782, owned by Mrs. Jane Moore Gray. Loaned by Mrs. Ernest Deans, Wilson, N. C.

PEWTER.

Communion service, consisting of paten and chalice, used in first German Reform Church, Alamance County, N. C. Loaned by Mrs. F. E. Sellars, Burlington, N. C.

- Sugar bowl. Loaned by Captain Samuel Webb, Burlington, N. C.
 Cream pitcher, owned by Judge John Lewis Taylor. Loaned by Mrs. L. A. Lawrence, Iredell County, N. C.
 Mug. Loaned by Mrs. F. E. Sellars, Burlington, N. C.

MINIATURES.

- Memorial locket, to the memory of Stephen Moore, 1799. Loaned by Colonel Samuel Webb, Burlington, N. C.
 Memorial miniature of Tristram Lowther, in leather case. Loaned by Miss M. F. Skinner, Edenton, N. C.
 Miniature of John Dawson. Loaned by Miss Eliza Harwood Drane, Edenton, N. C.
 Miniature of Martin Fiske. Loaned by Miss M. F. Skinner.
 Miniature of Captain Thomas Amis, member of the Committee of Safety. Loaned by Mrs. G. P. Collins, Hillsboro, N. C.
 Miniature of Major Howell Lewis, Granville County, N. C., who was in the Revolution. Loaned by his great-great-granddaughter, Miss Mary Laurens Hinton, Raleigh, N. C.
 Miniature of Elizabeth Gilbert, wife of Martin Fiske. Loaned by Miss M. F. Skinner, Edenton, N. C.
 Miniature of Tristram Lowther. Loaned by Miss Eliza Harwood Drane, Edenton, N. C.
 Painting of Miss Mary Lewis, Granville County, N. C. Loaned by Mrs. S. R. Fowle, Washington, N. C.
 Miniature of Judge James Iredell. Loaned by Mrs. P. E. Hines, Raleigh, N. C.
 Miniature of Madam Farquard Campbell. Loaned through Mrs. Marshall Williams, Faison, N. C.

PORTRAITS.

- Theodosia Burr Alston. This famous portrait was found in a pilot boat beached at Nag's Head, N. C., in the winter of 1812-'13. Loaned by Mrs. J. P. Overman, Elizabeth City, N. C.
 William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn, the three signers of the National Declaration of Independence. These copies were made for this exhibit and presented by Messrs. John G. Wood, Charles L. Van Noppen and the North Carolina Historical Commission.
 General Joseph Graham, who served in the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Loaned by Judge A. W. Graham, Oxford, N. C.
 James Green, born 1727, Clerk of the first Provincial Council held in Johnston County, October 18, 1775; Secretary of the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax, N. C., April 4, 1776.
 Martha Cogsdell, wife of James Green, born 1728. Loaned by Mrs. George Green, New Bern, N. C.
 Governor Samuel Johnston, Governor of North Carolina, 1787; first Senator from North Carolina, 1789-'93. This rare old water color hangs in the library at "Hayes." Loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, Edenton, N. C.

Dr. James Norcom, skilled surgeon in War of 1812. He was recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and appointed by Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina. This portrait was painted by the American Reynolds. Loaned by Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom, Hertford, N. C.

Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, Secretary of the Edenton Tea Party, painted by Reynolds. Loaned by Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom.

Judge James Iredell, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. This portrait was presented to the Supreme Court of North Carolina by the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution. Loaned by the Supreme Court Justices of North Carolina.

Judge Alfred Moore, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. This portrait was presented to the Supreme Court of North Carolina by the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution. Loaned by the Supreme Court Justices of North Carolina.

Two portraits of members of the Appleton family, Hannah Dawes and Catherine Hough. Loaned by Mrs. John D. Staples, Greensboro, N. C.

Hon. William A. Graham, Governor of North Carolina. 1845-'49; Secretary of the Navy, 1850-'52. Loaned by his daughter, Mrs. Walter Clark, Raleigh, N. C.

MANUSCRIPTS.

A document, being an account of the trial of Abraham Whipple for cowardice in engagement between the ship *Columbus* and *Glasgow*, man-of-war, April 7, 1776. This paper is in John Paul Jones' handwriting and was forwarded to Joseph Hewes, Chairman of the Naval Committee of the Continental Congress.

Autograph letter from Associate Justice James Iredell to Governor Samuel Johnston, builder of "Hayes," 1793.

Autograph letter from Governor Samuel Johnston to Joseph Hewes, one of the signers of the National Declaration of Independence from North Carolina.

Autograph letter from William Hooper to Joseph Hewes and John Penn, 1776.

Autograph letter from John Penn to Joseph Hewes, 1779. Loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, of "Hayes," Edenton, N. C.

Land grant of 1,350 acres on Duck River, from North Carolina to Nathaniel Jones (of "White Plains," a Judge during the Revolution), signed by Governor Samuel Johnston in 1788.

The original plan of Raleigh, North Carolina, made July 1, 1797, owned by Colonel Joel Lane, the founder of Raleigh, who conveyed 1,000 acres of land to the State of North Carolina and gave the following squares to the city: Capitol, Burke, Caswell, Moore and Nash.

Will (copy) of Colonel Joel Lane, written October 22, 1794. Loaned by Miss Susie Gentry, the great-great-granddaughter of Colonel Lane.

A survey of land for the State of North Carolina to Nathaniel Jones (of "White Plains"), of 1,350 acres on Duck River, by D. Vance. Loaned by Miss Susie Gentry, "Maplehurst," Franklin, Tennessee.

Commission, signed by George Washington. Loaned by Miss Catherine S. Albertson, Elizabeth City, N. C.

A Quaker marriage certificate, 1817. Loaned by Miss Catherine S. Albertson, Elizabeth City, N. C.

Day book, belonged to Patrick Nennaye, a pioneer merchant of East Tennessee. Loaned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Deed, signed by Colonel John Hinton, of Wake County, North Carolina, who commanded a regiment of Colonial troops at the battles of Alamance, May 16, 1771, and Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776.

Deed, signed by Major John Hinton, of "Clay Hill," Wake County, North Carolina, who was at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, 1776. Loaned by Miss Elizabeth Price Jones, "White Oak Grove," Raleigh, N. C.

Deed to Alexander Donalson, Rowan County, North Carolina, 1783. Loaned by Mrs. F. R. Sharpe, Mooresville, N. C.

Old document, 1705. Loaned by Mr. J. Paul Leonard, Statesville, N. C.

Ocean passage receipt, 1775. Loaned by Mr. J. Paul Leonard, Statesville, N. C.

Framed invitation, owned by Mrs. Anne Meade Randolph, "Capua," Powhatan County, Virginia, 1811. The invitation was to a ball commemorating the birth of Washington.

Leaf from Anne Randolph's diary, describing Monticello in Jefferson's administration.

Letter from Colonel Richard Randolph, of "Curl's," Virginia. Loaned by Mrs. Lucy Michaux Moss, Greensboro, N. C.

Army commission of Captain Alexander Davidson, 1780. Loaned by Mr. T. M. C. Davidson, Statesville, N. C.

Depreciation table for South Carolina in 1783.

Letter from Major Montflorencia to Spruce McCoy, commissioner of confiscated property, concerning behavior of some of his men in taking for their use some property in the care of Mr. McCoy. Major Montflorencia was Quartermaster of Salisbury District.

Receipt by William Lunsford, Quartermaster Sergeant, Colonel William Washington's regiment of Light Dragoons, for corn furnished him by John Dunn, who figured conspicuously, but not gloriously, when the Mecklenburg Declaration was read in Salisbury by Captain Jack, the messenger who was carrying it to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

Autograph letter from General William R. Davie.

Copy of commission of John Paul Jones. Loaned by Major William A. Graham, Machpelah, N. C.

Land grant, owned by Nathaniel Hart, Caswell County, North Carolina, granted by the Right Honorable John, Earl of Granville, 1764; deeded to George Raynie and signed by Governor Richard Caswell, 1787.

Land grant, owned by William Anglin, Caswell County, North Carolina, being part of the land granted by the Right Honorable John, Earl of Granville, in 1764, signed by Governor Alexander Martin, 1783.

Land grant, owned by William Slade, Caswell County, North Carolina, being part of the land granted by the Right Honorable John, Earl of Granville, in 1764, signed by Governor Samuel Johnston, 1789. Loaned by Mrs. Jennie Johnston Horney, Greensboro, N. C.

Register of Bute Courthouse, Bute County, North Carolina. Loaned by The Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, N. C.

Autograph letter from Willie Jones.

Autograph letter from General Nathanael Greene.

Autograph letter from the Marquis de LaFayette.

Autograph letter from General Anthony Wayne.

Autograph letter from Baron de Rochambeau.

Signature of General Joseph Graham.

Autograph letter from General Jethro Sumner.

Autograph letter from Samuel Ashe.

Autograph letter from Reading Blount.

Autograph letter from David Fanning.

Autograph letter from Colonel Henry Dixon. Loaned by Miss Rebecca Schenck, Greensboro, N. C.

Autograph letter from William Dickson. Loaned by Mr. J. O. Carr, Wilmington, N. C.

Old deeds. Loaned by Mrs. J. B. Winders, Warsaw, N. C.

Land grant and will. Loaned by Mr. T. M. C. Davidson, Iredell County, N. C.

General Jethro Sumner's ledger. Loaned by Miss Schenck, Greensboro, N. C.

Contract for cotton mill. Loaned by Miss Schenck.

FIREARMS.

Sword of James Stewart, seventh Baron of Blantyre, 1781. Stewart was killed at the battle of Guilford Courthouse. This sword was picked up on the field. Owned by The Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, N. C.

Scotch knife, 1781, carried by Scotch Highlander at battle of Guilford Courthouse. This was found on the field. Loaned by The Guilford Battle Ground Company.

Canteen of John Morehead, Greensboro, N. C., 1780. This canteen was used by him during the southern campaign under Greene. Loaned by Guilford Battle Ground Company.

Gun, owned by Governor Jesse Franklin, Surry County, N. C., and carried by him at the battle of Guilford Courthouse. Loaned by The Guilford Battle Ground Company.

Gun, owned by Caleb Crews, Granville County, N. C., and carried by him all through the Revolution and used by him at the battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Powder gourd, used by Governor Jesse Franklin at the battle of Guilford Courthouse, March 15, 1781. Presented to Guilford Battle Ground Company, July 4, 1892, by Hon. Jesse Franklin Graves. Loaned by The Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, N. C.

Bowie knife from King's Mountain battlefield. Loaned by Mr. J. J. Wilkins, Shelby, N. C.

Provincial powderhorn. Loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, Edenton, N. C.

Sword of Colonel Stephen Miller, Duplin County, N. C., 1785, which was presented by Governor Alexander Martin to Colonel Miller for valued services rendered at battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. Loaned by Mr. W. M. Miller, Memphis, Tennessee.

Pistol captured from Cornwallis. For years his name was discernible on brass plates on it. Loaned by Mr. Asa Bynum, through Mrs. George Green, New Bern, N. C.

Powderhorn, used by Davy Crockett, of Alamo fame. This is the one painted in his portrait. Loaned by Miss Susie Gentry, "Maplehurst," Franklin, Tennessee.

Sword of Captain Gilbraith Falls, 1780. Carried in battle of Ramsauer's Mill by Captain Falls, where he was killed. Loaned by Mesdames Amanda Jameson and S. M. Furr, Mooresville, N. C.

Sword of Colonel John Crutchfield. Loaned by Captain W. H. Turrentine, Burlington, N. C.

Sword owned by Lieutenant Ross, 1775, and carried by him at battle of Bunker Hill. Loaned by Mr. Julius A. Melchor, Mooresville, N. C.

Sword owned by Sam. Houston, 1780, used at battle of Ramsauer's Mill.

Revolutionary soldier's sword. Loaned by Mrs. Bost, Statesville, N. C.

Sword of Captain John Dickey, used by him at battle of King's Mountain. Loaned by Mrs. S. W. Stevenson, Mooresville, N. C.

Musket (flint lock) of William Carrigan, of the Revolution, 1776. Loaned by Miss Catherine Carrigan, Cabarrus County, N. C.

Rifle, 1790, carried on various trips through North Carolina, Ohio, Kentucky, South Carolina and Tennessee by Joseph Hall. Loaned by Mr. J. S. Hall, Rowan County, N. C.

Rifle, captured at battle of King's Mountain by a Mr. Wilson. The lock was changed and the bore enlarged a few years ago by Mr. Albert Wilson. Loaned by Mr. J. A. Wilson, Shelby, N. C.

Rifle, captured at battle of Ramsauer's Mill by Edward Lewis. The lock was changed by a Mr. Gault a few years ago. Loaned by Mrs. John Willis, Cleveland County, N. C.

Powderhorn, used by ancestor of Mr. John Miller, Kenansville, N. C., in the Revolution, who loaned it.

Rapier, owned by Colonel James H. Hunter, used in breaking up the court at Hillsboro, N. C. A monument has been erected to the memory

of Colonel Hunter at Guilford Battle Ground. Loaned by Mrs. P. B. Kenneday, Houstonville, Iredell County, N. C.

CHINA AND GLASS.

China plate, owned by Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, Secretary of the Edenton Tea Party, 1774. Loaned by her descendant, Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom, Hertford, N. C.

China plate, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Horniblow, one of the signers of the Edenton Tea Party. Loaned by her descendant, Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom, Hertford, N. C.

Antique Bohemian glass cologne bottle, owned by Mrs. Dolly Payne Madison, 1800. Dolly Madison, born in North Carolina, was the wife of President James Madison. She willed her effects to her niece and adopted daughter, Mrs. Mary C. Kuncle, which were subsequently sold by her executor. Loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Raleigh, N. C.

Plate, owned by James Madison, fourth President of the United States, 1809, now the property of his great-great-niece, Mrs. J. R. Thomas, Waynesville, N. C., who loaned it.

Sèvres plate, one of a set of thirty pieces, made by order of Napoleon as a coronation gift to Joseph Bonaparte when he was made King of Spain; brought to America by the exiled ruler and sold by him to his friend, General Robert Patterson. Owned and loaned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Winston-Salem, N. C.

China cup, owned by Mrs. Margaret Maultsby, the last piece of a set of china that Mrs. Maultsby carried with her from Bladen County to Mecklenburg, where the family fled to escape hostilities in 1775. The Maultsbys were Quakers. In leaving their home to avoid fighting, they removed to scenes of war and fought throughout the Revolution. Loaned by Miss Mary Langdon Ayr, Fayetteville, N. C.

Tea caddy, 1774, contemporaneous with the Edenton Tea Party, found in Edenton by Dr. Dillard and presented by him to the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, who loaned it.

Cup plate, 1782. Loaned by Mr. Julius Melchor, Mooresville, N. C.

Delft cup, owned by Major Howell Lewis, of Granville County, N. C., an officer of militia in the Revolution. It was brought from England more than one hundred and fifty years ago. Loaned by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Raleigh, N. C.

Plate of John Gray, Fredericksburg, Virginia; brought from Scotland in 1782. Loaned by Mrs. Ernest Deans, Wilson, N. C.

Plate, seventeenth century. Loaned by Mrs. T. C. Vaughan, Burlington, N. C.

Wedgewood pitcher. Loaned by Captain Samuel Webb, Graham, N. C.

Two pieces of blue china, having pictures of the landing of LaFayette thereon; also one china chop dish (eighteenth century) and Wedgewood pitcher; one blue plate. All loaned by Captain Samuel Webb, Burlington, N. C.

English teapot, brought from Paris in 1806 and presented to Mrs. MacRae. When LaFayette visited her in 1825 she gave him a cup of tea made in this teapot. Loaned by Mrs. S. G. Ayr, Fayetteville, N. C.

Quaint pitcher, made in Liverpool, known as Washington pitcher. It has on one side a picture of the Edenton Court House; on the reverse side a map of the world of that period. Loaned by the Misses Harvey, Hertford, N. C.

Chinese plate, probably three hundred years old, owned by George Durant, whose treaty with the Indians deserves to be better known. Loaned by Mrs. S. S. Nixon, Elizabeth City, N. C.

Glass buttermilk bottle, used by soldiers during the Revolution to carry buttermilk. Loaned by Mr. Robert Ramsay, Rowan County, N. C.

An old spode pitcher, belonged to Thomas Amis, Halifax, N. C., before the Revolution. It descended to his daughter, Mrs. Richard Bennehan; to her daughter, Mrs. Duncan Cameron; to her daughter, Margaret Cameron Mordecai; to present owner. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C.

Dish (pressed glass), owned by Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, Secretary of Edenton Tea Party. Loaned by Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom, Hertford, N. C.

MISCELLANEOUS COSTUMES.

Silk waist and scarf, belonging to the Stevenson family. Loaned by Mrs. Cordelia Whitford, New Bern, N. C.

Silk waist, two shawls (about 1800) and veil 107 years old.

Baby dress, made by Mrs. Elizabeth Hancock Franklin, daughter of Ensign Hancock, of the Revolution, who was afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy.

Handkerchief, embroidered. Loaned by Mrs. George Green, New Bern, N. C.

Cloak, made by a Mrs. Horn some time prior to 1850, now owned by her great-grandson, Mr. A. M. Ledford, Cleveland County, N. C.

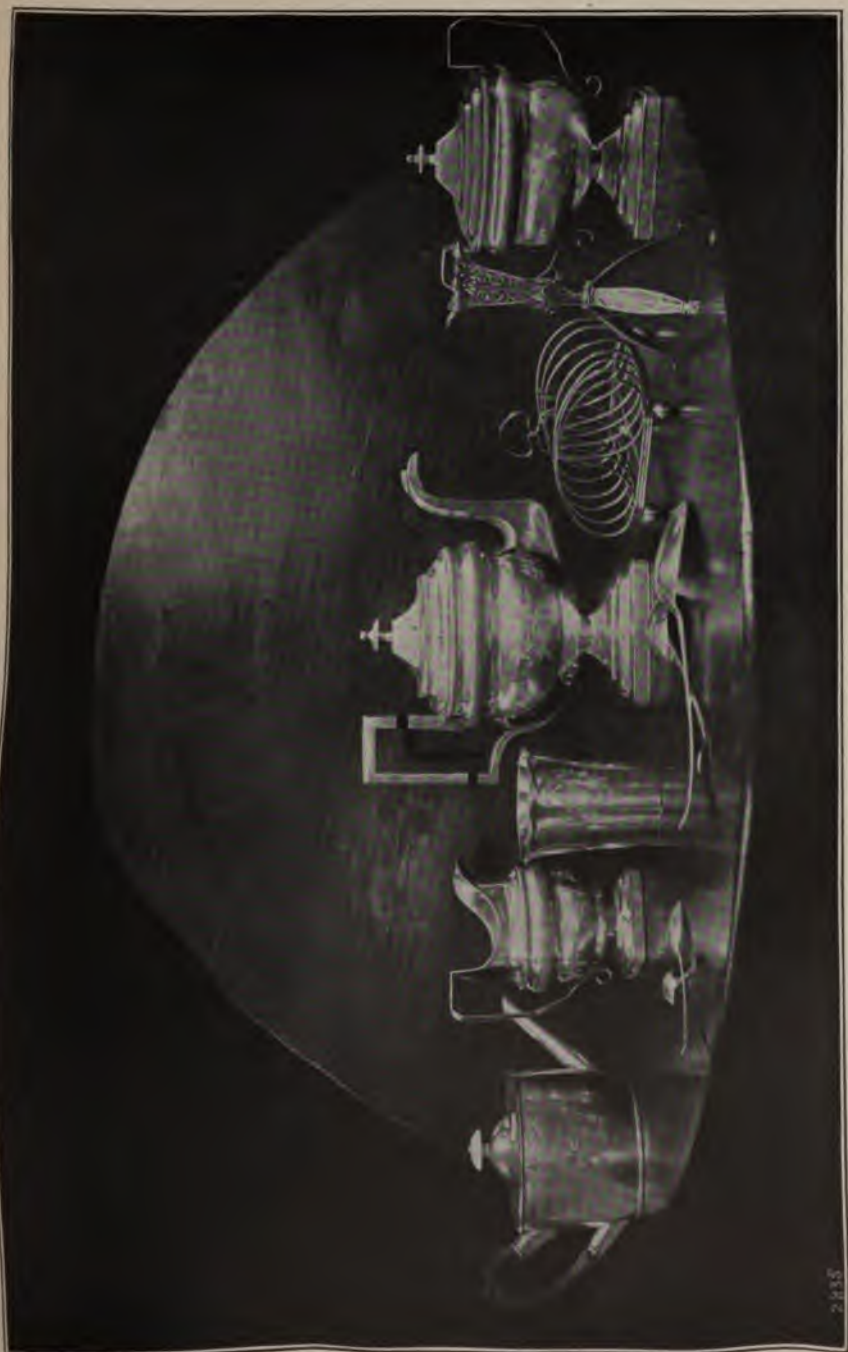
Satin robe, worn by James Iredell, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Loaned by Mr. Cadwallader Iredell, Norfolk, Virginia.

Shawl, three hundred years old. Loaned by Mrs. J. R. Wells, Magnolia, N. C.

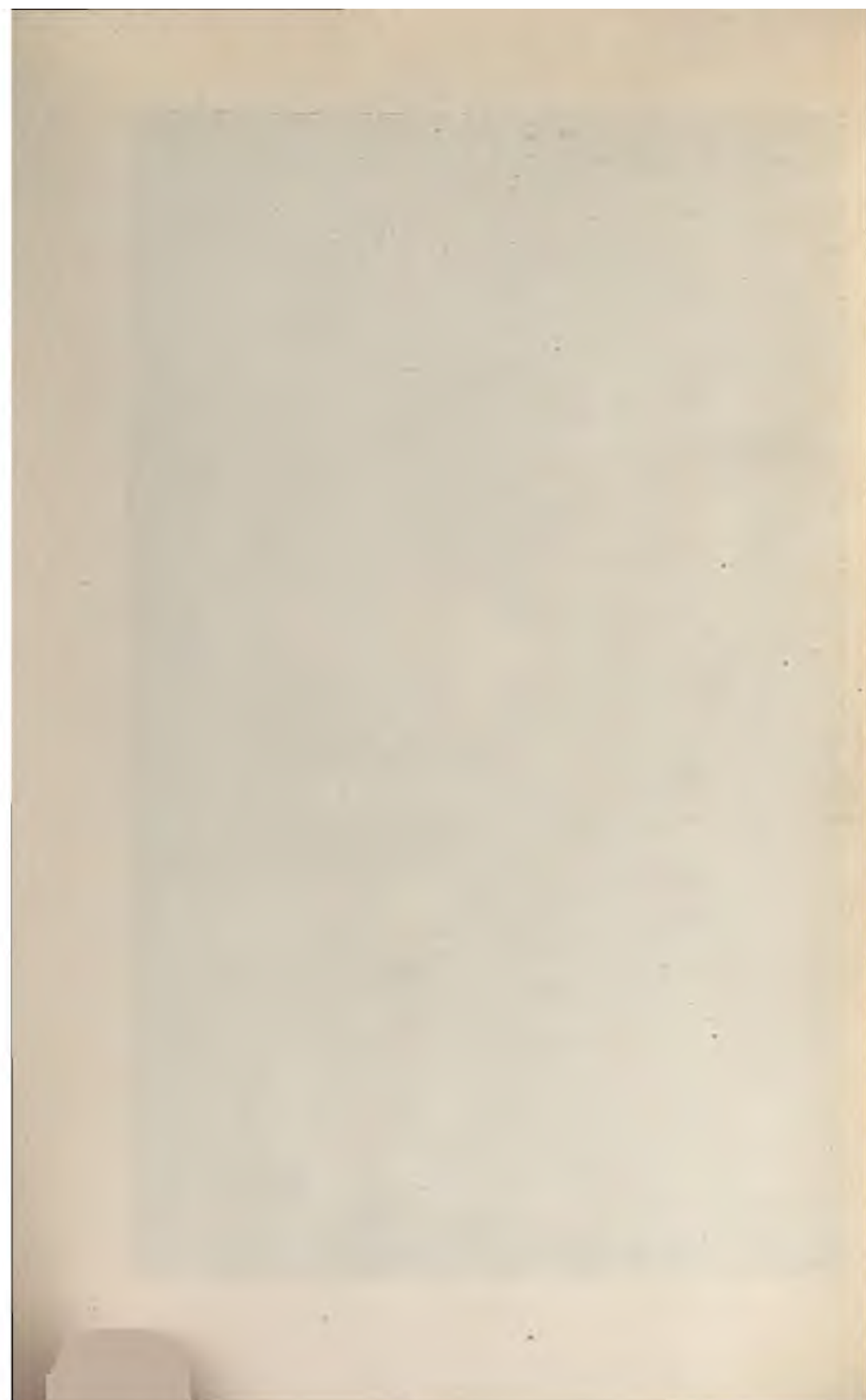
Button, worn by Mr. Carr in Revolutionary War. Loaned by Mrs. Cox, Mount Olive, N. C.

Trousers. These were the wedding trousers of General D. H. Seagle, made by himself ninety-odd years ago. He was a native of Lincoln County, N. C., the father of thirteen children and had nine sons in the Confederate army. Loaned by Mrs. F. C. Roberts, Shelby, N. C.

Silk petticoat, belonged to Sophia Lafeldt Buhman, of Germany, about 1800. It was part of an evening dress. Loaned by Miss Freda Buhman, Greensboro, N. C.



THE CAMERON SILVER.



Vest, belonged to Martin Roberts, worn by him while in service as forage master during the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. J. M. Roberts, Patterson Springs, N. C.

Imitation bonnet, sent to Misses Mary and Eliza Jenkins, of Halifax County, N. C., in 1770, by their sister in Moravia, showing the fashions then in vogue in that European country. Loaned by Mrs. F. A. Gorham, Wilson, N. C.

White satin slippers, used by the wife of Governor James Turner, 1802-'06. Loaned by Mrs. Norfleet Smith, Scotland Neck, N. C.

Bead bag, owned by Mrs. Henry Hampton, Hamptonville, N. C. Loaned by Miss V. Stirewalt, Davidson, N. C.

PICTURES.

Eighteen copies of the John White Pictures. These were made by Mr. Nichols from the originals in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. John White was sent to Roanoke Island by Sir Walter Raleigh to make sketches of the Indians, their features, styles of dress, customs, houses, trees, fruits, etc., in the newly planted colony. White remained one year, lacking five days. Presented by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C., who obtained permission from the United States Government to exhibit the same in the North Carolina historical exhibit.

The following were loaned by the North Carolina Hall of History, Fred. A. Olds, Director:

Framed photograph of King Charles II.

Framed photographs of the seven Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina, viz., Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; Lord Ashley; John, Lord Berkeley; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkeley.

Framed photograph of the Edenton Court House.

Framed photograph of Washington's chair in Masonic Hall, Edenton, N. C.

Framed photograph of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C.

Framed photograph of the communion service of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C.

Framed photograph of the tombs of North Carolina's Colonial Governors in St. Paul's Churchyard, Edenton, N. C.

Framed photograph of "Hayes," Edenton, N. C.

Framed photograph of the burying ground at "Hayes," Edenton, N. C.

Four framed photographs of Wilmington, N. C.

Framed photograph of the Colonial Inn at Hertford, N. C.

Framed photograph of the monument to Virginia Dare on Roanoke Island.

Framed photograph of the Treaty with the Tuscarora Indians.

Water color painting of Cornwallis' headquarters, Wilmington, N. C., home of the late Mrs. McRary.

Water color painting of Cupola House, Edenton, N. C., the oldest house in the town.

Arms of Sir Walter Raleigh, in water colors.

Oil painting of Ballast Point, Roanoke Island, where Raleigh's colony landed.

Liberty Point, Fayetteville, N. C.

Engraving of John Paul Jones.

Engraving of Daniel Boone.

Lawson's map of North Carolina.

Pictures of Presidents Polk and Jackson and their birthplaces.

Picture of President Andrew Johnson's birthplace.

Map of the battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771.

Oil painting of the Edenton Tea Party.

Framed photograph of Prince Charlie.

Framed photograph of Flora MacDonald.

Engraving of John Locke.

Picture of Pitt County Court House.

Etching of Chief Justice Christopher Gale.

Framed photograph of Carruthers, historian.

Framed photograph of Hawks, historian.

Moss and leaf picture, "Ruins of Jamestown," copied from an old engraving and loaned by Mrs. W. H. Cloyd, Lenoir, N. C.

The Needham coat-of-arms, water color. Loaned by Miss Katharine Badger, Raleigh, N. C.

Judge George E. Badger, officer in War of 1812. Secretary of the Navy; Associate Justice of North Carolina. Loaned by Miss Katharine Badger, Raleigh, N. C.

Pen and ink sketch of Judge Gaston's law office, in which he wrote "Carolina." Loaned by Mr. Jacques Busbee, Raleigh, N. C.

"Carolina," illuminated and loaned by Miss Sallie Clark Jackson, Carthage, N. C.

Framed photograph of Penelope Barker, President of the Edenton Tea Party, the gift of Mrs. W. D. Pruden and the State Historical Commission.

Silhouette of John Lewis, cut by his daughter, Eliza Lewis. Loaned by Mrs. Virginia Payne Hargrove, Washington, N. C.

Picture of Liberty Point, Fayetteville, N. C. Here, June 20, 1775, was signed the Cumberland County Association. Owned by Liberty Point Monument Association. Loaned through Mrs. S. G. Ayr, Fayetteville, N. C.

Silhouettes of Isaac Jackson and his wife, Mary Spencer, 1800-10. Anson County, N. C. Mary Spencer was the daughter of Judge Samuel Spencer, one of the first Judges in North Carolina elected under the Constitution. Loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Raleigh, N. C.

Etching of Colonel Joel Lane's home, the oldest house now standing in Wake County. Loaned by Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, Raleigh, N. C.

Two photographs of "Aunt Dolly," born 1810. She tells interesting stories of LaFayette's visit to Fayetteville in 1824. The little girl is the great-granddaughter of General Ayr.

Painting brought from Germany in the eighteenth century by Gustavus Buhman, who married a MacDonald of the same clan from which Flora MacDonald came. Loaned by Miss Freda Buhman, Greensboro, N. C.

Engraving of Tryon Palace. Loaned through Mrs. T. M. Washington, Wilson, N. C.

Right Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft, first Bishop of North Carolina.

Roger Atkinson, grandfather of Bishop Atkinson. From portrait owned by Colonel John W. Atkinson, Wilmington, N. C.

Mrs. Roger Atkinson, grandmother of Bishop Atkinson. From a portrait owned by Colonel John W. Atkinson, Wilmington, N. C.

Thomas Atkinson, D. D., LL. D., third Bishop of North Carolina.

One silhouette. Loaned by Mrs. Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C.

Thomas Amis Cameron, cadet, of Middletown, Connecticut; date, 1832; taken in New York on the march from Middletown, Connecticut, *via* West Point to Washington, where President John Quincy Adams then resided.

Sir Ewan Cameron, taken from portrait in Edinburgh, Scotland. In the battle of Culloden he commanded the Clan Cameron, fighting for Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

Rev. John Cameron, D. D., taken from miniature owned by Edward Anderson, Pensacola, Florida. Degree of D. D. was conferred by William and Mary College; minister of Blandford and Cumberland parishes; had charge of diocesan school in Lynchburg.

Three generations of the Cameron family. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C.

Right Reverend William M. Green, Bishop of Mississippi and once professor in the University of North Carolina. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C.

Three photographs of the pirate Teach's house on the banks of the Pasquotank River, North Carolina. These include views of the banqueting hall, with its elaborate carving, the execution chamber and the exterior of the house.

Thirteen oil paintings of Roanoke Island of to-day, showing views of Ballast Point, the Virginia Dare monument, the beach, sand dunes, forests, sky and water. Painted by Mr. Jacques Busbee, of Raleigh, N. C., for the State Historical Commission, to exhibit at Jamestown Exposition.

BOOKS.

Prayer Book, 1808, owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Horniblow, of Edenton, N. C., one of the Edenton Tea Party signers. Loaned by her descendant, Miss Penelope Hoskins Norcom, Hertford, N. C.

Book of Sermons, printed in Edinburgh, 1684. Purchased by Dr. J. E. Pressly. Loaned by Mr. Barron W. Pressly, Mooresville, N. C.

Manual of Arms, 106 years old. Loaned by Dr. P. E. Hines, Raleigh, N. C.

Almanacs, 1793-'99, owned by Mr. Robert Ramsay, Rowan County, N. C. Printed two each in Halifax and Salisbury, respectively. Loaned by Mr. David Z. Gray, Mooresville, N. C.

Life of General Francis Marion, 1818. Loaned by Mrs. F. R. Sharpe, Mooresville, N. C.

Les Commentaires of Edmund Plowden, owned by an ancestor of Rev. F. N. Skinner, 1571. There are autographical marginal notes by the author. Loaned by Rev. F. N. Skinner, Fayetteville, N. C.

Sketch of Flora MacDonald, considered authentic, as the facts were given the writer by one of the heroine's descendants.* Loaned by Mrs. S. G. Ayr, Fayetteville, N. C.

History of North Carolina, owned by Dougald McDougald. Nothing can be learned of its author, but it is a correct history of the section it describes. Loaned by Mr. Robert Carver, Fayetteville, N. C.

Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress. Contains President John Quincy Adams' message to the nineteenth Congress of the United States. Loaned by Mrs. S. G. Ayr.

Dickson Letters. Loaned by Mr. J. O. Carr, Wilmington, N. C.

History of the Texan Expedition against Mier, 1845. General Green, the author, was an officer in the expedition; also in the War of 1812. Loaned by Mrs. L. M. Cook, Fayetteville, N. C.

The North Carolina Booklet, Vols. I, II, III, V, VI. Great events in North Carolina history, written by the most reliable writers of the State. Loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Regent of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, Raleigh, N. C.

Book of Correspondence of the Leaders of the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. A. W. Middleton, Birmingham, Ala.

New York Gazette. Loaned through Mrs. J. F. Roberts, Shelby, N. C.

Watts' Logic, 1732.

The Psalms of David, 1732. Loaned by Mrs. Lucy M. Moss, Greensboro, N. C.

List of old books owned by Thomas Amis, member of Committee of Safety. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C.

Holy Bible, published in Dublin, 1794.

Prayer Book, published in London, 1761.

Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, published in London, 1795.

Xenophon, published in London, 1747.

Homer's Iliad, published in Glasgow, 1747.

Gil Blas, published in London, 1790.

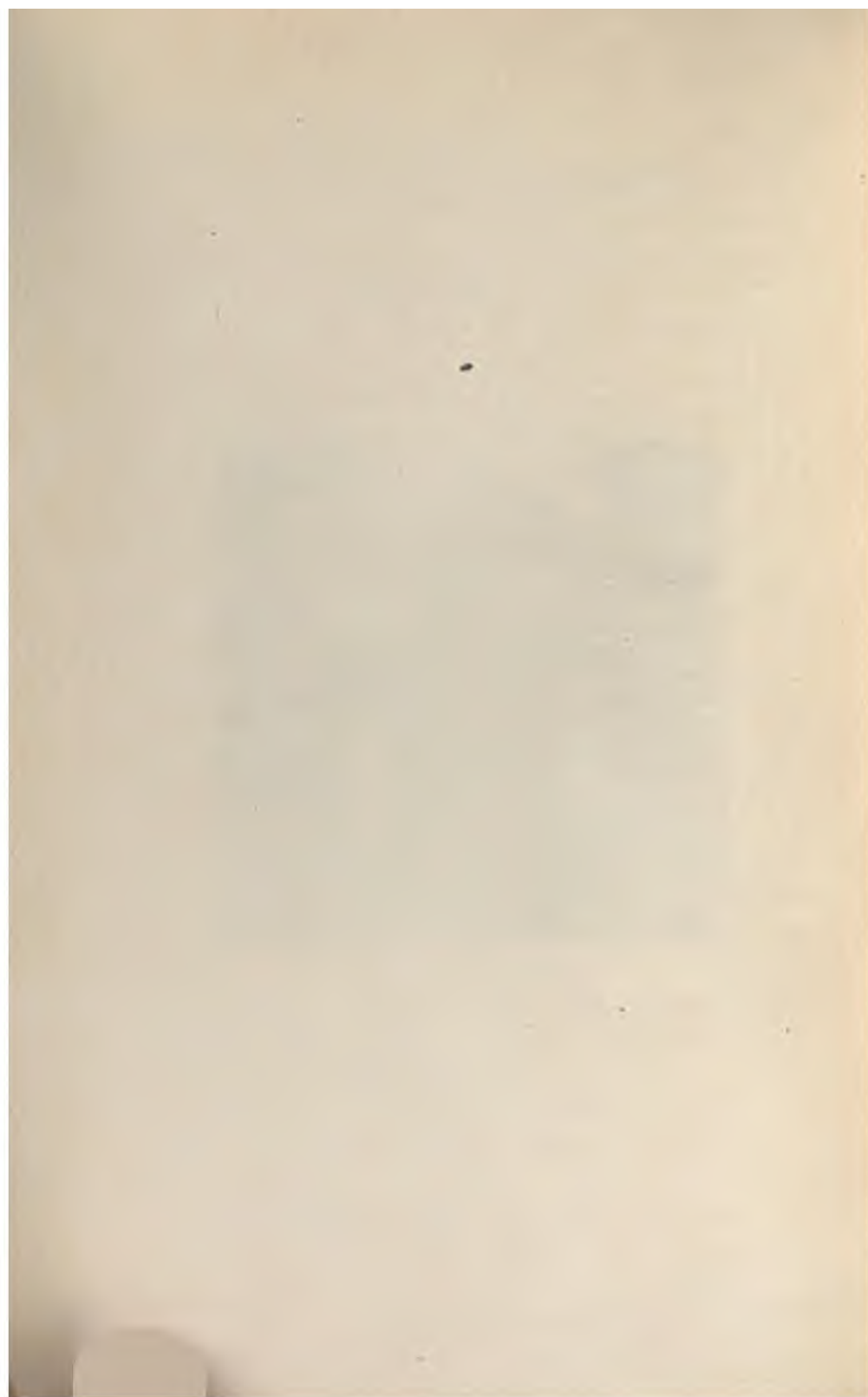
Telemaque, published in Philadelphia, 1700.

Antiquities of Greece, published in London, 1751.

Geography, published in London, 1768.



ANDREW JACKSON'S TABLE.



Miracles of Christ, published in London, 1768 (John Cameron).
 American Geography, published in Boston, 1812.
 Natural Philosophy, published in London, 1787.
 General History, published in Salem, 1796.
 Universal Gazette of Known Worth, published in London, 1771.
 Annual Register, published in London, 1771.
 Gospel Sonnets, published in Glasgow, 1792.
 Schoolmaster's Assistant in Arithmetic, published in New York.
 Latin Grammar, published in Edinburgh, 1786.
 Tom Jones, published in Edinburgh, 1780.
 Works of Edward Young, published in London, 1765.
 Knox's Essays, Moral and Literary, published in New York, 1793.
 The French Master, published in Edinburgh, 1787.
 Chrysal, or Adventures of a Guinea, published in London, 1767.
 Meditations, published in Belfast, 1757.
 The Seasons, published in London, 1767.
 The World, published in London, 1767.
 Sermons, published in London, 1767.
 Perigrine Pickles, published in London, 1769.
 Holy War, published in London, 1791.
 Puffendorf II. De Jure Naturæ, published in London, 1665.

FURNITURE.

Colonial chair, belonged to Colonel Edward Buncombe, of "Buncombe Hall," Washington County, N. C. This chair came from the home of Colonel Buncombe, Fifth Regiment, North Carolina Troops, Continental Army, wounded and taken prisoner at battle of Germantown, and was recognized and cared for by a British officer, an old college mate in England. Colonel Buncombe died of his wounds in Philadelphia, while on parole, 1777. He was one of the most valued officers in Washington's army; born at St. Kitt's, West Indies. Loaned by St. Anne's Church, Edenton, N. C.

Chair, 1799, brought from Mount Vernon, owned by General Washington, afterwards property of George Staples Hough, Alexandria, Va., whose ancestor, Hough, built the first brick house in Loudoun County, Virginia, bringing the brick from England. Willed to present owner by George S. Hough, her maternal grandfather. Loaned by M. D. S. Staples, Greensboro, N. C.

President Andrew Jackson's card table (mahogany) in his law office at Salisbury, N. C. Loaned by Miss Rebecca Schenck, Greensboro, N. C.

Chair, brought from Pennsylvania to North Carolina by Simon Dixon in 1751. Occupied by Lord Cornwallis, March, 1781, on his retreat from battle of Guilford Courthouse. Owned by T. C. Dixon, 1871.

Candlestand, handed down in the Valentine family and used at Edenton Tea Party. In the painting of that event one like this is visible. Loaned by Miss Eliza Harwood Drane, Edenton, N. C.

Chair, once in the parlor at "Sweet Hall," seat of the Ruffins in Virginia; came into the Cameron family by inheritance. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron.

Chair that belonged to Richard Bennehan, of "Stagville." Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Piece of moulding from "The Grove," the home of Willie Jones, Halifax, North Carolina, from whom John Paul Jones took his name. Loaned by Miss Adelaide E. Smith, Scotland Neck, N. C.

Walnut writing desk of Dolly Payne Madison, wife of President James Madison. Bequeathed to Anna (Payne) Causten, niece and adopted daughter of Dolly Madison. Inherited by Mrs. Mary C. Kunkle, daughter of Mrs. Causten, and sold for want of heirs at her death. Loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Raleigh, N. C.

Lock of Andrew Jackson's hair, clipped from President Jackson's head and presented to Colonel W. J. Green by a friend. Loaned by Colonel W. J. Green, Fayetteville, N. C.

Mariner's compass, owned by Commodore James Chaytor, of Baltimore, Md.; made in 1600; used by him in the War of 1812. Loaned by Capt. Edmund C. Chaytor, Elizabeth City, N. C.

Snuffbox of Governor Gabriel Johnston, 1734. Loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, Edenton, N. C.

Physician's scales, used during the Revolutionary War. Owned by Dr. William Murchison.

Bellows, belonged to Mrs. Mary Gee, 1775. These bellows were the property of that brave woman who so courageously saved two Whigs from the British. Loaned by Mrs. S. G. Ayr, Fayetteville, N. C.

Spectacles, over one hundred years old. Loaned by Mrs. Cox, Mount Olive, N. C.

Box made of piece of Charter Oak, owned by the late Mr. P. C. Cameron. Loaned by Mrs. G. P. Collins, Hillsboro, N. C.

Spoon moulds, handed down through several generations of the Creswell family. Loaned by Mrs. Sue Creswell McNeely, Mooresville, N. C.

Knitting needle, made from a ramrod General Washington gave Mr. Martin Roberts at the close of the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. J. M. Roberts, Patterson Springs, N. C.

Medicine case of Dr. Richard Donaldson Cooke, Granville County, North Carolina; carried by him through the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. George Wainwright, Wilson, N. C.

Spectacles, owned by Andrew Lawrence, Rowan County, North Carolina, 1800; have been in constant use from the past to the present date. Loaned by Mr. S. A. Lawrence, Mooresville, N. C.

Spindle of Michael Schenck, Lincolnton, N. C., 1813. The first factory built south of the Potomac was built by him. This is a spindle from that factory. Loaned by Miss Rebecca Schenck, Greensboro, N. C.

Brick from the Bath Church, Beaufort County, North Carolina, 1734. These bricks were brought from England.

Candle moulds, 1804, belonged to Mrs. Mary Sheffield Dunn, wife of Isaac Dunn, of Anson County, North Carolina, now owned by Mrs. Ruth Bennett Baker, Waynesville, N. C.

Royal seal, used in the Province of North Carolina. Loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, "Hayes," Edenton, N. C.

Brass candlestick, 1786, used in LaFayette's bedroom when on his visit to Fayetteville, N. C., 1825. Loaned by Mrs. S. G. Ayr, Fayetteville, N. C.

Model of Edenton Tea Party House, the home of Mrs. Elizabeth King, Edenton, N. C. The Edenton Tea Party was held in this house on October 25, 1774. This was presented by Dr. Richard Dillard, "Beverly Hall," Edenton, N. C.

Window roller from Pirate Teach's (Blackbeard's) home on the Pasquotank River, North Carolina. Loaned by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Raleigh, N. C.

Knee buckles, set with brilliants, owned by Governor Gabriel Johnston, 1734. Loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, Edenton, N. C.

Key of old Eagle Hotel at Halifax, N. C., in which the Provincial Congress was held April 4, 1776. Loaned by Mrs. P. E. Smith, Scotland Neck, N. C.

Embroidered tapestry, owned by Mary Baldwin Robinson, 1795. Loaned by her great-granddaughter, Miss Julia Stirewalt, Mooresville, N. C.

Knee buckles (brilliants), worn by Judge Iredell at the first reception given by General and Mrs. Washington. Loaned by Mr. Cadwalader Iredell, Norfolk, Va.

Counterpane, woven, spun and embroidered by hand by the great-aunt of the present owner, 1807. Loaned by Mrs. T. W. Smith, Burlington, N. C.

Woolen coverlet, belonged to Job Allen, Randolph County, North Carolina, 1790-1800; a family heirloom, sold at public sale by administrator and bought by present owner. Loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Raleigh, N. C.

Ring, owned by William Russell, 1776, and worn on his left hand all through the Revolution. Loaned by Mr. Robert Carver, Fayetteville, N. C.

Bed valance of antique embroidery, belonging to the Alston family of North Carolina, 1795. Loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Raleigh, N. C. (The valance was used on high bedsteads and was held together by cords. The valances were used to conceal the trundle bed).

Bell (1770) which was on the old Quaker meetinghouse. The house was used as a hospital after the battle of Guilford Court House. Loaned by Miss Lake McNairy, Guilford County, North Carolina.

Copper lamp, 1787. Loaned by Mrs. F. E. Sellars, Burlington, N. C.

Old Liberty bell, rung at battle of Alamance in lieu of a drum. Loaned by Rev. D. A. Long, D. D., Graham, N. C.

Watch, carried by Dr. Hall during the Revolution, in which he was a captain. Loaned by Mrs. W. N. Hall, Iredell County, N. C.

Sun dial, owned by Robert Ramsay, Rowan County, N. C., 1773. Brought to North Carolina from Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution. Loaned by Mr. David Gray, Mooresville, N. C.

North Carolina seal. Loaned by Mr. J. C. Neil, Mooresville, N. C.

Deck of cards, brought to Edenton before the Revolution. The wrapper remained unbroken till a few weeks before being framed to exhibit at Jamestown. Loaned by Mrs. C. A. Stevens, New Bern, N. C.

Counterpane, about one hundred years old, owned by the Bradshaws. Loaned by Mrs. S. A. Lawrence, Mooresville, N. C.

Counterpane of Peggie McKnight Jameson, Rowan County, North Carolina, 1800. The cotton was picked from the seed, carded, spun and woven, all by hand. Loaned by Mrs. J. C. Neil.

Continental money. Loaned by Miss Susan Lattimore, Cleveland County, N. C.

Continental money, owned by Henry Hampton, Hamptonville, Surry County, N. C. Loaned by Mrs. V. Stirewalt, Davidson, N. C.

Money paid James Wilson for service as Colonel in the Revolution. Loaned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Richards, Cleveland County, N. C.

Cape Fear Mercury (framed), containing Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Loaned by Miss Schenck, Greensboro, N. C.

Lard lamp, with handsome cut-glass globe, owned by Thomas Amis, Halifax, N. C. Loaned by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, Stagville, N. C.

"Pap spoon," of tortoise, owned by John Harvey, President of the Council. Loaned by his descendants, the Misses Harvey, of Hertford, N. C.

Old map of New Bern. Loaned through Mrs. T. M. Washington, Wilson, N. C.

One old tablecloth. Loaned by Mrs. George Green, New Bern, N. C.

Very handsome old fan, of pearl and gold.

Old pearl and gold fan. Loaned by Miss M. F. Skinner, Edenton, N. C.

Table cover. Loaned by Mrs. William Turner, Statesville, N. C.

Walking cane, made from the wood of the ship *Constitution*, when it was repaired. Loaned by Captain W. H. Turrentine, Burlington, N. C.

North Carolina seal, 1776. Loaned by Mr. Robert A. Ramsay, Mooresville, N. C.

Cotton gin, belonged to the Carrigan family, Cabarrus County, N. C. Used to gin cotton before the Revolution. Loaned by Miss Catherine Carrigan, Cabarrus County, N. C.

Gavel, made of oak from the Betsy Dowdy farm. Loaned by Mrs. Patrick Matthews, Edenton, N. C.

Antique brass warming pan, owned in 1754 by Colonel Joshua Fry. Loaned by Mrs. Fry, Greensboro, N. C.

Dumbbell, owned by Patrick Ferguson.

One pitchfork.

A cavalryman's saddle trunk, captured from the British at battle of New Orleans. Loaned through Mrs. Josephine Branner, Waynesville, N. C.

Waffle iron, brought to America by William Ward, a friend of Lord Baltimore.

A brick from the original Guilford Court House.

Tablecloth used with communion set, made by hand from stalk up.

Antique cologne bottle. Loaned by Miss Eliza Harwood Drane, Edenton, N. C.

Samovar, one hundred and twenty-two years old. Loaned by Mrs. William Hart, Tarboro, N. C.

Iron pot, used in Fort Dobbs, near what is now Statesville, N. C. The fort was built as a protection against the Indians and was used till after the Revolution. Loaned by Mrs. Margaret Watts, Iredell County, N. C.

Sickle, owned by Thomas Cowan, Rowan County, N. C., 1776. Used to harvest wheat. Loaned by Mrs. M. C. Krider, Barber, Rowan County, N. C.

One cannon ball. Loaned through Mrs. George C. Goodman, Mooresville, N. C.

MISS LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN'S COLLECTION OF RELICS.

1. Brass candlestick used by Major Reading Blount during the Revolution.

2. Silk sewing case, brought from Scotland. Used by Barbara Gray, who was born in North Carolina in 1726.

3. Spur worn by Major Reading Blount during his service in the Revolution.

4. Infant's dress and cap, made by Mary Harvey, of "Harvey Hall," 1778.

5. Blue perfumery bottle, bought from apothecary shop about 1778.

6. Sash and fan owned by Mary Harvey Blount in 1776.

7. Cup and saucer of set belonging to Major Reading Blount, 1776.

8. Embroidered bureau cover used by Mary Harvey Blount, 1778.

9 and 10. Silver snuffbox and knee buckles used by John Gray Blount, 1775.

11. Fan owned by Martha (or Patsy) Baker, of South Quay, Virginia, 1781.

12. Pair of earrings brought from England by the ancestors of Mary Harvey Blount, 1697.

13. Brass candlestick from Bath, North Carolina.

14. Pane of glass (square) taken from window in the home of John Gray Blount, 1778.

15. Section of the Atlantic cable, 1858.

16. Blue indigo quilt, belonged to the Marlon family previous to 1778.
17. Candlestick used at the old Grist place, near Washington, N. C., during Revolutionary days.
18. Silver candlestick and snuffers owned by John Gray Blount, 1778.
19. Pocket case used by Mary Harvey Blount, 1782.
20. Sampler worked by ancestress of Miss M. M. B. Rodman, 1791.
21. Prayer Book used by Martha Baker, 1770.
22. Pictures of five sons of Jacob Blount, of "Blount Hall," North Carolina.
23. Obituary of Jacob Blount, Paymaster of North Carolina Troops during the Revolutionary War.
24. Map of town of Washington, Beaufort County, N. C., drawn for John Gray Blount, 1778.
25. Plan of Bath, the first town in North Carolina, 1705.
26. Grant of land to Christopher Gale, 1706.
27. Silver luster pitcher, 1778.
28. Collection of pearls taken from oysters in Pamlico Sound, North Carolina, since 1800.
29. Family Bible belonging to James Bonner's family.
30. Land grant by Governor Charles Eden, 1714.
31. Document bearing the signature of Governor Arthur Dobbs, 1755.
32. Map of Old Brunswick Road, 1735.
33. Gun brought from England by John Ross.
34. Gun used in War of 1812.
35. Mahogany spoon case used by Dr. Simmons Baker, 1775.
36. Silk quilt made by Polly Smith, 1800.
37. Pewter teapot, War of 1812.
38. Silhouette and letter of War of 1812.
39. Silhouette of O'Kelly Williams.
40. Picture of Dr. Simmons Baker, of "Palmyra."

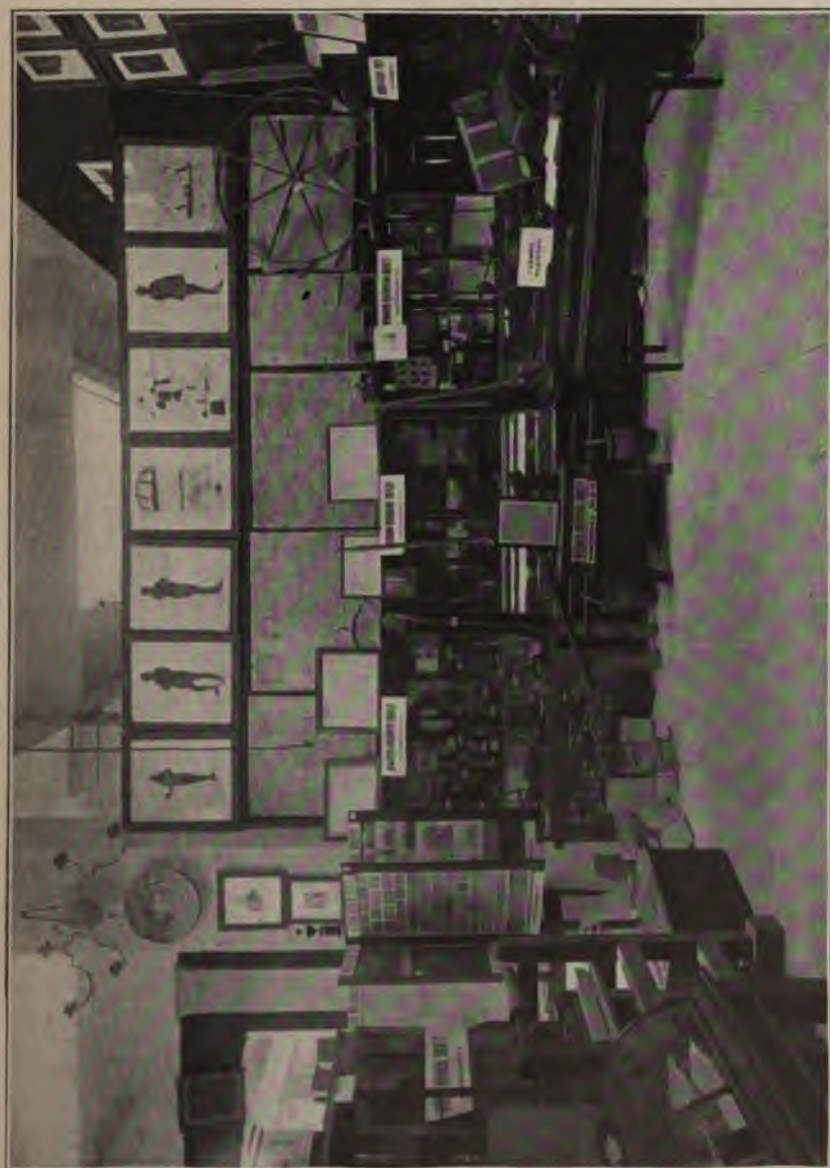


EXHIBIT OF THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY EXHIBIT.

CLASS A.—LIGHT.

- A1.—Candle wheel, with discs for making tallow-dip candles.
- A2.—Stand of molds for making molded candles.
- A3.—Iron candlestick.
- A4.—Tin candlestick.
- A5.—Brass candlestick.
- A6.—Brass candlestick, with drip cup.
- A7.—Brass candlestick, tall.
- A8.—Candle chandelier, used in Salem Moravian Church, 1800.
- A9.—Tin candle brackets, used in old Moravian churches.
- A10.—Wood candle brackets, used in old Moravian churches.
- A11.—Wood extension candle bracket, used in carpenter shop.
- A12.—Large iron snuffers, used in Salem Moravian Church.
- A13.—Iron candle snuffers.
- A14.—Brass candle snuffers.
- A15.—Snuffer tray.
- A16.—Brass candle extinguisher.
- A17.—Earliest street lamp, Salem (grease).
- A18.—Grease hall lamps.
- A19.—Tin lamp (grease).
- A20.—Tin lamp, with tinder box.
- A21.—Tin lantern, perforated.
- A22.—Tin lantern, perforated.
- A23.—Tin night lamp (grease).
- A24.—Box wax night tapers.
- A25.—Paper and cotton night tapers.
- A26.—Earliest electric light globe.

CLASS B.—HEAT.

- B1.—Pantiles used for making "tile stoves" in early years.
- B2.—Molds for making pantiles.
- B3.—Photograph of tile stove in use in rooms of the Society.
- B4.—Iron frame and gates for tile stove.
- B5.—Wood foot stove, or warmer.
- B6.—Hand bellows.
- B7.—Pocket steel, for striking fire.

CLASS C.—WATER.

- C1.—Section of water-pipe log, part of a system for conveying water from springs to cisterns located in various parts of Salem, 1778.
- C2.—Small auger for first boring of water-pipe log.
- C3.—Larger auger for boring log.
- C4.—Two earthen pipes, used later for conveying water (hand-made). 1828.

C5.—Small fire engine for "inside" work; one of two imported in 1785 from Germany.

C6.—Two leather fire buckets. In early years every householder was required to keep several of these buckets ready for use.

CLASS D.—HOUSEHOLD.

D1.—Straw bread basket.

D2.—Two pewter platters, brought by the first Moravian settlers in North Carolina, 1753.

D3.—Pewter cream pitcher, with lids, brought by the first Moravian settlers, 1753.

D4.—Pewter molasses pitcher, with lid, brought by the first Moravian settlers, 1753.

D5.—Tinned iron teapot, brought by the first Moravian settlers, 1753.

D6.—Two pewter plates, made in Salem.

D7.—Two pewter drinking cups.

D8.—Coffee mill, Salem-made.

D9.—Coffee mill.

D10.—Brass spice mill.

D11.—Spice mill.

D12.—Two wood cake prints.

D13.—Two wood egg beaters.

D14.—Sadirons, with case.

D15.—Cork-encased bottle.

D16.—Meat chopper.

D17.—Brass mortar and pestle.

D18.—Brass drinking cup, in case.

D19.—Two wood needle cases.

D20.—Pasteboard cigar case.

CLASS E.—TOOLS AND MANUFACTURES.

E1.—Handmade nails, from first house built in Salem, N. C., 1766.

E2.—Lock and key, first meetinghouse in Salem, 1767.

E3.—Section of floor board, with holes for wooden pins; old Moravian church, 1780.

E4.—Wooden lock and key; old church, 1775.

E5.—Large padlock; Salem tavern, 1771.

E6.—Small brass padlocks.

E7.—Iron handcuffs and key.

E8.—Wood brace and bit.

E9.—Iron brace and bit.

E10.—Wood double-hand brace.

E11.—Handmade screw eye.

E12.—Handmade twisted spike.

E13.—Three tools used in making leather gloves.

E14.—Handmade gear-cutting machine, adjustable for cutting clock wheels of any size or number of cogs; 1820.

- E15.—Two silversmith's crucibles, 1825.
- E16.—Steel die for stamping out solid silver tablespoons, 1825.
- E17.—Steel die for stamping out solid teaspoons, 1825.
- E18.—Steel die for stamping out solid gravy ladle, 1825.
- E19.—Mold for pressing out patty pans.
- E20.—Two pairs lead molds for candy toys.
- E21.—Two hand printing blocks.
- E22.—Reaping hook.
- E23.—Wooden flail.
- E24.—Flax hackle and flax.

CLASS F.—EARTHENWARE.

- F1.—Building brick, used in earliest years in Salem, N. C., 12x5x3; 1785.
- F2.—Square paving brick, used for laying basement floors, 8x8x2; 1791.
- F3.—Roofing tile, or "clay shingle," 1780.
- F4.—Roofing tile, half-round, for comb of roof; 1780.
- F5.—Clay molds for making earthen plates and dishes, 1781.
- F6.—Plaster molds for making sundry articles, useful, ornamental and toy.
- F7.—Earthen bottle, owl.
- F8.—Collection of clay pipes, mounted on board, showing varieties made in Salem, N. C., from earliest times.
- F9.—Pair of molds for making pipes.
- F10.—Large earthen plaque or dish, ornamented in colored glazing, with name of maker and date, 1771, formerly used as a potter's sign.

CLASS H.—FIREARMS.

- H1.—Heavy flintlock rifle, made near Salem, N. C., with buckhorn charger.
- H2.—Flintlock pistol.
- H3.—Flintlock pistol, brass mounted.
- H4.—Under-hammer percussion pistols, made in Salem.
- H5.—Pepper-box revolving pistol, six-barrel.
- H6.—Four-barrel pistol.
- H7.—Five-barrel pistol.
- H8.—Vest-pocket pistol.
- H9.—Militia corporal's staff-head.
- H10.—Militia corporal's staff-head.

CLASS J.—LITERATURE, MAPS, ETC.

- J1.—Stand of swinging frames, giving (A) chapters from The History of Wachovia, as follows:
 - Side I. First settlement of Wachovia, 1753.
 - Side II. Indian troubles and French and Indian War, 1756-'59.
 - Side III. Founding of Salem, 1766, and Salem during the Revolutionary War.

Side IV. Governor Tryon's two visits to Salem, 1767 and 1771.

Side V. Close of century, Founding of Winston, 1848.

B—Side VI. The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, as mentioned in the records of Wachovia, with *facsimile* of said record and translation of same.

C—Side VII. Collection of Provincial money, 1748-1802.

D—Side VIII. Collection of letter backs, showing some high rates of postage, 1792-1875.

E—Sides IX, X. Correspondence relating to claims of citizens of Wachovia against the British Government for supplies furnished General Cornwallis' army, 1790-1805.

F—Side XI. Original and typewritten copies of receipts for supplies furnished General Greene's army, 1781.

G—Side XII. Views of Salem, N. C., and some of its oldest buildings.

H—Sides XIII, XIV. Sundry old agreements, contracts, indentures, etc., "way bill" from Salem, N. C., to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Side XV. Old and prominent buildings of Salem, N. C.

Side XVI. Funeral chorals of the Moravian Church, or *Unitas Fratrum*, as played by trombone band; views of the Moravian Church, Cedar Avenue and graveyard.

J2.—Early fire regulations and organization of fire company, 1785.

J3.—Amnesty Proclamation of Governor Tryon, with Great Seal of the State (battle of Alamance), 1771; medals struck to commemorate the settling of Wachovia, 1753-1903; leather-bound Almanac; illustrated book of nursery rhymes.

J4.—Plan of battle of Charlestown (Bunker Hill).

J5.—Plan of battle of Saratoga.

J6.—First printing press brought to Salem, N. C., used by Cornwallis.

J7.—Wooden inkstand and quill pens.

J8.—Sand box, with sands, formerly used to dry writing.

J9.—Old map of Wachovia, Tract 1, 1758.

J10.—Old map of Wachovia, Tract 11, 1759.

J11.—Old map of Wachovia, small, 1758.*

J12.—Map of eastern part of Surry County, 1771.

J13.—Plat of Salem tract and town, 1768.

J14.—Plat of Salem territory.

J15.—Map of North Carolina, twenty-six towns, 1770.

CLASS K.—MUSIC.

K1.—Harpsichord (direct action), with drawers, natural keys black.

K2.—French horn, no valves, used in serenading President Washington, 1791.

K3.—Part of slide trombone used with above.

*These maps were carefully drawn by a competent surveyor, and show by signs, besides the streams, the character of the soil and growth of timber.

- K4.—Old French horn, no valves.
- K5.—Old French horn, with valves.
- K6.—Old leading trombone, 1803.
- K7.—Two old flutes.
- K8.—Clarinet.
- K9.—Bassoon.
- K10.—Zinke (straight).
- K11.—Zinke (curved), leather-covered.
- K12.—Choral book, used in serenading President Washington—"God Save Great Washington," 1791.
- K13.—Set of choral music books, 1780.
- K14.—Manuscript music, full chorus and orchestral parts, performed in Salem, N. C., in the early 1800's: The Messiah (Handel), The Creation (Haydn), Stabat Mater (Pergolese-Hiller).

CLASS L.—SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL.

- L1.—Cyclometer, to attach to vehicle for measuring distance, 1785.
- L2.—Surveyor's compass.
- L3.—Surveyor's compass, with wooden case.
- L4.—Surveyor's compass, plane table.
- L5.—Sextant.
- L6.—Wooden triangle.
- L7.—Wooden triangle.
- L8.—Large wooden protractor.
- L9.—Brass parallel ruler.
- L10.—Set tooth extractors, "turnkey," 1818.
- L11.—Instrument for making silhouettes, 1828.
- L12.—Frame of silhouettes under glass.
- L13.—Alchometer.

CLASS M.—FANCY AND ARTISTIC WORK.

- M1.—Three bead-embroidered bags.
- M2.—Silk-embroidered presentation piece, made and presented by the first nine pupils of Salem Female Academy to their first principal, 1805. Owned and loaned by his granddaughter, Miss A. A. Van Vleck.
- M3.—Silk-embroidered needle book.
- M4.—Folding paper souvenir album of texts.
- M5.—Jubilee souvenir card. Several stanzas of good wishes, surrounded by a wreath of fifty roses, painted on paper and delicately cut out and placed on a foundation of illusion. Presented to a Moravian pastor's wife, 1818.
- M6.—Liberty cup. A cup of white opaque glass, ornamented with a spread eagle, with the word "Liberty" in gold overhead, and surrounded by fifteen gold stars; the whole encircled by two cherry twigs, each twig bearing fifteen leaves and fifteen cherries, evidently symbolic of fifteen States.

CLASS N.—HISTORIC RELICS.

- N1.—Photograph of first house built in Salem, N. C., 1766. British army encamped near this house, 1781.
- N2.—Handmade nails from first house, 1766.
- N3.—Photograph of loopholed house, 1780.
- N4.—Section of loopholed log from same.
- N5.—Gun barrel and ramrod, Guilford Battle Ground, 1781.
- N6.—Flint gun lock from Guilford Battle Ground, 1781.
- N7.—Bayonet from Guilford Battle Ground, 1781.
- N8.—Cannon balls from Guilford Battle Ground, 1781.
- N9.—Human bones from Guilford Battle Ground, 1781.
- N10.—Iron plate, found at Cornwallis' camp, 1782.
- N11.—First bell hung on a church near Bethania, North Carolina.

CLASS O.—SUNDRIES.

- O1.—Leather portfolio, sewed with parchment.
- O2.—Two leather pocketbooks, sewed with parchment.
- O3.—Small tin collection box.
- O4.—Wooden box, ornamented with colored straw, representing castle, flowers, etc.
- O5.—Small pasteboard box, straw-covered.
- O6.—Iron strong box, with a false and concealed keyhole. Very similar to "Washington's Treasure Chest," but somewhat larger.
- O7.—Scales and weights, similar to old apothecary's scales, but these were used to weigh gold and silver foreign coins.
- O8.—Collection of old spectacles.
- O9.—Small piece of a child's scalp, found in a hole bored in a poplar tree; hole plugged up and grown over with wood and bark; supposed to have been put there by Indians during French and Indian War.
- O10.—Pair silver knee buckles.
- O11.—Pair silver shoe buckles.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

RECEIPTS.

Appropriation from the Jamestown Commission.....\$2,000.00

DISBURSEMENTS.

Typewriter	\$ 27.92
Electricity	28.00
Installation of exhibit.....	154.74
Railroad expenses	70.00
Miscellaneous expenses	66.26
Custodians' salaries	389.50
Postage	18.00
Janitor's service	7.50
Hotel expenses	36.50
Telegrams	1.00
Printing	5.60
Express and freight on exhibits.....	73.79
Photographs	9.17
Exhibit space	58.73
Repairs on broken relics.....	22.00
Exhibit cases	599.40
North Carolina sign.....	8.50
Packing and shipping.....	391.00
Decorations	26.00

Total\$1,993.61

Total receipts\$2,000.00

Total disbursements 1,993.61

Balance refunded\$ 6.39





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UNIV. OF ALABAMA
JUN 27 1960

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 3

THE

SECOND BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

1906-1908

A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT THE PRIDE TO RECORD THEIR
HISTORY WILL NOT LONG HAVE THE VIRTUE TO MAKE HIS-
TORY WORTH RECORDING.

THE
SECOND BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
1906-1908

RALEIGH
E. M. UZZELL & CO., STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS
1909

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN.

W. J. PEELE,

D. H. HILL,

THOMAS W. BLOUNT,

M. C. S. NOBLE.

R. D. W. CONNOR, SECRETARY.

RALEIGH.

REPORT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

To His Excellency, GOVERNOR ROBERT B. GLENN :

For the information of your Excellency and of the General Assembly, we beg to submit a brief report of the creation, organization and work of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the past two years.

CREATION AND ORGANIZATION.

The North Carolina Historical Commission was created by act of the General Assembly of 1903 (chapter 767 of the Public Laws of 1903). Under the provisions of this act the Governor was to appoint a commission of five, who were to serve for a term of two years, without salary, per diem or mileage. The act declared it to be their duty "to have collected from the files of old newspapers, from court records, church records and elsewhere" valuable documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina, "to have such documents edited and published by the State Printer as other public printing, and distributed by the State Librarian under the direction of the commission." The commission was authorized "to expend a sum not exceeding \$500 annually in the collection and transcription of documents." Under this act Governor Aycock appointed W. J. Peele, of Raleigh; J. D. Hufham, of Henderson; F. A. Sondley, of Asheville; Richard Dillard, of Edenton, and R. D. W. Connor, of Wilmington. The fact that the members of the commission lived in widely separated parts of the State, and the fact that the law expressly forbade the payment of their expenses, made it difficult for them to attend properly to their duties. Efficient work was, accordingly, impossible, and your Excellency, realizing this fact, thought it wise, in 1905, to appoint on the commission persons residing nearer to each other. Accordingly, the following were appointed: W. J. Peele, of Raleigh; J. Bryan Grimes, of Raleigh; Thomas W. Blount, of Roper; Charles L. Raper, of Chapel Hill, and R. D. W. Connor, of Raleigh. More and better work was accomplished than before. It soon became evident, however, that if the commission was to do the work expected of it, a different and more effective organization was necessary. In 1907, therefore, the General Assembly amended the act of 1903, enlarged the powers and increased the duties of the commission. (Chapter 714 of the Public Laws of 1907.) By the provisions of this act the members of the commission are appointed for terms of two, four and six years, their successors to serve for six years. They receive no salary or per diem, but are "allowed their actual expenses when attending to their official duties." The appropriation was increased to \$5,000 annually, and the commission was authorized to employ a

secretary and to equip offices for the filing and preservation of historical documents. Under the provisions of this act your Excellency appointed the following persons, who compose the commission as now constituted: J. Bryan Grimes, of Raleigh; W. J. Peele, of Raleigh; Thomas W. Blount, of Roper; M. C. S. Noble, of Chapel Hill, and D. H. Hill, of Raleigh. The commission, thus constituted, met in the office of the Secretary of State, at Raleigh, May 20, 1907, and organized by the election of J. Bryan Grimes, chairman, and R. D. W. Connor, secretary. Offices in the State Capitol were assigned to the commission, and the secretary was instructed to secure the necessary equipment. The commission, thus constituted and thus equipped, has been at work but little more than one year, but we believe that the following report will justify the creation of this agency for the preservation of the history of our State.

POWERS AND DUTIES.

The duties of the commission are as follows:

- (1) To have collected from the files of old newspapers, court records, church records, private collections and elsewhere, historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the earliest times.
- (2) To have such material properly edited, published by the State Printer as other State printing, and distributed under the direction of the commission.
- (3) To care for the proper marking and preservation of battlefields, houses and other places celebrated in the history of the State.
- (4) To diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina.
- (5) To encourage the study of the history of North Carolina in the schools of the State, and to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State.
- (6) To make a biennial report of its receipts and disbursements, its work and needs to the Governor, to be by him transmitted to the General Assembly.

The powers of the commission are as follows:

- (1) To adopt a seal for use in official business.
- (2) To adopt rules for its own government not inconsistent with the provisions of the law.
- (3) To fix a reasonable price for its publications and to devote the revenue arising from such sales to extending the work of the commission.
- (4) To employ a secretary.
- (5) To control the expenditure of such funds as may be appropriated for its maintenance.

How these duties have been executed and these powers used it is the purpose of this report to show.





PRESENT CONDITION OF EXECUTIVE FILES.

COLLECTION AND PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL SOURCES.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES.

The first and most important duty imposed on the commission is "to have collected from the files of old newspapers, court records, church records, private collections and elsewhere, historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the earliest times."

The most important, as it is the largest, collection of such documents in existence is to be found in the public archives of the State, in the Capitol and elsewhere in Raleigh. Few people realize the richness of these archives in historical material. This material dates from the close of the seventeenth century to the present day, covers more than two hundred years of our history and includes an immense collection of documents and manuscripts absolutely essential to the elucidation of the history of the State and of great importance in the elucidation of the history of the nation. The manner, however, in which they have been kept is anything but creditable to our intelligence and patriotism. Thousands of manuscripts, records and other documents are stuffed away in dark pigeonholes, in boxes and corners, without order or system, are tossed about from place to place with an utter indifference to their value, or are thrown helter-skelter here and there, in leaky attics in various parts of the city.

The creation of the North Carolina Historical Commission will put an end, partially, to this condition. The first care of the commission has been to collect these records and documents, to file them systematically and to preserve them from destruction. Much time has been devoted to this work during the past year, and, though it does not show for much in a report, it has required no little attention, labor and thought, and is by far the most important work yet done by the commission. We cannot say that we have made more than a beginning, for the task is large; it requires time and patience, and even years must elapse before it is completed. We say that the creation of the commission will put an end, *partially*, to the condition above described. The room at the disposal of the commission is much too small for the work to be done. Like all the other departments of the State Government, the commission needs room for its expanding activities, and until this room is provided in some way the work of the commission will be much too restricted for the field to be covered.

For the present the commission has equipped a room on the third floor of the east wing of the Capitol. Steel roller shelves for large bound volumes and steel filing cases for loose manuscripts have been placed there. The bound volumes fill 669 roller shelves, and there are many others for which there is no room. They include all jour-

nals of both houses of the General Assembly since 1777 and some prior to that date, the journals of conventions, the journals of the Board of Internal Improvements, the journals of the Council of State, the letter books of the Governors, the records of our troops in the War Between the States, the reports of the Land Frauds Commission, numerous volumes of wills and numerous volumes of miscellaneous documents. The loose manuscripts include the correspondence of the Executive Department from the administration of Governor Caswell, in 1777, and numerous files of miscellaneous manuscripts which it would be too tedious to enumerate here.

NEWSPAPER FILES.

The commission has also made some valuable collections from other sources than the public archives. Newspaper files of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods in libraries in Charleston (S. C.), Wilmington, Richmond and Boston have been searched for North Carolina data. These files include *The Boston Evening Post*, 1769-1770; *The Virginia Gazette*, 1776; *The South Carolina Gazette*, 1732-1775; *The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 1765-1775, and *The South Carolina and American General Gazette*, 1766-1775. In the absence of North Carolina newspapers of the Colonial period, these papers throw interesting light on our history.

THE "HAYES" COLLECTION.

At Edenton, through the courtesy of Mr. John G. Wood, the commission has been permitted to have copied valuable letters and documents in the Samuel Johnston collection in the library at "Hayes," formerly the residence of Governor Samuel Johnston, now owned by Mr. Wood. This collection includes letters of Hooper, Hewes, Johnston, Iredell and other leaders of the Revolution in North Carolina, which have never been published.

THE DARTMOUTH COLLECTION.

Through the agency of the well-known firm of B. F. Stevens and Brown, of London, the commission has secured permission from the present Lord Dartmouth to have copied such of the private papers of Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1772, as relate to North Carolina. Through this means a few interesting documents throwing light on our Colonial history have been secured.

THE SWAIN COLLECTION.

The North Carolina Historical Society at the University of North Carolina has placed at the disposal of the commission, for copying, the large and valuable collection made by Governor David L. Swain and preserved in the archives of the society.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

Three private collections of no little interest and value have been secured and placed among the collections of the commission. These are the letters and papers of John H. Bryan, member of Congress from North Carolina, 1825 to 1829; the letters and papers of Calvin H. Wiley, first superintendent of common schools in North Carolina, 1852 to 1865, and the correspondence of Jonathan Worth, State Treasurer of North Carolina, 1863 to 1865, and Governor of North Carolina, 1865 to 1868.

COPIES OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

The journals of the Board of Internal Improvements and the letter books of the following governors have been copied, preparatory to publication:

Richard Dobbs Spelght.....	1792-1795
Samuel Ashe.....	1795-1798
William R. Davie.....	1798-1799
Benjamin Williams.....	1799-1802, 1807-1808
James Turner.....	1802-1805
Nathaniel Alexander.....	1805-1807
David Stone.....	1808-1810
William Hawkins.....	1811-1814
William Miller.....	1814-1817
William A. Graham.....	1845-1849

PUBLICATIONS.

The law requires the commission "to have such material properly edited, published by the State Printer as other State printing, and distributed under the direction of the commission." Before this work can be done intelligently, the work above outlined must be done. The policy of the commission, therefore, is to collect, to file and to preserve before printing. Nevertheless, some printing has been done.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH-AMERICA.

Section 2 of chapter 714 of the Public Laws of 1907 especially charges the commission "with the duty of co-operating with the commission appointed by the Governor to make an exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition in making at said exposition an historical exhibit illustrating the history of North Carolina from the earliest times." In accordance with this provision, the commission instructed the secretary to prepare a pamphlet giving an account of the first English settlements in America, at Roanoke Island, North Carolina, which should be a part of the State's exhibit. A pamphlet was accordingly prepared, entitled "The Beginnings of English-America: Sir Walter Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island, 1584-1587," 39 pages, illustrated with cuts of the DeBry engravings of John White's paintings of Indian life.

BULLETIN No. 1.

Bulletin No. 1 of the publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission is "The North Carolina Historical Commission: Creation and Organization, Duties and Powers, Plans and Purposes." It is a pamphlet of 18 pages, explanatory of the work and the plans of the commission.

BULLETIN No. 2.

Bulletin No. 2 of the publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission is "The North Carolina Historical Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition," a history and description of this exhibit, prepared by one of the custodians, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA,
1900-1905.

The publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Vol. I, is entitled "Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905." It is a volume of 623 pages, including some of the most notable addresses and papers produced in the State within the period specified, together with reviews of the literary and historical activities during that period. Of especial interest and value is the report of the committee appointed by the State Literary and Historical Association to reply to the statements of Judge George L. Christian, of Virginia, questioning the claim of North Carolina as to her record in the War Between the States. The volume was compiled and edited by W. J. Peele, assisted by E. P. Moses and Clarence H. Poe. Though issued within the past year, it was projected at the first meeting of the commission, November 20, 1903, before the reorganization under the present plan, and should have been issued three years ago. Properly, it does not form part of the work of the commission for the period covered by this report.

PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL LOCALITIES.

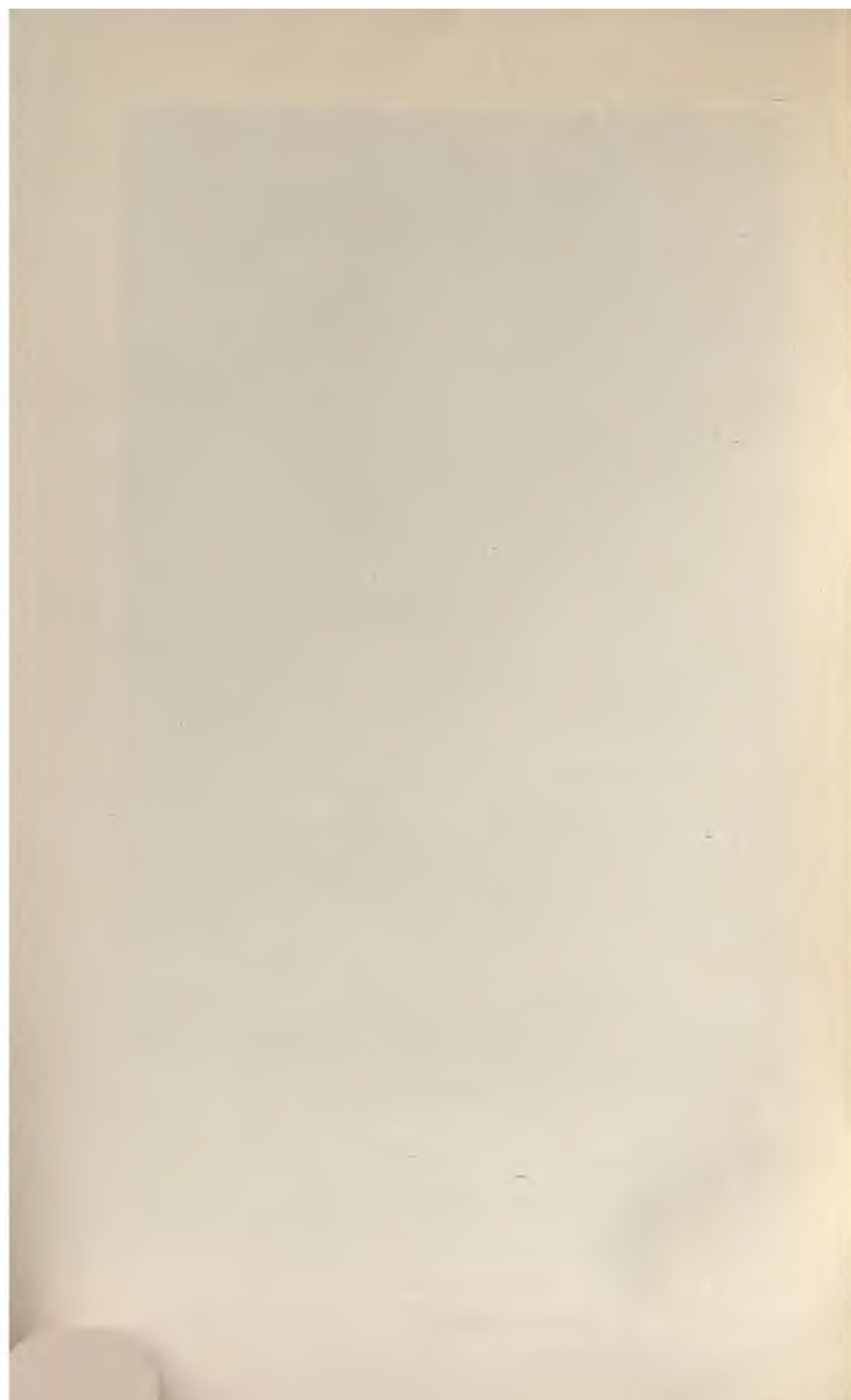
The third duty with which the commission is charged is "to care for the proper marking and preservation of battlefields, houses and other places celebrated in the history of North Carolina." The commission believes quite as much in the brush and chisel as in the pen as implements of history writing.

PAINTINGS OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

In fulfilling the duty imposed by this clause the commission has enabled Mr. Jacques Busbee, one of our native artists of well-earned reputation, to spend some months on the banks of eastern North Carolina studying the scenes of the first English Colony in America. His studies have resulted in a series of paintings showing these historic spots as they appear to-day. These paintings formed part of the North Carolina history exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition, and are now on exhibition in the Hall of History. The commission ex-



PRESENT CONDITION OF LEGISLATIVE FILES, 1777-1907.



pects that this preliminary work will result ultimately in a painting of the landing of the first English settlers in America, of the first Christian baptism by Englishmen within the present boundaries of the United States, or of some other scene connected with that important episode in American history.

BUST OF WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

In the rotunda of the State Capitol are eight niches, designed to hold the busts of eight of the eminent sons of the State whose services entitle them to such recognition. These niches were completed nearly three-quarters of a century ago, yet they are as empty to-day as they were on the day they were finished. The North Carolina Historical Commission believes that the State has produced eminent sons whose services in peace and in war entitle them to be thus honored, and the commission, therefore, will make it an especial object to fill these niches with handsome busts of distinguished North Carolinians. A contract has accordingly been placed with Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, a distinguished sculptor of New York City, for a marble bust of William A. Graham, eminent as legislator, Governor, Secretary of the Navy, Senator, statesman and patriot. The artist has completed his model and is now in Paris, where the bust is to be carved. After being exhibited in the Paris Salon in the spring of 1909, it will be delivered to the Historical Commission in October and will be set up in the State Capitol with suitable ceremonies.

TO DIFFUSE INFORMATION ABOUT NORTH CAROLINA.

It is made the duty of the commission to "diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina." It would prove too tedious to undertake to give in detail an account of how the commission has performed this duty. We beg to say only that the creation of such an agency has been welcomed throughout the United States by students of our history and resources. Many requests for such information have come from all parts of the country, which the commission has answered as fully, completely and accurately as possible. This phase of the work will, of course, grow in quantity and importance with time.

TO ENCOURAGE THE STUDY OF NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

The commission is "to encourage the study of North Carolina history in the schools of the State and to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State."

HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The school law requires that the history of North Carolina shall be taught in the public schools of the State. The recent publication and adoption of a suitable text-book makes this possible. The more advanced pupils, however, and especially those in the high schools, should be led to extend their studies beyond the covers of the text-

books. The commission expects to co-operate with the teachers of the State in this work by furnishing such material as may be necessary for it to be done intelligently. Leaflets giving contemporary accounts of great events, the reprints of important historical documents, such as may be used in the class rooms, will be issued from time to time and distributed to those teachers who apply for them.

A copy of the "Beginnings of English-America" and a copy of "The Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905," have been placed in every rural library in the State. These libraries now number about 2,000.

NORTH CAROLINA DAY.

The secretary of the commission, at the request of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, prepared the "Program of Exercises for North Carolina Day," which the schools of the State will celebrate December 18. The program is devoted to a study of the German settlements in North Carolina.

HISTORICAL AND PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

In discharging the duty imposed upon the commission to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State, the commission has endeavored to secure reports from the various historical and patriotic societies of the State of their activities during the past year. All of these societies did not respond, but many of them did, and their reports are here summarized, because they show that a fine spirit pervades our people, that they are becoming alive to their duty toward the past, and that they are really accomplishing much to preserve and popularize our history.

COLONIAL DAMES.

The North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America during the past year has made an extensive investigation to locate places of historic interest in North Carolina which are unmarked in any way, and therefore are slowly but surely passing into oblivion. The result of the society's investigation has been embodied in a report by the president to the national council of the society. Although this report is confined to the Colonial period of our history, and makes no claim to being complete, it shows that there are seventy-eight spots, famed for historic events of the Colonial period, which are not marked in any way. They are thus subdivided: nine localities famed for incidents connected with the earliest explorations and settlements in North Carolina; ten sites of Colonial forts; three Colonial battlegrounds; ten sites of Colonial schools and churches; four localities famed for incidents connected with the Regulators; twenty-five sites of famous Colonial houses, and seventeen burial places of eminent Colonial characters. The Colonial Dames call attention to these unmarked spots in order that they may be preserved from neglect and oblivion.

SONS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Sons of the Revolution have entered upon an important phase of historical activities in the collection of portraits of historic persons. Already the society has presented to the Supreme Court Library oil portraits of James Iredell and Alfred Moore, Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to the executive office a portrait of Samuel Johnston, three times elected Governor of North Carolina and our first Senator in the Senate of the United States. During the past year the society secured a portrait of Alexander Martin, distinguished as a soldier of the Revolution and five times elected Governor of the State. This portrait was presented to the executive office on November 16th.

DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Daughters of the Revolution have placed a case in the Hall of History, in which they are placing relics of the Revolutionary period. They have endeavored to stimulate interest in the history of North Carolina in the schools of the State by offering medals in certain schools for the best essays dealing with phases of our history. The most notable service rendered by the society is the continued publication of *The North Carolina Booklet*. This is the only periodical in North Carolina devoted exclusively to the history of the State and it is gratifying to know that it has met with success, not only as affording a medium for the development of historical talent in the State, but also financially. Enough has been realized from the publication to enable the Daughters of the Revolution to carry into execution the purpose for which *The Booklet* was established; that is, the erection of a memorial to the women of the Edenton Tea Party. This memorial was unveiled with suitable ceremonials in the State Capitol on the 24th of October.

GUILFORD BATTLEGROUND COMPANY.

The work of the Guilford Battleground Company in converting that historic battleground from an old field into a beautiful historic park is too well known to need comment. From the president, whose unselfish labors deserve the applause of every patriotic American, from New England to the Gulf of Mexico, comes the following report of the past year's work:

"Our annual celebration of July 4th was held, as usual, most successfully, but the speeches delivered by Bishop Rondthaler and others have not yet been published in pamphlet form because of failure to receive copies of the same. I regret this much. An unusual amount of plowing, some seedling to grass and manuring, as the patriotic and liberal have enabled us to do, and the general necessary care of the ground have been made. Our purpose is to spend all the money possible in permanent improvements on the grounds, especially in the erection of memorials to Revolutionary characters. We have se-

cured octagon granite blocks sufficient to complete a monument begun to the cavalry arm of the service about thirty feet in height. As the preservation of our Revolutionary battlefields and perhaps other historic spots have proven not only "means," but also sources whence interest in our beloved State's history has gone out, it was deemed appropriate that a neat memorial to Clio, the Muse of History, as she sits and repeats to the populace, should head the North Carolina row at the battleground. This memorial is as durable as the hills and, as competent judges think, and I certainly think, an honor to the State and very beautiful.

"This report is written with my own hand, as I have no stenographer and never had one and am unable, or at least unwilling, to employ one, as I think the money can be applied more profitably from our limited means. God bless the North Carolina Historical Commission and all other like associations and individuals historically disposed."

This report was signed by Joseph M. Morehead.

HISTORY EXHIBIT AT THE JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

Three patriotic organizations to whose joint efforts the State owes the history exhibit made at the Jamestown Exposition are the Daughters of the Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Wachovia Historical Society. It would be impossible in this brief report to convey an idea of the extent and character of that exhibit. We may say, without exaggeration, that of all the various exhibits made by the State or by individuals none reflected more credit on North Carolina or received more attention from visitors than the history exhibit. A full report of the exhibit has been prepared by Miss Hinton, one of the custodians, which the Historical Commission printed as one of its bulletins. We beg to quote one or two paragraphs from that report:

"Nothing has shown so forcibly this historical awakening in the Old North State as the exhibits she placed in the History Building at Jamestown. This was made with the people's money, by the people and for the people. It is, indeed, gratifying to know that she was creditably represented at this most interesting exposition, * * * where history was given a place never before accorded in the annals of America. * * * Too much praise cannot be given Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, vice-president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who first planned and arranged this exhibit. The Jamestown Commission for North Carolina appropriated as much money as could be spared for this object, which was not a large sum. This was supplemented by a small amount from the State Historical Commission. Mrs. Patterson was assisted by Miss Rebecca Schenck, of Greensboro, and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh, who gave months of arduous toil to this patriotic cause.

"The Wachovia Historical Society deserves special recognition, for it was this remarkable organization that responded primarily to the appeal for aid from patriotic Carolinians. It is the oldest society of the kind in the State, and has set an example worthy of emulation. Wachovia's exhibit revealed the life of the people, their industries, household utensils, implements of war and peace, accomplishments, comforts and literature. * * * The entire history of these thrifty, religious, peace-abiding citizens, that have ever remained a distinct colony, affords unusual opportunity to the student. * * * From the headquarters of the society have gone forth to previous expositions a few treasures, but never before has so large a collection been allowed to leave Salem. * * *

"What has been the result of all these months of wearing toil, ceaseless responsibility, personal discomforts from extreme heat and cold, the risk of losing precious heirlooms which could never be replaced, and the expenditure of money? Did it pay?

"The compensation was more than adequate. Here are some of the rewards of a year's labor: When the awards of merit were bestowed, North Carolina won the silver medal, together with New York and the church exhibits. Surely we were in goodly and pious company. More visitors sought the North Carolina exhibit than any other in the History Building, while numbers came just for a glimpse of that alone. Great pains were taken by the custodians in charge to show and explain all things. During those strenuous days of installation, when admission was restricted to cards, the duties of the Powhatan Guard, stationed at the entrance, the courteous custodian and superintendent were increased daily, announcing and admitting North Carolina's guests. We were just across the border, and our people in general were deeply interested. The unfolding of the State's noble past has been a revelation to many. * * * One historian of national reputation, since having his attention drawn to our exhibit, has visited the State, making a systematic study of her unpublished archives and gathering material therefrom for a prospective volume. Another one has had many photographs taken of the chief relics to appear in a work on the historic South. * * * From various sections of the Union came persons who found there information of value to them personally. As an educational factor the success was complete, and it is believed that this engrossing work will greatly aid in developing the historical awakening already begun in our midst."

UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

The history exhibit at Jamestown was confined to the periods in the history of the State prior to the War of 1812. Coming now to more recent times, we find that the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy has been actively engaged in

preserving the history of the War Between the States. This organization has in North Carolina 3,500 members. Its work is historical and charitable. The society has erected in North Carolina fourteen monuments to the memory of Confederate soldiers, while others are now in process of construction. A persistent effort has been made to have the various chapters obtain historical narratives from surviving veterans, but unfortunately few only have responded. These that have been gathered have been deposited in the office of the Secretary of State until the Legislature can be made to see the wisdom of erecting a fireproof library building. Scholarships have been established at the State Normal College and at the Salem Female College, open only to daughters and granddaughters of Confederate soldiers. At the next session of the General Convention of the Daughters of the Confederacy the North Carolina Division will present to the Confederate Museum in Richmond portraits of General Robert Ransom and Captain Randolph Shotwell. They have already presented portraits of General Bryan Grimes, Major Thomas Sparrow, Colonel Zebulon B. Vance, Colonel Charles F. Fisher, General Matthew W. Ransom and General L. O'B. Branch.

HALL OF HISTORY.

The director of the Hall of History reports that during the year he has made special trips in the interest of his work to the Albemarle region, to the Croatan settlements and to the country of the Cherokees. During the year he has added more than one thousand objects to the collection, so that the total number of objects now in the Hall of History is 6,200. In his report the director adds the following:

"Everything is being done to collect while there is time, for so much has been lost by fires at private houses that it is felt some steps should be taken to place objects here where they can be better cared for. * * * If the Legislature will erect an absolutely fireproof building and provide ample room, since the present Hall of History, large as it is, is nearly filled already, wonderful work can be done. * * * What has been done in this State at a cost entirely nominal has cost other Commonwealths large sums, in cases where they are doing anything in this line, but it may be said of North Carolina's historical collection, as it can be said of all the other departments of her State Museum, that no State south of Washington approaches it."

COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

We regret that we have not been able to secure reports from all the historical societies at the colleges of the State. From the North Carolina Historical Society at the University and from the Trinity College Historical Society come reports of continued activity. Both

have concerned themselves largely with the production of papers and addresses, many of which are valuable and permanent contributions to the historical literature of the State. The Trinity College Historical Society has published several of the most valuable papers read at its meetings. This society has also catalogued a large collection of books, pamphlets and manuscripts, and has installed in the college museum a case of rare first editions.

REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR.

Finally, the commission is required "to make a biennial report of its receipts and disbursements, its work and needs, to the Governor, to be by him transmitted to the General Assembly." To this report, which is a review of our work, is appended a statement of the commission's receipts and disbursements.

As to its needs, the commission needs but one thing—room—a larger and safer depository for its collections. The present quarters of the commission are crowded. Besides, they are needed for the work of the General Assembly. They are out of the way and inaccessible. The work of the commission could be greatly extended, its collections largely increased, its usefulness expanded tenfold if it had ample and accessible quarters in a safe building. Many valuable collections could be secured if the owners were only assured that they would be deposited in a safe, fireproof building and would be properly cared for. Two such collections, worth many thousands of dollars, have been practically promised as soon as the State erects an adequately protected building for the preservation of its property.

The Historical Commission therefore endorses the memorial to the General Assembly adopted by the State Literary and Historical Association, urging the erection of a fireproof State Library building for the preservation of the State Library, the Hall of History, the State Museum and the collections of the State Historical Commission. The reasons for the erection of such a building are so fully set forth in that memorial that they need not be repeated here. The commission therefore hopes that your Excellency will think proper to approve the measure and urge it upon the attention of the next General Assembly.

SUMMARY.

During the period covered by the foregoing report the commission has added to its collections 3,135 original manuscripts and transcripts, as follows:

The John H. Bryan Collection.....	703
The Calvin H. Wiley Collection.....	885
The Jonathan Worth Collection.....	1,307
The L. O'B. Branch Collection.....	48

The Hayes Collection (transcripts).....	82
The Dartmouth Collection (transcripts).....	63
Items from The Virginia Gazette.....	38
Miscellaneous transcripts	9
Total	3,135

As soon as practicable a calendar of these papers will be prepared and published.

INDEX TO EARLY NEWSPAPERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has secured an index to the North Carolina items in the Colonial and Revolutionary newspapers of South Carolina, which, in the absence of North Carolina newspapers of the periods, forms a valuable source of historical information. The index embraces the following papers published at Charleston:

The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, 1732 to 1775, inclusive.

The South Carolina and American General Gazette, 1766 to 1772, inclusive; 1774 to 1780, inclusive.

The Royal Gazette, 1781, 1782.

The City Gazette, or Daily Advertiser, 1789, 1790.

The State Gazette of South Carolina, 1786, 1788.

The Gazette of the State of South Carolina, 1777, 1783, 1784, 1785.

The Charleston Morning Post, 1787.

HISTORICAL PICTURES.

The commission has had placed in the Hall of History, under the direction of Col. Fred A. Olds, director, the following pictures illustrating the history of North Carolina:

Three pictures of treaty with Tuscarora Indians.

Ten pictures illustrating colonial Edenton.

Three pictures illustrating colonial Wilmington.

Two pictures illustrating colonial Bath.

Two pictures of Hayes.

Seven pictures illustrating War of the Regulators.

One picture of General Robert F. Hoke.

One picture of Andrew Johnson's birth-place.

One picture of *The New Bern Gazette*, containing the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775.

One picture of Richard Cogdell's letter relating to the above copy of *The New Bern Gazette*.

Twenty-six pictures illustrating Indian life in North Carolina. Painted by John White in 1586 and photographed from the engravings of Theodore DeBry, 1590.

Seven pictures of the site of Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke Colonies as they appear to-day, painted by Mr. Jacques Busbee. These pictures were exhibited at the Jamestown Exposition, and are now on exhibition in the Hall of History.

Respectfully submitted,

J. BRYAN GRIMES,
Chairman.

W. J. PEELE,
M. C. S. NOBLE,
THOMAS W. BLOUNT,
D. H. HILL.

R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh, N. C.,
Secretary.

December 1, 1908.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

RECEIPTS.

Annual appropriation, 1906-1907.....	\$ 5,000.00
Annual appropriation, 1907-1908.....	5,000.00
Refunded by Smith-Premier Typewriter Company.....	10.25

\$ 10,010.25

1907.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Aug.	1.	R. D. W. Connor, July salary.....	\$ 166.66
		Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent,	2.00
	3.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage.....	10.00
	6.	C. L. Coon, copying.....	175.00
		Royal & Borden Furniture Company, office fur-	
		niture	42.75
	8.	J. G. deR. Hamilton, copying.....	35.00
	12.	Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Jamestown appro-	
		priation	40.00
		Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	4.10
	21.	Smith-Premier Typewriter Company, one type-	
		writer	102.50
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying.....	98.78
	22.	Jacques Busbee, expenses to Jamestown.....	27.50
	28.	Thomas W. Blount, expenses attending meeting,	17.90
		R. D. W. Connor, expenses attending meeting...	23.55
	29.	Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent,	4.00
		W. J. Peele, expenses attending meeting.....	12.00
	31.	William Weaver, wages July 27 to September 1,	11.67
		R. D. W. Connor, August salary.....	166.66
Sept.	2.	Weathers & Perry, picture frames.....	5.50
	9.	Wharton & Tyree, prints of John White pictures,	6.50
		Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	12.10
		J. G. deR. Hamilton, copying.....	50.00
		Fred A. Olds, placards and pictures.....	1.75
		R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Washington City..	33.70
	20.	Dobbin & Ferrall Company, carpet.....	39.63
		Fred A. Olds, frames for pictures at Jamestown,	72.47
	24.	North Carolina Booklet.....	10.00
		Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent,	12.00
Oct.	1.	R. D. W. Connor, September salary.....	166.66
		William Weaver, September wages.....	10.00
	2.	Southern Express Company, express charges...	1.35
	7.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying.....	79.56
	24.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage.....	10.00
Nov.	1.	R. D. W. Connor, October salary.....	166.66

1907.		
Nov.	1.	William Weaver, October wages.....\$ 10.00
	2.	M. C. S. Noble, expenses attending meeting.... 4.90
	9.	R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Charleston, etc... 56.90
		J. G. deR. Hamilton, copying..... 50.00
	14.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage..... 10.00
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 49.86
	19.	Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Jamestown appro- priation 50.00
	24.	Historical Commission, bust of William A. Gra- ham 1,000.00
		Historical Commission, office equipment..... 1,500.00
		Alfred Williams & Co., office furniture..... 120.40
Dec.	30.	Historical Commission, appropriation for copy- ing 365.33
		R. D. W. Connor, November salary..... 166.66
		William Weaver, November wages..... 10.00
	11.	J. G. deR. Hamilton, copying..... 102.80
	18.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 100.80
	20.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage..... 10.00
		T. H. Briggs & Sons, office supplies..... 2.00
	21.	Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent, 12.00
1908.		
Jan.	1.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 40.00
		R. D. W. Connor, December salary..... 166.66
	•	William Weaver, December wages..... 10.00
Feb.	14.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 78.12
	1.	R. D. W. Connor, January salary..... 166.66
		William Weaver, January wages..... 10.00
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 40.00
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 68.40
	3.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage..... 25.00
		Edwards & Broughton Printing Company..... 3.00
	4.	Sherwood Brockwell, repair of typewriter..... 2.75
	8.	Weathers & Perry, picture frames..... 22.60
		Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies..... 20.65
Mch.	2.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, copying..... 103.00
		R. D. W. Connor, February salary..... 166.66
		William Weaver, February wages..... 10.00
	6.	R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Chapel Hill..... 10.95
	7.	E. M. Uzzell & Co., printing..... 5.00
		Wharton & Tyree, photographs..... 3.00
	18.	J. G. deR. Hamilton, editorial work, Worth Let- ters 300.00
		W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage..... 25.00
		R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Richmond..... 25.00

1908.

Mch.	24.	A. R. Andrews, copying.....	\$ 7.50
	30.	Miss Mabel L. Webber, copying.....	32.60
April	1.	J. M. Porter, copying.....	57.00
		Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	21.40
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, March salary.....	75.00
		William Weaver, March wages.....	10.00
		R. D. W. Connor, March salary.....	166.66
		Miss Carrie Strong, copying.....	37.26
	22.	E. H. Baker, copying.....	28.44
	23.	Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent,	8.00
	29.	Historical Commission, express charges.....	1.10
		Sherwood Brockwell, boxing two typewriters...	1.25
May	1.	R. D. W. Connor, April salary.....	166.66
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, April salary.....	75.00
		William Weaver, April wages.....	10.00
	7.	Miss Carrie Strong, copying.....	45.00
	16.	R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Edenton, etc.....	40.00
	28.	Miss Mabel L. Webber, copying.....	20.00
		Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent,	15.00
June	1.	R. D. W. Connor, May salary.....	166.66
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, May salary.....	75.00
		Miss Carrie Strong, copying.....	45.00
		William Weaver, May wages.....	10.00
	6.	Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	65.10
		W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage.....	25.00
July	1.	R. D. W. Connor, June salary.....	166.66
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, June salary.....	75.00
		William Weaver, June wages.....	10.00
	2.	Jacques Busbee, appropriation for Roanoke paintings	200.00
		Miss Carrie Strong, copying.....	60.12
	16.	Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	2.15
		North Carolina Booklet.....	10.00
		E. M. Uzzell & Co., printing.....	7.75
	18.	Miss Julia Royster, photographs.....	2.00
	25.	Commercial National Bank, B. F. Stevens & Brown	9.68
Aug.	1.	R. D. W. Connor, July salary.....	166.66
		Mrs. M. S. Calvert, July salary.....	75.00
		William Weaver, July wages.....	10.00
		Jacob Merritt, drayage.....	1.00
		Miss Mabel L. Webber, copying.....	32.00
	4.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage.....	25.00
	10.	Commercial National Bank, Art Metal Construc- tion Company.....	128.50
		William A. McKoy, copying.....	3.00

1908.

Aug.	17.	William A. McKoy, copying.....	\$ 1.00
	18.	Capital City Telephone Company, telephone rent, Miss Duncan C. Winston, copying.....	15.00 11.80
	20.	R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Ashboro.....	6.50
Sept.	1.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, August salary.....	75.00
		R. D. W. Connor, August salary.....	166.66
		William Weaver, August wages.....	10.00
		Miss Julia Royster, photograph.....	1.00
		Southern Express Company, express charges....	56.20
	2.	Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	7.40
	19.	Virginia State Library, copying.....	9.25
		News and Observer Publishing Company, copy of Year Book.....	1.00
	28.	R. D. W. Connor, expenses to Greensboro.....	6.80
Oct.	1.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, September salary.....	75.00
		R. D. W. Connor, September salary.....	166.66
		William Weaver, September wages.....	10.00
		Southern Express Company, express charges....	7.30
	14.	Miss Carrie Strong, copying.....	16.20
		Wharton & Tyree, photographs.....	8.50
		Commercial National Bank, B. F. Stevens & Brown	9.00
	19.	W. G. Briggs, postmaster, postage.....	25.00
		Commercial National Bank, B. F. Stevens & Brown	34.10
Nov.	4.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, October salary.....	75.00
		William Weaver, October wages.....	10.00
		R. D. W. Connor, October salary.....	166.66
		Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	3.40
	11.	Copyright fee	1.00
	16.	Commercial National Bank, B. F. Stevens & Brown	22.16
	30.	Mrs. M. S. Calvert, November salary.....	75.00
		William Weaver, November wages.....	10.00
		R. D. W. Connor, November salary.....	166.66
		Miss Mabel L. Webber, copying.....	11.00
		Alfred Williams & Co., office supplies.....	20.45

Total disbursements\$ 10,000.00

UNIV. OF MICH.

AUG 28 1909

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 4

DAVID PATON

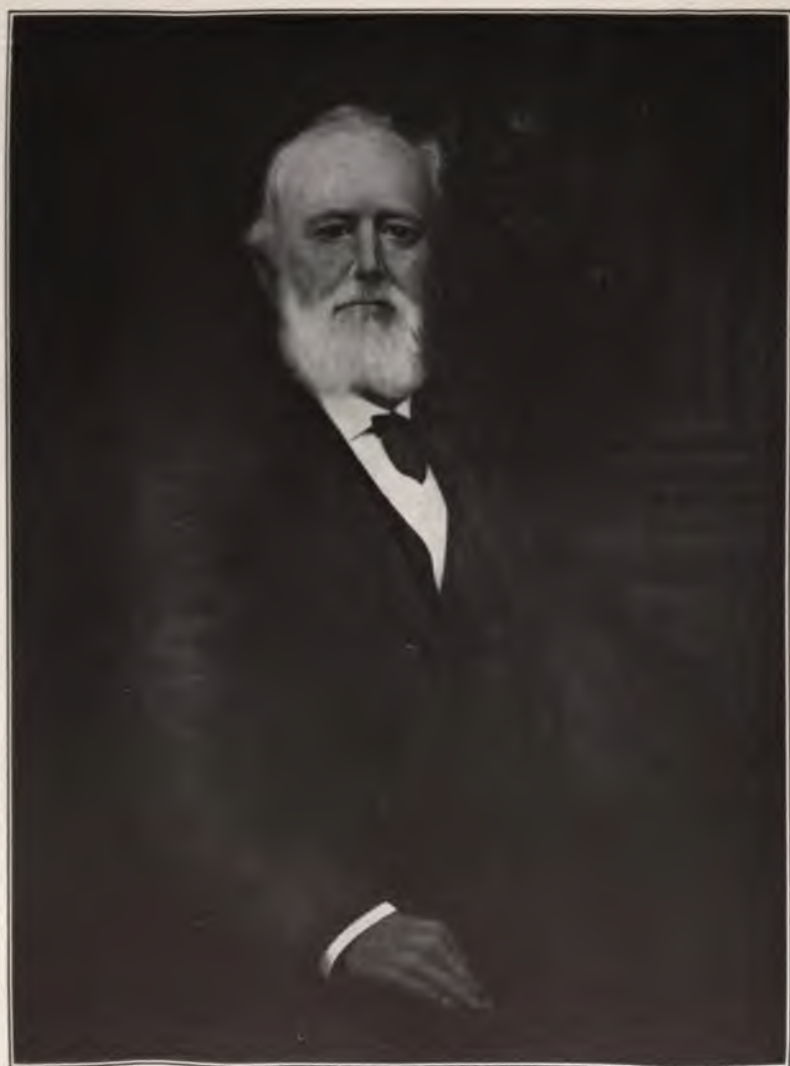
ARCHITECT OF THE NORTH
CAROLINA STATE CAPITOL



1909







DAVID PATON.

DAVID PATON

ARCHITECT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE CAPITOL.

AN ADDRESS

BY

SAMUEL A. ASHE, ESQ.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER OF THE STATE CAPITOL AT
RALEIGH, MARCH 12, 1909, UPON THE PRESENTATION OF THE
PORTRAIT OF DAVID PATON TO THE STATE, AND ITS

ACCEPTANCE

BY

GOVERNOR W. W. KITCHIN

RALEIGH

E. M. UZZELL & CO., STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS

1909

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman.*

W. J. PEELE,

D. H. HILL,

THOMAS W. BLOUNT,

M. C. S. NOBLE.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary.*

RALEIGH, N. C.

DAVID PATON.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Council of State:

At the instance of Mrs. C. E. Foy, of New Bern, and her children, and of Mrs. E. M. Shute, of New York, I beg to present to the State the portrait of Mr. David Paton, the honored father of Mrs. Foy and of Mrs. Shute, and the architect of this building.

As designer and architect, the talents of Mr. Paton found expression in this superb edifice, which, indeed, is an enduring monument to his skill and capacity, bearing ample testimony to his superior attainments and high accomplishments in his profession.

At the time of the erection of this Capitol it was one of the most notable buildings in the United States. Whether we consider its massive structure or its admirable design or the thorough execution of every detail of the work, it was a remarkable performance; and when we recall the condition of affairs within the State at that period we find still greater cause to regard it with admiration and to praise that generation of North Carolinians for the public spirit which led to its erection.

For more than a century our people had no Statehouse. In the early Colonial days the public documents were kept at Edenton, but there was no Government building. In 1766 an appropriation was made to build a Governor's Mansion at New Bern, and four years later the public offices were established there. The General Assembly, however, frequently met elsewhere.

During the Revolution, in 1779, in order to have a central place of meeting, the Assembly appointed a committee to select a site, either in Johnston, Wake or Chatham counties, for the State Capital; but two years later Hillsboro, then a thriving town, was selected as the capital, and the public offices were established there and the palace at New Bern was directed to be sold. However, before the summer was over, that enterprising Tory, Fanning, captured Hillsboro, carried off the Governor and all the State officers then present; and doubtless because of the activity of the Tories in the Upper Cape Fear region the

resolution was rescinded and the Assembly again became perambulatory. It met as far west as Salem and as far east as New Bern; sessions were held at Halifax, Tarboro, Smithfield, and Fayetteville; and once at Wake Courthouse, in the old Joel Lane residence, which is still standing in this city, on Boylan Avenue. That was in one of the darkest hours of the Revolution, and the legislative body was protected from a Tory raid by a regiment of militia. It would indeed have been lamentable had the dreaded Fanning swooped down on the Assembly and carried off into captivity the assembled wisdom of the State, unless, indeed, the legislators had taken to the bushes, like Governor Patrick Henry and the Virginia Legislature had to do just at that particular time to escape capture.

Eventually, in 1792, commissioners appointed for the purpose purchased from Joel Lane 1,000 acres of old fields and thickets near Wake Courthouse and laid off on paper the streets and squares of a capital city. Doubtless quickly the principal avenues were opened by axmen, and the central public square—"Union Square," they named it—where there were some giant oaks, doubtless well-grown trees in the time of Virginia Dare and Sir Walter Raleigh, was selected as the site of a Statehouse.

The building at once erected in the wild woods, where now the city of Raleigh stands, was similar in general plan to this edifice, with offices and passageways on the first floor and legislative halls above. The bricks were made near-by, and the construction was hurried and roughly done.

Twenty years later, after we had won our second war of independence and everybody was feeling quite comfortable, it was determined to improve the building, and Captain William Nichols, of New York, a skilled architect, was employed to cover the exterior with stucco, and a stately dome was reared over the rotunda and the east and west entrances were ornamented by handsome porticos. Indeed, the exterior of the building was very similar to the present edifice. Nor did public spirit stop there. An order was given to Canova, without regard to cost, for a colossal statue of Washington. Canova, who holds rank in his art with the famous Michael Angelo, was then in the zenith of his greatness. He had made a colossal statue of Napoleon, but neither he nor any other sculptor had ever had such

a grand subject as the immortal Washington. We may well believe the work brought forth his best and highest powers. He had the art of giving to his marble a soft appearance. With the utmost pains he gave the surface a most delicate finish, and then broke the dazzling white of the marble and made it seem soft and mellow, like ivory. Even now the remains of the statue in the museum retain these marks of his peculiar handiwork. This statue was brought from Italy by a man-of-war especially detailed for the purpose, was transported by water to Fayetteville and with great care conveyed to Raleigh, escorted into the city in grand style by the Raleigh Blues, the color bearer, mounted on the monument, enthusiastically waving the American flag. It was placed in the rotunda of the Capitol. It was of colossal size, massive, and perfect in every detail. It was one of the masterpieces of the world. There was nothing in America comparable to it.

In 1830 the Statehouse caught fire and the records in the public offices were for a time in peril of destruction. Fortunately the conflagration was arrested. When the Assembly met in November, 1830, it directed that the damage should be repaired, and in order to secure the building against future danger the Legislature, with great particularity, enacted that the chimney corners should be made safe, that sheet iron should be laid in front of the fireplaces, a trap door made to the roof, and a zinc roof should be placed on the building. It was while carrying out this last direction that the flame was lit that resulted on the one hand in the destruction of Canova's splendid statue of Washington and on the other in the erection of this noble edifice which still excites the admiration of all who behold it.

On June 21, 1831, when the work on the new zinc roof was nearly finished, the interior timbers caught on fire and the building was consumed. Two days later the *Raleigh Register* contained the following account of the catastrophe:

"It is our painful and melancholy duty again to announce to the public another appalling instance of loss by fire which will be deeply felt and lamented by every individual in our State. It is nothing less than the total destruction of the Capitol of the State, located in this city. Of that noble edifice, with its splendid decorations, nothing now remains but the blackened walls

and smouldering ruins. The State Library is also entirely consumed, and the statue of Washington, that proud monument of national gratitude, which was our pride and glory, is so mutilated and defaced that none can behold it without mournful feelings, and the conviction involuntarily forces itself upon their minds that it is a loss which cannot be repaired. The most active exertions were made to rescue this *chef-d'œuvre* of Canova from the ravages of the devouring elements, nor were they desisted from until the danger became imminent. The alarm was given about 7 o'clock on Tuesday morning, and it was presently evident that all attempts to extinguish the fire would prove perfectly fruitless. The efforts of the bystanders were then directed towards the protection of the public offices on the square and the adjacent private buildings and to the preservation of the official archives. We are happy to add that none of the former were injured, and that the latter, including the legislative records, were all saved. The beautiful grove of oaks, of which the Capitol was the center ornament, did more towards staying the progress of the flames than any human effort. Seldom has the eye witnessed so awful a spectacle as that vast building in one concentrated blaze, streaming from every window, and a vast column from the roof, forming together a scene not adequately to be described. The origin of the fire is not certainly known, but we believe the general impression is that it was the result of most culpable carelessness on the part of a man who had been employed to assist in soldering the new zinc roof, as he was seen carrying up a coal of fire between two shingles, considerably ignited, a spark from which, in all probability, fell among some combustible matter between the roof and ceiling, which took fire while the hands were at breakfast."

The citizens of Raleigh naturally bemoaned the destruction of the building, but Governor Stokes did not regard it as a great loss. In his opinion there were some mitigating circumstances. In his message to the General Assembly, when it met the following November, he said that the calamity was not so great, because the old Statehouse, built in 1794, was almost ready to tumble down of its own accord, and that perhaps many valuable lives had been saved by its being destroyed by fire instead of tumbling down on the Legislature while in session.

At once Senator Seawell, of Wake, brought forward a bill

providing for the erection of a new Capitol on the site of the old one, and a similar bill was introduced in the House. They met with slight favor. At that time the situation in North Carolina was deplorable. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of the State. There was only one political party, for the Federal party had passed away and the Whig party had not yet risen, and political action was largely colored by local interests, by factions and the ambitions of aspiring men. The West, almost in a state of revolt, because under the Constitution every county, no matter how small or how populous, was entitled to the same representation in the Assembly, realized the tyranny of a situation from which it could get no relief. The dominant East offered no hope of change. When at length a convention was called, in 1835, Governor Swain nobly gave expression to the wild feeling of her people in a moment of exasperation, "We will pull down the pillars of the temple," only to evoke Gaston's quiet reply that he had heard that Sampson had involved himself in the common ruin.

The people of the State were dreadfully poor. The West had no outlet for its surplus productions; there were no internal improvements; steam railroads had not then been introduced, and, indeed, such a man as Nathaniel Macon, reputed to be wise and patriotic, sternly set his face against the State Government undertaking any works of internal improvement.

The stream of emigrants to the far West that had begun before the Revolution had continued in increased volume. In sheer desperation the people were abandoning their native fields and making new homes in the wilderness; the population of the State was at a standstill. While Virginia and the two Carolinas were peopling the region from the Ohio River to New Orleans, they themselves could not increase in population. Between 1820 and 1840 that Western region gained 1,700,000 souls, while the three mother States made no appreciable gain in white population. They made a magnificent gift to the Union, but it was at the expense of their own life blood.

Our towns remained villages. New Bern, the Athens of the State, the largest of our towns, boasted only 4,000 souls. Wilmington had somewhat recovered from her tremendous loss in 1819, when 200 houses and a million dollars of property went up in flames, and had about 3,000; while Fayetteville, at the

head of water navigation, the most accessible to the interior, priding herself as the trade emporium of the State, followed fast with 2,900. Raleigh, still ensconced in her surrounding thickets, had 2,244 citizens.

More than one-seventh of the grown white men could not read or write; but there was an intellectual class—learned divines and doctors and judges and lawyers and public men. That being before buggies were invented, these traveled over the State in their high-stick gigs and laboriously discussed public affairs—the tariff, the sectional issue (then assuming great importance), the Nat Turner insurrection, and the State issue between the West and the East, that could only be quieted by a State convention, and the demand of Fayetteville that the capital be removed to the banks of the Cape Fear.

Such was the condition when the Assembly met in November, 1831, after the conflagration. A letter written by one of the body—one of the first men of that period—well portrays it: "We are distracted, rent asunder by factions, and the result of the legislative discussions and dissensions will be, I fear, that we will separate in anger, after having proved ourselves unprofitable servants. There are five parties here. The largest (but it does not quite constitute a majority) is for rebuilding the Capitol and is opposed to a convention in every form. This may be named the Eastern party. The next in point of magnitude is the Western party; they want a reconstruction of our Constitution with respect to political power, and want no more, but will either keep the government at Raleigh or remove it to Fayetteville, as the one or the other will favor their great end. The third in point of size is the Fayetteville party; their main object is removal, but they are willing also to go for a general convention. The two others are of about the same magnitude, the Northwestern and Southwestern parties. The former want a modification of the Constitution, but are utterly opposed to a removal; and the latter want removal, but resist the alteration of the Constitution." In this conflict of the factions Judge Seawell's bill was quickly disposed of. Mr. Wilson, Senator from Edgecombe, moved to table it, and it was tabled. The House bill was longer discussed. The discussion was prolonged for two days, but on a yea and nay vote the bill failed, 65 to 68. The Assembly of 1831 refused to rebuild.

A year passed, and the ruins of the old Statehouse still marked the site of the former Capitol. But the Constitution, or rather the Ordinance, of 1789 located the capital at Raleigh, and the Legislature had no power to move it. It was even questioned with great seriousness whether the Assembly could hold its sessions in the Governor's Mansion, at the end of Fayetteville Street, as that was outside of the limits of the town. To move the capital a convention was necessary, and a majority of the Legislature was not favorable to a convention.

At the session of November, 1832, the Assembly, by a vote of 35 to 28 in the Senate and 73 to 60 in the House, resolved to rebuild on the old site, and \$50,000 was appropriated for the purpose.

Mr. William Boylan, Judge Duncan Cameron, Judge Henry Seawell, Judge Romulus M. Saunders and State Treasurer William S. Mhoon were appointed commissioners to have the work done, and they were directed to make it similar in design to the old building, but more extensive, the lower story at least to be of stone, and to have a zinc roof. At first the commissioners consulted with Captain William Nichols, who had made the addition ten years before, and Mr. Ithiel Town, of New York, by whom doubtless the general plan was designed. A suitable granite was found on the State land near the city.

Women have been the origin of much trouble in this world, but a woman of Raleigh at that time achieved for herself an enviable fame and "deserved a name among the benefactors of the State." Some small railroads had been built at the North, and the Legislature had granted a charter for a railroad from Beaufort to New Bern and then on to Raleigh and the West, under the name of the North Carolina Railroad. It had also chartered the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, with water communication from Wilmington to Fayetteville and a railroad from Fayetteville to the West, and \$5,000 had been appropriated for surveys, but that was all. Mrs. Polk, the widow of Colonel William Polk, son of the famous Colonel Tom Polk, who proclaimed independence at Charlotte, and equally to be revered as the mother of Bishop-General Polk, of the Confederate Army, suggested the construction of a tram railway to the rock quarry and became the principal stockholder in the enterprise. It was the first railroad built in North Carolina.

and became an object-lesson to the people. It was quickly completed, and, besides the cars loaded with stone, it had on it a handsome car, drawn by a single horse, for the accommodation of such ladies and gentlemen as desired to take a railroad airing. People came from the neighboring counties for the express purpose of riding on a railroad.

The commissioners to build the Capitol, with \$50,000 at their command, did not dally. The rubbish was cleared away and the excavations made and the foundations were laid. By July 4, 1833, the corner stone was set in place. Up to that time W. S. Drummond was the superintendent and chief architect, and he was one of the principal persons in the ceremony of laying the corner stone.

The Internal Improvement Convention was in session at Raleigh at the time, and a large number of distinguished men were in attendance. Dr. Simmons Baker, Grand Master of the lodge, laid the corner stone with Masonic honors. When the ceremonies at the Capitol were ended there was a discharge of cannon to signalize the event, and then the Fourth of July oration was delivered in the Presbyterian church. At night there was a handsome illumination, elegant transparencies and a balloon ascension.

After the foundations were laid the work progressed more slowly, and it was so expensive that the appropriation was exhausted. The Legislature at its next session appropriated over \$75,000 more. To do the stone and finer work, many skilled artisans had been brought from Scotland and other countries. Among them were some who remained among us and made a valuable acquisition to our citizenship. Part of the work was conducted under the supervision of W. S. Drummond and another part under Colonel Thomas Bragg, father of Governor Bragg; but these arrangements did not prove satisfactory, and a year later, in September, 1834, Mr. Town, of New York, acting for the commissioners, contracted with David Paton to come to Raleigh and superintend the work.

Mr. Paton was an architect who had come from Scotland the year before. He was then thirty-three years of age. He was the son of John Paton, of Edinburgh, who was an extensive builder in that city and vicinity and who had built the greater part of the new town and constructed the famous Dean



NORTH CAROLINA STATE CAPITOL.



Bridge across the water of Leith, and he ranked high in his profession. His parents were of gentle birth. David Paton, the elder, father of John, married a sister of Lord Campbell, of Monzie Castle, one of the oldest families of Scotland, and his father married Eleanor Roper, a sister of Sir Timothy Roper. Thus, through two previous generations the Patons were associated with persons of consequence and had distinguished connections. Having received a liberal education at the University of Edinburgh, David Paton took up the profession of his father and was regularly bred as an architect and builder under his father and under Sir John Sloan, R. A., professor of architecture to the Royal Academy of London. He had married, but had lost his wife, who, however, had borne him a daughter. Circumstances had brought him to New York, where he became known to Mr. Town, who employed him, in the name of the commissioners, to superintend the building of the Capitol. Mr. Town wrote to the commissioners: "I have a high opinion of him as a gentleman and an artist, both in the theory and practice of the building art." And, indeed, no one could have answered the purpose of the commissioners better than Mr. Paton. He was not merely an accomplished architect, but an experienced builder. Not only was he familiar with the beauties of the most famous designers in the world, but he knew how to work and how to employ workmen to the best advantage. He soon demonstrated his capacity. When he first came the cost of overseeing was \$25 a day. He reduced that cost to \$9. Twenty-eight stonecutters were paid \$81 a day. This he reduced to \$56. He made a saving in these two items alone of \$42 a day. He found himself to be not merely the supervisor of the work, but the superintendent; not merely the superintendent, but the bookkeeper and paymaster. He had every detail of the work on his shoulders. And, then, he had to make the working drawings. He was the builder, the architect, the designer. What experience he had under his father in the matter of construction was of great value, but the learning he obtained under the pupilage of Sir John Sloan when he attended the Royal Academy at London, studying the remains of those magnificent structures that made the Acropolis at Athens the glory of the world, now came into play, and he was found to be the very man, in every

particular, that the commissioners needed. He soon had their entire confidence and the esteem of all with whom he was associated.

On January 1, 1835, the old board resigned. State Treasurer Mhoon was then succeeded by State Treasurer Samuel F. Patterson. General Beverly Daniel became chairman of the board. Governor Charles Manly, Alfred Jones, of Wake, and Charles L. Hunter, of Wake, afterwards State Treasurer, were the new members. When they retired from the board Judge Cameron and Treasurer Mhoon wrote to Mr. Paton: "We take much pleasure in communicating to you our confidence in your skill and competency as an architect, and our approbation of the manner in which you have fulfilled your duty since you have been in the employ of the board." In view of the magnitude of the work, Mr. Paton thought that his compensation should be increased, but the new board urged him to remain, holding out the inducement that the Legislature would increase his remuneration when the work was finished. A year later the commissioners, of their own accord, increased his pay. In the beginning of 1837 he was invited to enter into the service of the Federal Government as an architect to construct the arsenal at Fayetteville, but declined to abandon his work on the Capitol.

At Raleigh he was esteemed by those gentlemen with whom he was associated. General Daniel, writing, in May, 1836, to Colonel Baldwin, late chief engineer in the United States service, said: "Allow me to say that Mr. Quinnerly's impression as to the professional skill of Mr. Paton is only such as he justly merits, and at the same time to add that his moral worth is no less appreciated by those who know him." No man in his day was more careful in weighing his words than the venerated Dr. William McPheeters, the pastor as well as the teacher, of Raleigh. In writing a note to Mr. Paton he concluded: "Accept, dear sir, the assurance of my high regard."

Captain J. A. J. Broadford, who a quarter of a century later was one of the Board of War to conduct the military operations of North Carolina, in offering him the work of constructing the arsenal at Fayetteville, said: "Without wishing to deprive the State of your valuable services, I should nevertheless be pleased if you find it advantageous to accept it. With much respect, I am, my dear sir, yours very truly," etc.

On every side he had made warm friends and had drawn to him the respect of all who appreciated excellence of character, moral worth and fine attainments. He found friends also among the ladies, and, although deeply interested in his work, he courted and was married to Miss Annie B. Farrow, of Washington, N. C.

As he managed every department of the work, from making the plans to paying off the hands, he is entitled to receive the plaudit of "Well done, good and faithful servant," for no finished work ever gave greater satisfaction. In the construction he made over three hundred working drawings which he preserved. How many he failed to preserve is unknown.

Regard the mouldings, the arches, the pillars of the porticos and lower hallway; stand in the exquisitely proportioned rotunda; consider for a moment the construction of the rotunda—the floor self-supporting—a wonderful exhibition of architectural skill. But the masterpiece is certainly the Senate Chamber. View it from the open gallery. What can be more elegant in design, more perfect in execution? Or stand in the hall of the House of Representatives and let your feelings attune themselves to the noble scene. How lofty the emotions that naturally swell the bosom in the presence of such glorious architecture! These halls are reproductions of the most classic halls of ancient Greece. They speak to us of the renowned Pericles, and of those famous artists who, under his directions, made the Acropolis at Athens the wonder of the world. They carry us to the Parthenon and to those other temples on the Acropolis, perfect in their simplicity, which men may reproduce, but never excel.

In 1839, when the Capitol was nearing completion, Mr. Lemay having asked for a description of the building, Mr. Paton wrote him some account of it. Mr. Lemay opened the article in his newspaper:

"Henceforth our youth may never need to roam.
The arts to study; better seen at home."

In the course of his article he remarked: "We say to our citizens at home and our friends abroad that there is no building in the Union superior to and but one equal with this, in point of material, style and construction."

Mr. Paton, in his letter, said that the details of the porticos are of the Temple of Minerva, commonly called the Parthenon. The east and west vestibules are richly decorated with granite columns, copied from the Ionic Temple of Ilissus, near Athens. The rotunda, the vestibules and the legislative chambers are reproductions from the Octagon Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, of the Temple of Erechtheus, Minerva, Polias and Pandorus, in the Acropolis.

That wonderful building, the Library at Washington, is composed of reproductions of the most beautiful architectural designs in the world. One beholds here a staircase, there a niche, here a corridor, there an arch—deemed the most exquisite that man has created; but the sight is dazzling, like a kaleidoscope; there is no unity or harmony of design. Here, in this perfect building, we have entire harmony. It is all the simple style of the noble Greek conception. It is the perfection of architecture.

"Before concluding," says Mr. Paton, "I may remark that the stone with which this edifice is constructed is of the toughest and hardest description, containing less iron than any stone I have ever seen: hence it presents a beautiful cream color, of a much warmer tint than marble."

Not only an experienced builder, not only skilled in architecture, Mr. Paton proved himself in his perception of the beautiful to be an artist of high merit. Three-quarters of a century has elapsed, and another artist of high merit, whose life is devoted to the study of the beautiful, is drawn to Raleigh to put in marble one of our greatest and most illustrious citizens. Observing the Capitol, he said: "I consider that there is no building in the country of its size which, for color, for care in construction and purity of style, is its superior. The only building which I ever saw with that beautiful, rich yellow color in your Statehouse is the ruined Parthenon at Athens." Consider—near two thousand five hundred years have brought their changes to mankind, but the Parthenon remains the most splendid conception of art. Our State Capitol was, when first finished, the most perfect building of the kind in America, and to-day remains unequaled; and were it to stand undisfigured by later generations for a thousand years it would still be regarded as unsurpassed by any building in America.

In March, 1840, when the Capitol was nearing its completion and the State of Tennessee had in contemplation the erection of a similar building, Governor Edward B. Dudley wrote to James K. Polk, then Governor of Tennessee, as to the qualifications of Mr. Paton to do that work, and said: "I believe our Capitol will proudly bear a comparison, for beauty, symmetry and strength, with any building within my knowledge, and it is generally admitted by most travelers to be a very superior structure."

Treasurer D. W. Courts said: "I can with great pleasure bear testimony to Mr. Paton's close attention to his business, and the edifice is itself a proud and enduring monument of his great skill as an architect."

Later, Mr. John Primrose, writing to Mr. Paton, said: "The Statehouse is the pride of all our citizens; and, indeed, all travelers who have seen it think it the most handsome building in the Union; and for its masterly workmanship few, if any, can come up to it. All strangers give their testimony in favor of its perfectness and elegance to anything of the kind they have seen; and I think it will be the best monument of your fame as to your ability in your profession as an architect that could be gained for you."

In the summer of 1840 the work was finished. The Assembly had, in December, 1832, appropriated \$50,000 for the building, but certainly not with the expectation that that amount would suffice. Mr. Boylan, Judge Cameron and State Treasurer Mhoon and their associates spent that sum in the foundation. They proposed to have a Capitol worthy of the State. At every subsequent session the Assembly made additional appropriations. To be sure, there was some cavilling, and the commissioners resigned; but the Legislature and the new commissioners took no step backwards. Year by year they pressed on the work as it had been begun, until at last, after more than seven years, the sum of \$530,000 was expended. As large as that sum was for the time, when the State was so poor and when the entire taxes for all State purposes reached less than \$100,000, yet the people were satisfied. The building had been erected with rigorous economy, and it was an object of great pride to the people. Indeed, never was money better expended than in the erection of this noble Capitol.

His work being done, in the summer of 1840 Mr. Paton returned to New York, and, on the urgent solicitation of his father, he sailed for Edinburgh soon afterwards.

In 1847 the office of Superintendent of Public Works of Edinburgh became vacant, and testimonials of the most substantial character were presented to the aldermen of that city for his appointment. The testimonials given by Lord Cunningham, John Learmouth, the late Lord Provost and other men of high standing to his character and capacity are now enduring witnesses of his worth in private life and in public employment, and of his efficiency in his profession.

In 1849 Mr. Paton returned to America, and for more than thirty years he was professor in the American Institute of Architecture, of Brooklyn, and the Mechanical Institute, of New York. There he rendered loyal service in his profession by training others, as he was trained, to study the beautiful, to build solidly, and to erect noble edifices.

Like many others, gifted by nature to enjoy and appreciate the exaltations of noble things, he was simple in his habits and tastes. As his pastor, the Rev. Dr. Patterson, the Presbyterian minister, of Brooklyn, said on the occasion of his funeral, "He was never looking for evil in anyone, and as he was good himself he thought everyone else was good." And Dr. Patterson added: "I have known him intimately for more than thirty years, and have never met such a perfect Christian gentleman—kind and good, too charitable for his own good, as regards to heaping up riches." Such a life he led in the time of his mature manhood—the intellectual life of a learned professor, dealing with the noblest creation of architectural genius; the perfect Christian gentleman, benevolent to his own hurt, esteemed and revered. At length, on March 25, 1882, he died and was interred in Cypress Hill Cemetery, in Brooklyn.

By his first wife Mr. Paton had a daughter, Eleanor Murray, who remained in Scotland, marrying John Wyld, a banker, of Glasgow, a kinsman of Gladstone.

His North Carolina wife bore him eight children—Anna, who died unmarried; Theresa, who became the wife of Elbert Snedeker, once the general manager of the Brooklyn Elevated Railway; Sarah, who married Nathaniel Bush, an architect, of Brooklyn; Matilda, who is the wife of Mr. William Van Gor-

don, of New York; Mary, who is the wife of Oscar Silvey, of Denver; John Paton, of New York; Esther, who married, first, Mr. H. F. Hopkins, by whom she had two sons, and who now is the wife of Mr. E. M. Shute, of New York, and Agnes Charlotte. Agnes, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, came to Washington, N. C., to visit her grandmother. Her health was delicate and it was thought that passing a few winters at the South would be beneficial. The war coming on, she remained with her grandmother, Mrs. Farrow, and grew up so Southern in her sentiments that she did not care to return permanently to the North. She became the wife of Mr. C. E. Foy, of New Bern. Her living children are Claudius B. Foy, Annie E. Foy and Agnes, the wife of Dr. Raymond Pollock, of Kinston. It is especially due to the laudable interest of Mrs. Foy and her children and Mrs. Shute that the portrait of Mr. Paton has been prepared for presentation to the State. They regard with pride his achievements, and are justly proud of his fine character, his natural endowments and professional attainments. As the architect and builder of this beautiful and elegant Capitol building, they hope that his portrait may find an appropriate place in the edifice constructed by his skill and genius.

This portrait was painted by Mr. Jacques Busbee, of Raleigh, and is regarded as a most excellent likeness and as doing great credit to the artistic ability and skill of that talented son of North Carolina.

Your Excellency, my task is done, and yet I linger on the subject.

Not seventy years have passed since the completion of this building, yet it has undying memories. It was finished the year Henry Clay was set aside and his place as the Whig leader given to General Harrison. Four years later Clay spoke from the western portico; but, like Webster and Calhoun, the prize of the presidency was denied him. The voices of other men of large mould also have been heard within this Capitol. Here, too, our great jurists—Gaston, Ruffin, Pearson and their associates—held their sessions and brought renown to North Carolina. Here Badger, Mangum, Dobbin and scores of men known to fame held high debates. Here was brought forth in great travail our sys-

tem of internal improvements, and of education, ramifying the State, disseminating enlightenment and opening the pathways to prosperous, contented and happy homes for our people.

Here Ellis and Clark and the mighty Vance directed the affairs of State in the trying days of war and suffering and desolation, the glories mingled with pain and sorrow, and fading away in heartrending defeat; but through it all the women and men, alike heroes, worthy the poets' loftiest strains. Then, when the people were still bowed in anguish, Carolinians turned their faces to the future, and, with resolution and intelligence, themselves modified their laws and institutions to meet the new conditions; but in vain, for these mute walls are witnesses of the saturnalia of Reconstruction still awaiting some Dante to portray the scenes with realistic power. Yet the dark cloud had its silver lining, and the courageous devotion of Jarvis, John Graham and their Spartan band adds historic interest to that time of fearful storm.

Later, here was the scene of the great State trial, the impeachment of the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth and the contest between the intellectual giants of that generation, Governor Graham and Bragg and Merrimon, contesting with Smith and Coningland and Richard Badger.

And these walls have witnessed the reversal of that State policy forced on an unwilling people by the mailed hand of the conquering power, and the full restoration of Anglo-Saxon control. Never in history has a people been so clearly and effectually vindicated as those gallant souls of North Carolina, who, emulating the constancy of Hamilcar, swore their children to undying opposition to those who would destroy their civilization. Let the oppressed of future ages gaze on the scene and take courage. Already hallowed are the memories that these chambers evoke. What grand occasions yet await them! We may not lift the veil of the future, but experience warns us that history constantly repeats itself, and as the web woven by destiny unrolls itself there will yet occur within these enduring walls occasions of surpassing magnitude affecting the weal and woe of our posterity.

THE ACCEPTANCE BY GOVERNOR W. W. KITCHIN.

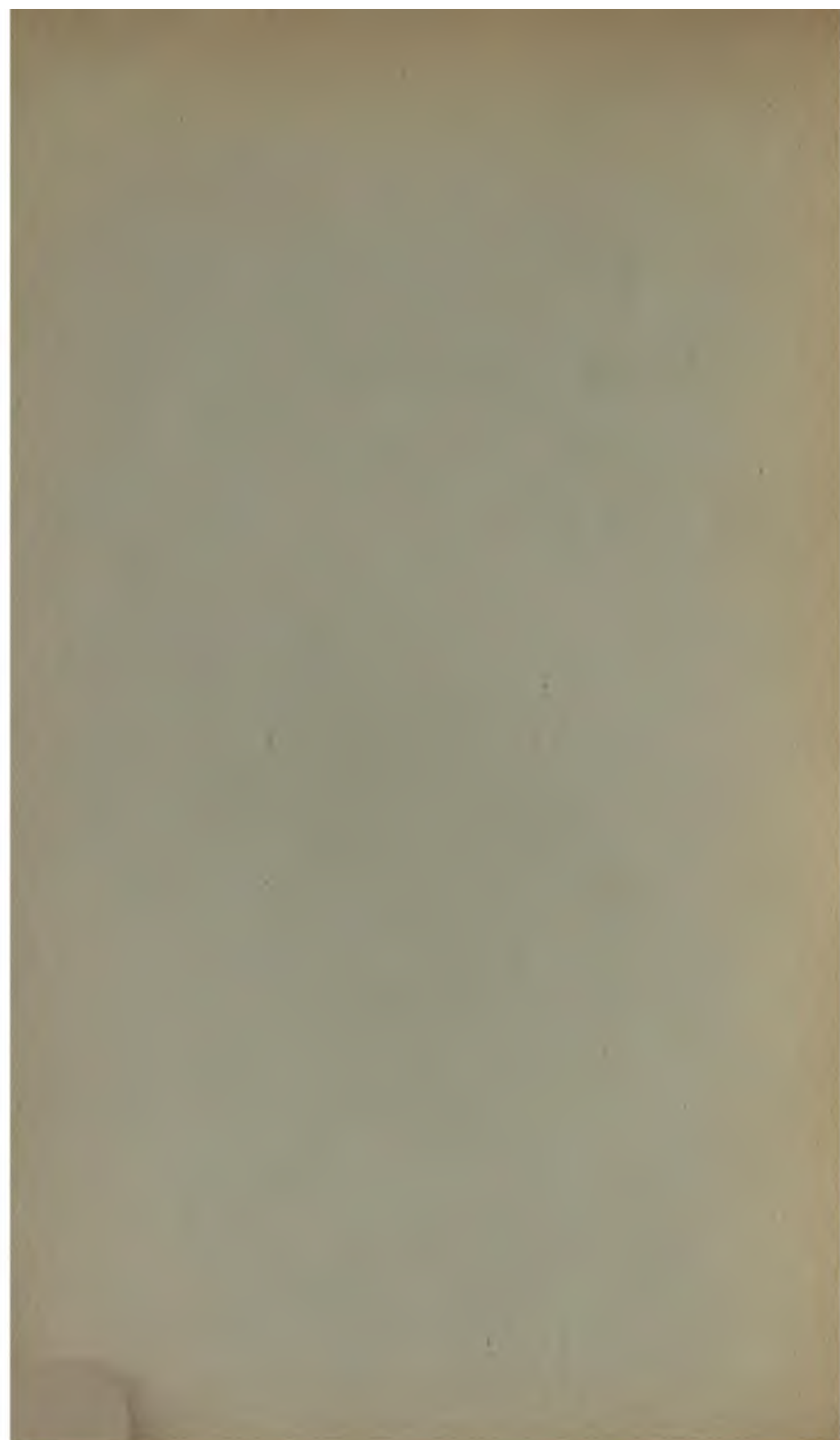
Captain Ashe:

We have heard with great interest and benefit your eloquent tribute to the high moral character and splendid architectural ability of the late David Paton, and also your remarks about this beautiful Capitol, possibly the best production of his skill and genius.

We appreciate the thoughtfulness and generosity of the donors you represent in the presentation of the portrait of the architect of this Capitol. With the consent of the Council of State, already expressed, I accept the portrait for the State. It will be hung in an appropriate place in this building, to remind its visitors both of the high Christian character of its architect and of the great service he rendered to the State in its construction.







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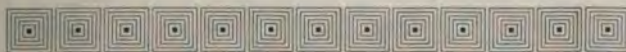
PUBLICATIONS OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.
BULLETIN No. 5.

THE
GREAT SEAL



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

1666-1909.



E. M. UZZELL & CO.
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HALEIGH, N. C.

THE
GREAT SEAL
OF THE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
1666-1909

BY
J. BRYAN GRIMES
SECRETARY OF STATE

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman.*

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RALEIGH.

THE GREAT SEAL

OF THE

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The numerous inquiries received at the Secretary of State's office concerning "The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina" suggest the preparation of a sketch giving descriptions of the various seals which have been used in the Colony and State of North Carolina.

In the colonial period there were four different seals. Since North Carolina became a State there have been five distinct seals used. The second charter granted by King Charles the Second to the Proprietors of Carolina, dated the 30th day of June in the seventeenth year of his reign, A. D. 1665, recited the fact that he had been "graciously pleased to grant unto our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor Edward Earl of Clarendon, our high chancellor of England; our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor George Duke of Albemarle, master of our horse; our right trusty and well-beloved William now Earl of Craven; our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor John Lord Berkeley; our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Anthony Lord Ashley, chancellor of our exchequer; our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Sir George Carteret, knight and baronet, vice-chancellor of our household; our right trusty and well-beloved Sir John Colleton, knight and baronet; and Sir William Berkeley, knight; all that province, territory, or tract of ground, called Carolina, situate, lying and being within our dominions of America; extending from the north end of the island called Luke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginia seas, and within thirty-six degrees of north latitude; and to the west, as far as the south seas; and so respectively as far as the river of Matthias, which bordereth upon the coast of Florida, and within thirty-one degrees of northern latitude; and so west, in a direct line, as far as the south seas aforesaid."

NOTE.—All the illustrations used herein are the actual sizes of the seals they represent.

The cut of the Albemarle seal is taken from an impression in the courthouse at Edenton; those of George II. and George III. from seals loaned by Mr. John G. Wood, of Edenton, and by the Hall of History at Raleigh.

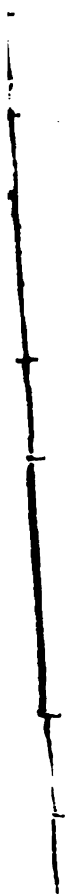
U. S. Hist. Comm. 7-7-09.8

These high functionaries thought proper to adopt for this imperial domain a seal, of which no official description has been found, but is to be seen in the Public Record Office in London. The obverse side has a shield bearing on its face two cornucopias crossed, filled with products and having for supporters, on the sinister side, an Indian chief holding an arrow. On the dexter is an Indian squaw with a pappoose by her side and one in her arms. These natives, I imagine, are supposed to be bringing tribute. The crest is a stag upon a wreath above a helmet from which there is a mantling. On the scroll below the shield is the motto, *DOMITUS CULTORIBUS ORBIS*. Around the shield are the words *MAGNUM SIGILLUM CAROLINAE DOMINORUM*. On the reverse is a disc bearing a cross, around which are arranged the coats-of-arms of the Lords Proprietors in the following order: Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, John Berkeley, Cooper, Carteret, William Berkeley and Colleton. The size of this seal is $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and was made by placing together two wax cakes with tape between before being impressed, and was about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. This seal was used on all the official papers of the Lords Proprietors for Carolina, embracing North and South Carolina.

About 1665 the Government of Albemarle was organized, and they adopted for a seal the reverse side of the seal of the Lords Proprietors. Between the coats the word *A-L-B-E-M-A-R-L-E* was fixed in capitals, beginning with the letter A between the arms of Clarendon and Albemarle, L between Albemarle and Craven, BE between the Craven arms and those of Lord John Berkeley, etc.

This was a small seal $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, with one face only, and is now frequently to be found attached to colonial papers. It is generally impressed on red wax, but is occasionally seen impressed on a paper wafer which is stuck to the instrument with soft wax. It was first used for the government of the County of Albemarle, and then became the seal of the Province of North Carolina, being used until just after the purchase by the Crown.¹ During the troublous times of the Cary rebellion the Albemarle seal was not used. In 1708 Cary used his family arms on a large seal to his official papers. A fine

¹Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 1200. See Appendix.





SEAL OF THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA.
(Obverse.)

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.



SEAL OF THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA.
(Reverse.)



SEAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ALBEMARLE AND
PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA 166— TO 1730.

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.

specimen of this seal showing the Cary arms is preserved in the Secretary of State's office. During Glover's presidency (1710) he used his private seal, and on one occasion he writes: "These papers ought to have come under the public seal, but that being forcibly detained in the hands of those who are professed enemies of the Church as well as to all good order, it could not be procured on this occasion."²

In 1720 Westmoreland and others composing the Lords of Trade proposed to the Lords Justices "that two great seals should forthwith be prepared to be used in the two Provinces of South and North Carolina,"³ but I find no record of any action being taken upon this recommendation. On February 3, 1729/30, the Lords of Trade recommended to the King that he order a public seal for the Province of North Carolina.⁴

On February 21, 1729/30, his Majesty in council was pleased to approve and order "that a Publick Seal be prepared and given to the Governor of the said Province of North Carolina. And that the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations do cause a Draft of such seal to be prepared and laid before His Majesty at the Board for his Royal Approbation."⁵

On March 25, 1730, the Lords of Trade laid before his Majesty for his royal approbation a draft of a proposed seal for the Province of North Carolina "whereon Liberty is represented introducing Plenty to your Majesty with this Motto *Quae sera tamen respexit* and this inscription round the circumference *Sigillum Provinciae Nostrae Carolinae, Septentrionalis.*" The background on which the King and these figures stand is an outline map of the coastal region of North Carolina, and in the offing is to be seen a ship. "On the reverse of this seal we would humbly propose Your Majesty's Arms, Crown, Garter, Supporters and Motto with this Inscription round the circumference, *Geo: II: Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae, et Hiberniae, Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvici et Lunenbergi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurarius, et Elector.*"⁶ On the 10th day of April, 1730, the King approved the above recommendations, except that it appears *Georgius Secundus* was to be substituted for *Geo. II.*, and his chief engraver of seals was ordered to "engrave a silver seal according to said draught."⁷ Mr. Rollos,

²C. R., Vol. I, p. 733.

³C. R., Vol. III, p. 75.

⁴C. R., Vol. III, pp. 79-80.

⁵C. R., Vol. II, p. 394.

⁶C. R., Vol. III, p. 76.

⁷C. R., Vol. III, p. 80.

his Majesty's engraver, was ordered to prepare a draft of the seal.⁸ About this same time Mr. Rollos was preparing seals for New Jersey,⁹ the Barbadoes, Jamaica and Virginia.

In 1730 the new seal for North Carolina was sent to Governor Burrington and the old seal ordered returned "to our Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to be laid before us as usual in order to its being defaced in like manner with other seals by us in our Privy Council."¹⁰

There seems to have been some delay in receiving the new seal, for at a council held at Edenton, March 30, 1731, it was "ordered that the old seal of the Colony be used till the new seal arrives."¹¹ The latter part of April the seal came, and "the messenger that went to Cape Fear to fetch the Publick Seal of this Province" was paid the sum of ten pounds for his journey.¹²

This seal was made by placing two cakes or layers of wax together, between which was the ribbon or tape with which the instrument was interlaced and by which the seal was appended. It was customary to put a piece of paper on the outside of these cakes before they were impressed. The seal complete was $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter and from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick and weighed about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ounces.

In 1736 Governor Johnston imagined that the seal of the late Lords Proprietors "might yet remain in the Province and be privately affixed to blank patents which had been left subscribed with the names of the Proprietors' Council, but not sealed," so an inquiry was made of Governor Burrington and Mr. Skelton, Secretary of the late Lords Proprietors, to know what had been done with the old seal; whereupon Governor Burrington reported that he had transmitted the Proprietors' seal to the Duke of Newcastle, one of the King's Secretaries of State.¹³

In January, 1739/40, Governor Johnston was reproved for his failure to annex the Great Seal of the Province to Acts transmitted to Whitehall.¹⁴

At a council held at New Bern, December 14, 1767, Governor Tryon produced to the Board a new Great Seal for the Province

⁸C. R., Vol. III, p. 125.

⁹Zieber, *Heraldry in America*, p. 157.

¹⁰C. R., Vol. III, pp. 119, 120, 125, 133.

¹¹C. R., Vol. III, p. 215.

¹²C. R., Vol. III, p. 203.

¹³C. R., Vol. IV, pp. 201, 202, 213, 214.

¹⁴C. R., Vol. IV, pp. 420, 424.



SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA 1730-1767.
(Reverse.)



SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA USED AFTER 1767.
(Obverse.)

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.



SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA USED AFTER 1767.
(Reverse.)

with his Majesty's Royal Warrant bearing date at the Court of St. James the 9th day of July, 1767. The old seal was sent to New York by Captain Collet, commander of Fort Johnston, to be returned to his Majesty's Council Office of Whitehall. Accompanying his Majesty's warrant was a description of the new seal, which was engraved on the one side with the royal "Arms, Garter, Crown, Supporters and Motto, and this inscription round the circumference *Georgius III D: G: Mag. Bri. Fr. et Hib. Rex, F. D. Brun, et Lun. Dux. S. R. I. ar Thes. et El.* on the other side our Royal Effigies; and Liberty represented introducing Plenty to us, with this Motto—*Quae Sera Tamen Respexit*—and this legend round the circumference *Sigillum, Provinciae Nostrae Carolinae, Septentrionalis.*" This seal was to be used in sealing all patents and grants of lands and all public instruments passed in the King's name and service within the province.¹⁵ It was 4 inches in diameter, $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ inches thick, and weighed $4\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. In 1767 "His Majesty in Council approved fourteen new seals for the following Islands and Provinces in America viz: Jamaica, Barbadoes, Leward Islands, Bahama Islands, Nova Scotia, Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia."¹⁶ It is probable that the reverse of all these was the same and in some of them the obverse sides had points of similarity.

It appears that sometimes a smaller seal than the Great Seal was used, as I have seen commissions and grants with a small heart-shaped seal about one inch wide and a quarter of an inch thick which was impressed with a crown. Also a seal was occasionally used about three inches long and two inches wide and half an inch thick, in the shape of an ellipse. These impressions were evidently made by putting the wax far enough under the edge of the Great Seal to take the impression of the crown. The royal governors also sometimes used their private seals on commissions, etc.

Lord Granville on the grants issued by him used his private seal. The last reference I find to the Colonial Seal is in a letter from Governor Martin to the Earl of Hillsboro in November,

¹⁵C. R., Vol. VII, pp. 532-533.

¹⁶C. R., Vol. XI, p. 211.

1771, in which he said "that the Province Seal was broke," but that he had had it repaired and that it had been "awkwardly mended but in such manner as to answer all purposes."¹⁷

When the government of the State of North Carolina was organized, the Constitution adopted at Halifax, December 18, 1776, provided, Section XVII, "That there shall be a seal of this State, which shall be kept by the Governor, and used by him as occasion may require; and shall be called the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina and be affixed to all grants and commissions." The Constitutional Convention of 1835 brought this section forward unchanged.

The Convention of 1868 changed the Constitution somewhat and the Convention of 1875 brought the section referring to the seal forward as adopted in 1868, which now reads:

"Sec. 16. There shall be a seal of the State, which shall be kept by the Governor, and used by him as occasion may require, and shall be called 'The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina.' All grants and commissions shall be issued in the name and by the authority of the State of North Carolina, sealed with 'The Great Seal of the State,' signed by the Governor and countersigned by the Secretary of State."

On December 22, 1776, an ordinance was passed by the Congress at Halifax appointing William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Thomas Burke commissioners to procure a Great Seal for the State of North Carolina, but I find no record of a report being made by this commission. The ordinance provided that the Governor should use his "private seal at arms" until the Great Seal was secured. On April 29, 1778, a bill which became a law on May 2d was introduced in the House of Commons of

NOTE.—In the Constitution adopted by the free men of the State of Franklin in convention assembled at Jonesborough the 17th of December, 1784, a seal was provided for in the following section:

"Sect. 17—That there Shall be a Seal of this State, which shall be kept by the Governor and used by him as Occasion may Require and shall be called the Great Seal of the State of Franklin, & be affixed to all Grants and Commissions." (C. R., Vol. 22, p. 666.)

I do not recall ever having seen a seal of the State of Franklin on the Franklin papers in this office.

¹⁷C. R., Vol. IX, p. 50.



1779-1794.
(Obverse.)

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.



1779-1794.
(Reverse.)

the General Assembly held in New Berne for procuring a Great Seal for the State.¹⁸ It provided "that William Tisdale, Esq., be and he is hereby appointed to cut and engrave a seal, under the direction of his Excellency the Governor, for the use of the State." On Sunday, November 7, 1779, the Senate concurred in a resolution passed by the House of Commons allowing William Tisdale, Esq., the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds for making the Great Seal of the State.¹⁹ Under this act a seal was secured which was used until 1794. The actual size of this seal was three inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. It was made by putting two cakes of wax together with paper wafers on the outside and pressed between the dies forming the obverse and reverse sides of this seal. The seal press must have been very large and unwieldy, for Governor Spaight in writing to Colonel Thomas in February, 1793, said: "Let the screws by which the impression is to be made be as portable as possible so as it may be adapted to our present Itinerant Government. The one now in use by which the Great Seal is at present made is so large and unwieldy as to be carried only in a cart or wagon and of course has become stationary at the Secretary's office which makes it very inconvenient." Governor Spaight in January, 1793, in writing of the Tisdale seal then in use says: "The old Seal is not only nearly worn out but in my opinion has been always a reproach to the genius of the State." An official de-

NOTE.—In the library at Grimesland, among the papers of the late General Bryan Grimes, are nine of the Tisdale seals in good condition pendant to grants dated from 1779 to 1784.

There is also a seal of North Carolina, to a grant dated 1745, which is bulkier than the George II seals usually seen, and is $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch thick and without the usual paper covering.

There are also two imperfect impressions of the Albemarle seal to two grants dated in 1715. These two grants, containing 1228 acres, then called Mt. Calvert and Mt. Pleasant and now a part of Grimesland Plantation, are among the first entries made in Tuscarora territory after the Treaty of Peace, and were the first lands granted on Tar River.

Among these papers is a grant from the Earl of Granville for 700 acres, bearing his seal, and this is the only grant I recall ever having seen with his seal attached.

¹⁸C. R., Vol. XII, pp. 612, 613, 620, 642, 646, 654, 730, 737, 759, 751.

¹⁹C. R., Vol. XIII, pp. 891, 956, 983.



1779-1794.
(Obverse.)

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.



1779-1794.
(Reverse.)

"be prepared with one side only, and calculated to make the impression on the face of such grant, commission, record or other public act," etc. Governor Martin commissioned Col. Abisha Thomas, the agent of North Carolina in Philadelphia for the settlement of the State's Revolutionary claims against the Federal Government, to have one made, at the same time sending him a design therefor.²⁰ After correspondence between Governor Martin and Colonel Thomas concerning the seal, in which suggestions were made by Dr. Hugh Williamson and Senator Samuel Johnston, both attending Congress in Philadelphia at that time, they concluded that the design offered by Governor Martin would not do, and Colonel Thomas submitted a sketch by an artist. The sketch submitted by the artist to Governor Martin is as follows: "The figures are Minerva in the act of introducing Ceres with her horn of plenty to Liberty, who is seated on a pedestal holding in her right hand a book on which is inscribed the word 'Constitution.' In the background are introduced a pyramid, denoting strength and durability and a pine tree which relates immediately to the produce of the State."

This sketch, omitting Minerva and with other changes, was finally accepted by Governor Spaight, and Colonel Thomas had the seal made accordingly. The seal was cut some time in the summer of 1793, and Colonel Thomas brought it home with him in time for the meeting of the Legislature in November, 1793, at which session it was "approved." The screw to the seal would not work, so in 1794 the General Assembly passed an act authorizing the use of the old seal of 1778 until the new one could be put in order.²¹ No official description of this seal has been found, but it was very much like the present one. It has two figures, Liberty and Plenty. Liberty is seated on a pedestal with her pole in her right hand, and her cap on the pole; in her left hand is a scroll with the word "Constitution" upon it. Plenty is standing to the left and front of Liberty; around her head is a circlet of flowers; in her right hand, leaning against her shoulder, is her cornucopia, mouth upwards, overflowing with fruits and produce. In her left is an ear of corn. Around the circumference are the words THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

²⁰See Appendix.

²¹See Appendix, Act of 1794.

This seal was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, slightly larger than the present one, and was used until about 1835.

In the winter of 1834-'35 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to procure a new seal. The preamble to the act states that the old seal had been in use since the first day of March, 1793.²² The seal adopted in 1835, which was used until 1883, was very similar to its predecessor. On it Liberty and Plenty faced each other. Liberty standing, her pole with cap on it in her left hand, and a scroll with the word "Constitution" inscribed thereon in her right hand. Plenty, sitting down, her right arm half extended towards Liberty, three heads of wheat in her right hand, and in her left the small end of her horn, the mouth of which is resting at her feet, and the contents of her horn rolling out. Around the circumference were the words The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina. This seal was $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. In 1868 the Legislature authorized the Governor to procure a Great Seal, and required him to provide a new seal whenever the old one was lost or so worn or defaced as to render it unfit for use.²³

In 1883 Col. S. McD. Tate introduced a bill, which became an act (Chapter 392, Public Laws of 1883), and was incorporated in The Code as section 3329. The seal therein provided for is described as follows:

"The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina shall be two and one-quarter inches in diameter, and its design shall be a representation of the figures of Liberty and Plenty, looking toward each other, but not more than half fronting each other, and otherwise disposed as follows: Liberty, the first figure, standing, her pole with cap on it in her left hand and a scroll with the word 'Constitution' inscribed thereon in her right hand. Plenty, the second figure, sitting down, her right arm half extended towards Liberty, three heads of wheat in her right hand, and in her left the small end of her horn, the mouth of which is resting at her feet, and the contents of the horn rolling out."

NOTE.—I can find no record of a new seal having been procured in 1868.

²²Should have been 1794.

²³See Appendix.



1836-1883.

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.



1893-1907.

ACTUAL SIZE OF SEAL.

At this time the ship that appeared in the offing in the seals of George II and George III and in our seals from 1835 to 1883 seems to have disappeared, and the designer of the seal shows mountains in the background instead of both the mountains and the sea as formerly.

In 1893 Hon. Jacob Battle introduced a bill which became chapter 145. This made no change in the seal of 1883 except to add at the foot of the coat-of-arms of the State as a part thereof the motto "*Esse Quam Videri*," and that the words "May 20, 1775," is inscribed at the top of the coat-of-arms.²⁴

The present Great Seal of the State of North Carolina is described as follows:

The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina is two and one-quarter inches in diameter, and its design is a representation of the figures of Liberty and Plenty, looking toward each other, but not more than half fronting each other, and otherwise disposed as follows: Liberty, the first figure, standing, her pole with cap on it in her left hand and a scroll with the word "Constitution" inscribed thereon in her right hand. Plenty, the second figure, sitting down, her right arm half extended towards Liberty, three heads of wheat in her right hand, and in her left the small end of her horn, the mouth of which is resting at her feet, and the contents of horn rolling out. In the exergon is inserted the words May 20, 1775, above the coat-of-arms. Around the circumference is the legend "The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina" and the motto "*Esse Quam Videri*."

NOTE.—The North Carolina Historical Commission will appreciate the gift or loan of North Carolina seals in order to make a complete collection of the same. They will also be glad to get the private seals and coats-of-arms of the early Governors of North Carolina and of families identified with the history of the State.

²⁴See Appendix. Secs 5320, 5339, 5340, Vol. II, Revisal of 1905 of N. C.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Just after the Revolution several of the States adopted seals, bearing the figures of Minerva and Ceres or Liberty and Plenty. Liberty and Plenty appeared in the North Carolina colonial seal and are now in our Great Seal.

On the reverse of the Virginia seal of 1776 are the figures of Liberty with her pole and cap, Plenty with the three heads of wheat in her right hand and the cornucopia held in her left hand with the mouth leaning against her shoulder and Aeternitas with the globe and phoenix. One of the first shields prepared for the United States by the committee of the Continental Congress in 1776 composed of Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, had as one of the "supporters Dexter the Goddess of Liberty in a corselet of armour, alluding to the present times, holding in her right hand the spear and cap and with her left supporting the shield of the States."²⁵

In 1780 another committee reported another seal to Congress on the reverse side of which was "The figure of Liberty seated in a chair holding the staff and cap. The motto SEMPER and underneath MDCCLXXVI."²⁶

The Goddess of Liberty appears in the present seals of Arkansas, Idaho and other States. The figure of Liberty also appears in an early Pennsylvania seal. The design of the seal of New Jersey has the figures of Liberty with pole and cap, and Plenty with cornucopia in left hand, leaning against her shoulder, etc. This was designed by Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere of Philadelphia in October, 1776. He had just furnished the seal of Virginia in August, 1776, and was then preparing the Georgia and Delaware seals. The figure of Liberty with her pole and cap appears in the New York seal. The reverse side of the Colonial Seal of New York in the reigns of George II. and George III., as far as I can judge from illustrations and descriptions I have seen, was identical with the North Carolina seals of that period; in fact, I take it that the royal arms constituted the reverse side of the seals of all the royal colonies.

[C. R., Vol. III, page 79.]

(B. P. R. O., North Carolina, B. T., Vol. 21, p. 26, now Colonial Office, Class 5, Vol. 323.)

LORDS OF TRADE TO THE KING, 25 MARCH, 1730.

To the King's most Excell. Majesty

May it please Yor Majesty.

In Obedience to Yor. Majtys commands signified to Us by Your Order in Council of ye 21th of last Month, directing us, to cause the

NOTE.—There is some difference in the extracts from Colonial Records as appear here and in the printed volumes. The proof of the copy here was verified from the original papers now in the Colonial Office in London by Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown.

²⁵Zieber, p. 96. ²⁶Zieber, p. 97.

Draught of a Seal to be prepared for Your Majesty's Province of North Carolina, & to lay the Same before Your Majesty for Your Royal Approbation, We humbly take leave to Annex hereto a draught accordingly whereon Liberty is represented, introducing Plenty to Your Majesty with this Motto, Quae sera tamen respexit, and this Inscription round the Circumference: Sigillum Provinciae Nostrae Carolinae Septentrionalis

On the Reverse of this Seal, We would humbly propose Your Majesty's Arms, Crown, Garter, Supporters & Motto, with this Inscription round the circumference, Geo: II: Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae, et Hiberniae, Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvici et Lunebergi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurarius, et Elector.

All which is most humbly submitted.

WESTMORELAND
P. DOCMINIQUE
T. PELHAM
M. BLADEN
ED. ASHE

Whitehall March 25th 1730.

[C. R., Vol. III, page 79.]

(B. P. R. O., North Carolina, B. T., Vol. 8, A. 7, now Colonial Office, Class 5, Vol. 293.)

AT THE COURT AT ST. JAMES'S THE 10TH DAY OF APRIL 1730.

PRESENT

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

Upon reading this day at the Board a Report from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 25th of March last with the Draught of a Seal for the Province of North Carolina, whereon Liberty is represented introducing Plenty to His Majesty with this Motto Quae sera tamen respexit; and this inscription round the Circumference, Sigillum Provinciae Nostrae Carolinae Septentrionalis. And the said Lords Commissioners humbly propose that on the Reverse may be His Majesty's Arms, Crown, Garter Supporters, and Motto with this inscription round the Circumference, Georgius Secundus, Dei Gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Rex Fidei Defensor; Brunsvici et Lunebergi Dux; Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Thesaurarius, et Elector:—His Majesty in Council this day took the same into Consideration and was pleased to approve thereof, and to Order as it is hereby Ordered that His Chief Engraver of Seals Do forthwith Engrave a Silver Seal according to the said Draught which is hereunto annexed and to what is above proposed by the said Lords Commisrs. for the Reverse of the said Seal;

And His Grace the Duke of Newcastle one of His Majesty's Principall Secretaries of State is to Cause a Warrant to be prepared for His Majesty's Royall Signature to the said Engraver as usual upon the like Occasions.

A true Copy

JA: VERNON.

[C. R., Vol. III, page 119.]

(B. P. R. O., Am. and W. Ind., No. 592, now Colonial Office, Class 5, Vol. 306.)

**WARRANT TRANSMITTING NEW SEAL FOR NORTH
CAROLINA, 1730.**

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved George Burrington Esqre Our Captain General and Governor in Chief of Our Province of North Carolina in America; Or to the Commander in Chief of Our said Province for the time being, Greeting. With this you will receive a Seal prepared by Our Order for the Use of Our said Province the same being Engraven on the one side with our Arms, Garter, Crown, Supporters and Motto, and this Inscription round the Circumference, *Georgius H. D. G. Mag. Bri: Fr et Hib. Rex. F. D. Brun. et Lun. Dux. S. R. I. Arc. Th. et Pr. El.* on the other Side Our Royal Effigies, and Liberty represented introducing Plenty to Us with this Motto. *Quae Sera Tamen Respexit.* And this Inscription round the Circumference, *Sigillum Provinciae Nostrae Carolinae Septentrionalis.* Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby Authorize and direct, that the said Seal be used in the Sealing all Patents and Grants of Lands, and all Publick Instruments which shall be made and passed in Our Name and for Our Service within Our said Province; And that the same be to all Intents and Purposes, of the same Force and Validity as any other Seal heretofore used within the said Province. And we do further Command and require you upon the receipt of the said Seal, to return the former Seal to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to be laid before Us as usual, in order to it's being defaced in like manner with other Seals by Us in our Privy Council. Given at Our Court at St. James's the ... Day of..... 1730, in the fourth Year of Our Reign.

[C. R., Vol. III, page 120.]

(B. P. R. O. North Carolina, B. T., Vol. 8, A. 10, now Colonial Office,
Class 5, Vol. 306.)

AT THE COURT AT ST. JAMES'S THE 14TH DAY OF DECEMBER 1730
PRESENT

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCILL

A New Seale for His Majestys Province of North Carolina having been this day laid before His Majesty in Councill for His Royall Approbation His Majesty was pleased to approve thereof and to Order

as it is hereby Ordered that the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations Do prepare a Draught of a Warrant for transmitting the said Seale to the Governor of the said Province and Empowering him to make use thereof—And the said Lords Commissioners are to lay the said Draught before his Grace the Duke of Newcastle One of His Majestys Principall Secretarys of State in Order to Obtain His Majestys Sign Manuall thereto—And afterwards to transmitt the said Warrant with the said Seale to the Governor of the said Province accordingly.

JAS VERNON.

[C. R., Vol. III, page 120.]

(B. P. R. O., Am. and W. Ind., No. 592, now Colonial Office, Class 5, Vol. 306.)

**LORDS OF TRADE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,
DECEMBER 31th, 1730.**

MY LORD,

Having in obedience to his Majesty's Order in Council of the 14th Instant, prepared the Draught of a Warrant for transmitting a new Seal for His Majesty's Province of North Carolina, to the Governor of the said Province, empowering him to make use thereof, and requiring him to transmit the old Seal in Order to its being defaced in like manner with other Seals by his Majesty in Council; We here inclose the said Draught of a Warrant which we desire your Grace will please to lay before His Majesty for his Royal Signature.

We are

My Lord, Your Grace's
most obedient and
most humble Servants

P. DOCMINIQUE
T. PELHAM
JA: BRUDENELL
CH. CROFT

Whitchall December 31st 1730.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

[C. R., Vol. VII, p. 532.]

(From *M.S. Records in Office of the Secretary of State.*)

COUNCIL JOURNALS.

At a Council held at Newbern Monday 14th December 1767

His Excellency produced to this Board a new Great Seal of this province, with his Majesty's Royal warrant bearing date at the Court of St. James the 9th day of July 1767—Authorizing the use of the same, and requiring the old seal to be returned to his Majestys Council office of Whitehall

And his Excellency informed this Board, that he yesterday sent the old seal to New York by Capt. Collet Commander of Fort Johnston in order to be forwarded Home—Ordered—That a Proclamation issue inserting His Majestys warrant for the use of the new seal in the following words, Viz—

NORTH CAROLINA—SS.

By His Excellency William Tryon Esq' &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I have received from the Earl of Shelburne one of his Majestys principal Secretaries of State a new Great Seal for this Province with a warrant under his Majestys sign Manual to use the same in the following words, Viz

George R. To our trusty and well beloved William Tryon Esq' our Captain General and Governor in Chief of our province of North Carolina In America or to the Commander in Chief of our said province for the time—GREETING :

With this you will receive a Seal prepared by our order for the use of our said province; the seal being engraved on the one side with our Arms, Garter, Crown Supporters and Motto, and this inscription round the circumference Georgius III, D: G: Mag, Bri, Fr, et Hib, Rex, F. D. Brun, et Lun, Dux. S. R. I. ar Thes, et El. on the other side our Royal Effigies; and Liberty represented introducing Plenty to us, with this Motto—Quae Sera Tamen Respexit—and this inscription round the circumference Sigillum, Provinciae, Nostrae, Carolinae, Septentrionalis—Our will and Pleasure, is and we do hereby authorize and direct that the said seal be used in sealing all Patents and Grants of Lands, and all Public Instruments which shall be made and passed in our name, and for our Service within the said Province; and that it be to all Intents and Purposes of the same force and validity, as any other seal heretofore used within the said Province, And we do further will and require you upon Receipt of the said seal, to return the old seal to our Council Office at Whitehall in order to its being defaced by us in our privy Council. Given at our Court at St. James's the 9th day of July 1767

In the seventh year of our Reign

By his Majestys Command

SHELBURNE.

I have therefore thought proper by and with the advice and consent of his Majestys Council to issue this proclamation to notify that the New Great Seal will from the date hereof be made use of in this Province, and that the late Great Seal agreeable to the Royal Commands is transmitted to England

Given under my hand and the Great seal of this province at Newbern
WM TRYON.

[C. R., Vol. IV, page 1198.]

NEW-BERN the 5th of April 1749.?

NORTH CAROLINA.

To his Excellency Gabriel Johnston Esqre Captain General and Commander in Chief of his Majesties Province of North Carolina

The Memorial of the Members of His Majesty's Council of the said Province.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

After the Charter granted by King Charles to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina they formed several Constitutions or Rules of Government wherein (inter alias) It was provided that the lands should be laid off into Counties each county to be a seperate Government and a Proprietor or his Deputy to have the Government of it But still the whole eight Counties to be under the Government of the Eight Proprietors accordingly the first Government or County was that of Clarendon County on Cape Fear River so called from the Earl of that Title first mentioned in the Charter the second was that of Albemarle from the duke of that name next in the Charter and it is to be remarked that the Deed of Grant to this County so highly valued by the Inhabitants of it and upon which so great a stress is laid with regard to his Majesty rents was directed to Samuel Stephens Governour of our above County of Albemarle and the seal of that County Government (used as the seal of North Carolina untill the King's purchase) had together with the arms of the eight Proprietors the word Albemarle in capitals fixed between the Coats.

NATH: RICE
ROBERT HALTON
ROGER MOORE

ELEAZAR ALLEN
MATHEW ROWAN

CORRESPONDENCE.

ABISHA THOMAS TO GOVERNOR ALEXANDER MARTIN.²⁷

PHILAD[E]L[PHIA], 16th June 1792

SIR

Doctor Williamson happened to be here when your letters arrived, which I was certainly much pleased with. He took possession of the great Seal business, kept it two days, then threw it on my hands and went off without doing any thing in it. This is truly alarming, for really I know nothing about the business and I am afraid of having it spoiled. besides the Doctor advised me not to have it done, he found fault with the Latin of the Motto; however I consider your Excellency's instructions superior to his advice. I will hold council with some of the Conmissieurs and endeavor to have it elegantly executed.

I am with much respect and attachment

Sir

Your Excellency's

Most obt. Servt.

ABISHA THOMAS TO GOVERNOR ALEXANDER MARTIN.²⁸

PHILAD[E]L[PHIA]. 22 July 1792

SIR

Since my last to you I have consulted Mr. Johnston²⁹ respecting the great Seal, he told me that Doct[or] Williamson has shewed him the device, and suggested some additions or alterations, which he said the Doctor would propose to your Excellency when he met you at Hillsborough in August, in consequence of which I have postponed having it executed until I again hear from you on the subject.

GOV. RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT TO ABISHA THOMAS.³⁰

NEWBERY 9th January 1793.

SIR;

I have understood from Gov: Martin that he had wrote to you, to procure a great seal for the State agreeable³¹ to an act of the General Assembly at their sessions in 1791 and that you had undertaken to

²⁷A. L. North Carolina Historical Commission. Executive Files. Alexander Martin. Draft in handwriting of Abisha Thomas.

²⁸A. L. North Carolina Historical Commission. Executive Files. Governor Martin. Draft in handwriting of Abisha Thomas.

²⁹Samuel Johnston [?], then in United States Senate.

³⁰From Executive Letter Book, p. 9. ³¹In the original: agreeable.

have a proper one executed and sent forward. If it is executed I will thank you to forward it to me as soon as possible if it is not finished I will be obliged to you to have it done immediately and sent to me. as the old Seal is not only nearly worn out but in my Opinion has been always a reproach to the genius of the State.

I am Sir

Yr. most Obt Servant

RICHD. D. SPAIGHT.

Abisha Thomas Esquire Agent for the State of No Carolina.

ABISHA THOMAS TO RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT.²²

PHILADELPHIA 24th January 1793.

SIR

P. S. January 30th.

With regard to the Great Seal I am at a loss how to act. It is agreed on all hands that the Sketch transmitted by Governor Martin will not do. He authorized me to procure an artist to sketch something from it and to transmit the same to him for approbation. I did so, he disapproved and directed me to proceed no farther in the business untill farther orders—thus the matter rests. I send you a copy of the Governors sketch with his explanation. I wish I could send you the other but did not copy it perhaps Governor Martin has furnished you with it. howev I can nearly (perhaps precisely) explain it, the figures are Minerva in the act of introducing Ceres with her horn of plenty to Liberty who is seated on a pedestal holding in her right hand a book on which is inscribed the word "Constitution" in the back ground are introduced a pyramid denoting Strength and durability; and a pine tree which relates immediately to the produce of the State &c. the first is too complex to be executed on so small a Scale, besides say the men of science it is not conformable to the rules of Heraldry to quarter the Arms or the Seal of a single sovereign State. The Governor wished to have something expressive of Commerce and Agriculture introduced; this I think might be done in addition to the figures above named. He also authorized me to change the Motto from "*His Cresco*" to "*Haec munera nostro.*"

With the utmost respect and attachment

I remain Sir

Your Excellency's

Most Obedient Sert.

ABISHA THOMAS.

²²From Letter Book of Governor Spaight. North Carolina Historical Commission collection.

His Excellencys Richd. Dobbs Spaight Esqr. Govr. &c.

(ENCLOSURE.)

The great seal is laid off into quarters, the first Sinister is intended for a Sheaf of Wheat and I wish that Ceres with her torch could be inserted to represent the farming interest in the Western part of this State. The first dexter is intended for *Amalthea* with her cornucoplae heaped with Indian corn, that the Corn is falling out representing the great planting interest of Roanoke and the Northern part. the second Dexter is filled with Hhds. barrels and bales of Goods representing the Commerce of the State. the fourth Sinister contains a pine tree representing the lumber pitch tar and turpentine productions of the Southern part with liberty standing under the shade with her cap on a staff by her right hand and the Constitution held by her left. The Artist must correct the disposition of the figures and give them such ornaments and ease necessary, for the classic drapery of the two Goddesses or rather ladies he must consult the cuts of the Pantheon.—I think however their robes are lose and open before to the Knee some part of which are tied with a knot. The motto "His cresco" to be done in the shape of a ribband or label at the bottom. the whole to be engraved deep that a fair and plain impression may be perceived. The diameter of the Seal comprehends three inches. I am doubtfull this size is rather too large, the size of the great seal of the United States would be about proper if the figures can be inserted as well as in the size herewith.

(signed) ALEX MARTIN.

GOV. RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT TO ABISHA THOMAS.²³

NORTH CAROLINA NEWBERN 18th February 1793.

SIR

Being perfectly ignorant of the Science of Heraldry I would not presume to give any particular directions respecting the great Seal of the State the copy you sent Governor Martin I saw when it was in the Commons but cannot find it among the papers returned to me by Mr. Hunt I prefer it by far to Governor Martin's Sketch I think his too large and the Objects too crowded and diminutive. the fault which you found with the copy you sent the Governor might be easily amended by adding a Ship in the most proper part which is in my opinion the most sublime emblem of Commerce, and will stand for boxes, bails, tobacco, Hhds. pitch, tar, and turpentine barrels, and a thousand other minute articles the basis of Commerce.

I shall leave the business wholly to you, you are in a City where the arts and Sciences are understood and where you can get the

²³From Executive Letter Book, pp. 20-21.

necessary information and assistance. I shall be glad to have it done soon and forwarded to me. let the screw by which the impression is to be made be as portable as possible so as it may be adapted to our present Itinerant Government. the one now in use by which the great seal is at present made is so large and unwieldy as to be carried only in a Cart or Waggon and of course has become stationary at the Secretary's Office which makes it very inconvenient.

I have the honor to be with respect

Sir

Your most Obedt. Servant

RICH. D. SPAIGHT.

Abisha Thomas esqr. Philadelphia.

GOV. RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT TO ABISHA THOMAS,²⁴

NEW BERN 24th. June 1793.

DEAR SIR

I have not yet been informed by you whether any or what progress has been made in getting a Great Seal for the State. I wish it could be done as soon as possible, consistant with having it well done. I want it likewise complete with a steel screw to make the impression, and portable enough to be carried about without much difficulty.

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obt. Servt.

RICHD. D. SPAIGHT.

Abisha Thomas esquire Philadelphia.

ABISHA THOMAS TO GOV. RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT,²⁵

DEAR SIR

I have now in hand the Great Seal. Dr. Williamson is so obliging as to aid me, and from his extensive knowledge and assiduity, I feel sanguine that something will be produced, which will merit the approbation of your Excellency and the legislature.

I am with much respect

Yr. Excellencys

Mo Obed. Servant

ABISHA THOMAS.

His Excellency Richd. D. Spaight.

²⁴From Executive Letter Book, pp. 64-65.

²⁵From Executive Letter Book, pp. 70-71.

ABISHA THOMAS TO RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT.²⁸

PHILADELPHIA 8th Augt. 1794 [3].

DE SIR

Before I was taken²⁷ I endeavoured to have a screw seal press made but the makers were all so engaged that none of them could undertake it within any reasonable time. I shall however not cease my endeavours untill I get one which shall be forwarded with the wafers which are ready.

I am &c.

ABISHA THOMAS.

His Excellency Richard D. Spaight.

GOV. RICH[AR]D D[OBBS] SPAIGHT TO ABISHA THOMAS.²⁹

NEW BERN 19th. Augt. 1793.

DEAR SIR

I hope you will not fail to bring with you when you return, the new great seal, and that it may meet with the approbation of the Legislature.

I am Dear Sir

yrs. &c.

RICHARD D. SPAIGHT.

Abisha Thomas esqr.

²⁸From Executive Letter Book.

²⁷He had just written: "I received in due time your Excellency's letter of 22nd June for a fortnight past I was indisposed so as to be incapacitated for business thank God I am much recovered and yesterday turned out, this morning I feel still better."

²⁹From Executive Letter Book, p. 74.

LAWS IN REFERENCE TO SEAL, 1776-1893.

ORDINANCE ADOPTED AT HALIFAX, DECEMBER, 1776.

**AN ORDINANCE FOR APPOINTING CERTAIN COMMISSIONS THEREIN NAMED,
TO PROCURE A GREAT SEAL FOR THIS STATE, AND OTHER PURPOSES
THEREIN MENTIONED.**

Whereas it is necessary that a great seal should immediately be procured for this state for the use of the Governor for the time being, to be affixed to all grants, proclamations and other public acts; and that certain commissioners be appointed for that purpose:

II. Be it therefore ordained, and it is hereby ordained, by the representatives of the freemen of the state of North-Carolina, in Congress assembled, and by the authority of the same, That William Hooper, Joseph Heves, and Thomas Burke, Esquires, be appointed commissioners to procure for this state, for the use of the Governor for the time being thereof, a great seal, to be affixed to all grants, proclamations and other public acts.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor for the time shall, until the great seal can be procured, make use of his own private seal at arms, and affix the same to all grants, proclamations, and other public acts of this state.

Ratified the 22d of December, 1776.

ACT PASSED BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT NEWBERN, APRIL, 1778.

AN ACT FOR PROCURING A GREAT SEAL FOR THIS STATE.

Whereas it is necessary that a great seal be procured, to be used by the governor for the time being as the seal of this state:

II. Be it therefore enacted the General Assembly of the state of North-Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of same, That William Tisdale, Esq. be and he is hereby appointed to cut and engrave a seal, under the direction of his excellency the governor, for the use of the state; and the said seal, when engraved, shall be called the great seal of the state of North-Carolina, and shall be used and affixed by the governor for the time being to all grants, proclamations and other public acts of the executive authority of this state.

ACT PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT NEWBERN, DECEMBER, 1791.

**AN ACT TO PROVIDE A PROPER SEAL FOR THE STATE, AND THE SEVERAL
COURTS OF RECORD.**

I. BE it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of North-Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and required to procure

for the state a seal, which shall be called the Great Seal of North-Carolina, to be used for attesting and authenticating grants, proclamations, commissions and other public acts, in such manner as may be directed by law, and the usage established in the public offices; also a seal for each of the courts of record within this state, for the purpose of authenticating the papers and records of such courts when required.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the seals provided by the direction of this act, shall be prepared with one side only, and calculated to make the impression on the face of such grant, commission, record or other public act; and the present Great Seal shall not be used in any case whatever after the seals prescribed by this act are procured.

IV. And whereas the seals, annexed to grants and other public papers are in many cases lost and destroyed: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all such cases where any person or persons may find it necessary to have the seal of the state put again to such grant or other public papers that he, she or they may prefer his, her or their petition to the Governor and Council who shall, if they shall deem the same proper, after examining such grant or other paper, order and direct the Secretary to put the seal of the state thereto, for which he shall be allowed the usual fees.

ACT PASSED AT FAYETTEVILLE, DECEMBER, 1793.

AN ACT APPROBATING THE NEW GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE.

Whereas in pursuance of an act passed at Newbern in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, entitled, "An act to provide a proper seal for the state and the several Courts of record, the Governor hath procured a new great seal for the state, calculated to make an impression on the face of the grant, commission or other public act with one side only:

L. Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the state of North-Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That after the first day of March next, the said new great seal shall be used for attesting and authenticating all grants, commissions, proclamations, and other public acts; and the said new great seal shall be good and valid, to all intents and purposes, as the former great seal hath heretofore been, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided nevertheless, That the former great seal of the state shall and may be used for attesting and authenticating grants, commissions, proclamations and other public acts, until the said first day of March next, and until the said new seal shall be deposited in the Secretary's-office, and after that day shall be kept for the purposes mentioned in the fourth and last section of the above recited act.

**ACT PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLY HELD AT RALEIGH,
DECEMBER, 1794.**

(First General Assembly held at Raleigh.)

[Chapter 19.]

**AN ACT TO AMEND THE ACT APPOINTING THE NEW GREAT SEAL OF THE
STATE PASSED AT FAYETTEVILLE THE LAST ANNUAL SESSION.**

Whereas a proper screw has not yet been procured to make impressions with the new Great Seal :

I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of North-Carolina, and it is hereby enacted be the authority of the same, That all grants, commissions, proclamations and other public acts which have been attested and authenticated with the old Seal, since the time prescribed in the said act for the use of the new Great Seal, or which may so attested and authenticated, shall be good and valid in law to all intents and purposes. And the Governor is hereby authorised to continue the use of the old Seal until he shall be able to procure a screw to make impressions with the new one.

And whereas the said act directs that the new great Seal of the state shall be deposited in the Secretary's office, which is contrary to a provision in the constitution,

II. Be it enacted, That so much of the said act as directs the said Seal to be deposited in the Secretary's office, be and the same is hereby repealed and made void.

ACT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SESSION OF 1834-'35.

[Chapter 24.]

**AN ACT AUTHORIZING THE GOVERNOR TO PROCURE A NEW GREAT SEAL
FOR THE USE OF THE STATE.**

Whereas, the great seal of this State, which has been used since the first day of March one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, has become so much worn as to render it necessary to obtain a new one.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the Governor shall be, and he is hereby authorised to procure a great seal for this State, which shall bear suitable devices; and that such new great seal, when so procured, shall be used to attest and authenticate all grants, commissions, proclamations, and other public acts, to which such attestation and authentication may be necessary.

ACT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SESSION OF 1868-'69.

(Chapter 270.)

* * * * *

Sec. 35. The Governor shall procure for the State a seal, which shall be called the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina, to be used for attesting and authenticating grants, proclamations, commissions and other public acts, in such manner as may be directed by law, and the usage established in the public offices; also a seal for every court of record of the State, for the purpose of authenticating the papers and records of such court.

Sec. 36. Whenever the Great Seal of the State, or any seal of a court of record shall be lost, or so worn or defaced as to render it unfit for use, the Governor shall provide a new one, and when new seals are provided, the former ones shall not be used.

* * * * *

CONSTITUTION OF 1868.

Sec. 16. There shall be a seal of the State, which shall be kept by the Governor, and used by him, as occasion may require, and shall be called "the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina." All grants and commissions shall be issued in the name and by the authority of the State of North Carolina, sealed with "the Great Seal of the State," signed by the Governor and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

BATTLE'S REVISAL 1873.

(Chapter 78.)

31. The Governor shall procure for the State a seal, which shall be called the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina, to be used for attesting and authenticating grants, proclamations, commissions and other public acts, in such manner as may be directed by law, and the usage established in the public offices; also a seal for every court of record of the State, for the purpose of authenticating the papers and records of such court.

ACT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1883.

(Chapter 392.)

AN ACT CONCERNING THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina shall be two and one-quarter inches in diameter, and its design shall be a representation of the figures of Liberty and Plenty, looking toward

each other but not more than half fronting each other, and otherwise disposed as follows: Liberty, the first figure, standing, her pole with cap on it in her left hand, and a scroll with the word "Constitution" inscribed thereon in her right hand. Plenty, the second figure, sitting down, her right arm half extended toward Liberty, three heads of wheat in her right hand, and in her left the small end of her horn, the mouth of which is resting at her feet and the contents of the horn rolling out.

Sec. 2. That it shall be the duty of the Governor to file in the office of Secretary of State an impression of the Great Seal, certified to under his hand and attested by the Secretary of State, which impression so certified the Secretary of State shall cause to be bound up with this statute among the manuscript statutes of this General Assembly.

Sec. 3. That this act shall take effect from and after its ratification.

In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this the 12th day of March, A. D. 1883.

THE CODE OF NORTH CAROLINA, VOL. II.

(Chapter 41.)

Sec. 3329. *Design of Great Seal; Governor to file impression with Secretary of State.* 1883, c. 392.

The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina shall be two and one-quarter inches in diameter, and its design shall be a representation of the figures of Liberty and Plenty, looking toward each other but not more than half fronting each other, and otherwise disposed as follows: Liberty, the first figure, standing, her pole with cap on it in her left hand, a scroll with the word "Constitution" inscribed thereon in her right hand. Plenty, the second figure, sitting down, her right arm half extended towards Liberty, three heads of wheat in her right hand, and in her left the small end of her horn, the mouth of which is resting at her feet, and the contents of the horn rolling out.

It shall be the duty of the Governor to file in the office of Secretary of State an impression of the Great Seal, certified to under his hand and attested by the Secretary of State, which impression so certified the Secretary of State shall cause to be bound up with the manuscript statutes of the General Assembly of the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

ACT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1893.

(Chapter 145.)

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A STATE MOTTO.

Whereas, contrary to the usage of nearly all the States of the American Union the coat-of-arms and the Great Seal of this State bear no motto; and whereas a suitable motto, expressive of some noble sentiment and indicative of some leading trait of our people, will be instructive as well as ornamental, and the State should also keep in perpetual remembrance the immortal declaration of independence made at Charlotte: now, therefore,

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That the words "esse quam videri" are hereby adopted as the motto of this State, and as such shall be engraved on the Great Seal of North Carolina and likewise at the foot of the coat-of-arms of the State as a part thereof.

Sec. 2. That on the coat-of-arms, in addition to the motto, at the bottom, there shall be inscribed at the top the words, "May the 20th, 1775."

REVISAL OF 1905 OF NORTH CAROLINA, VOL. II.

(Chapter 114.)

Section 5320. *Motto.*—The words "esse quam videri" are hereby adopted as the motto of this State, and as such shall be engraved on the Great Seal of North Carolina and likewise at the foot of the coat-of-arms of the State as a part thereof. On the coat-of-arms, in addition to the motto, at the bottom, there shall be inscribed at the top the words, "May 20th, 1775."

1893, c. 145.

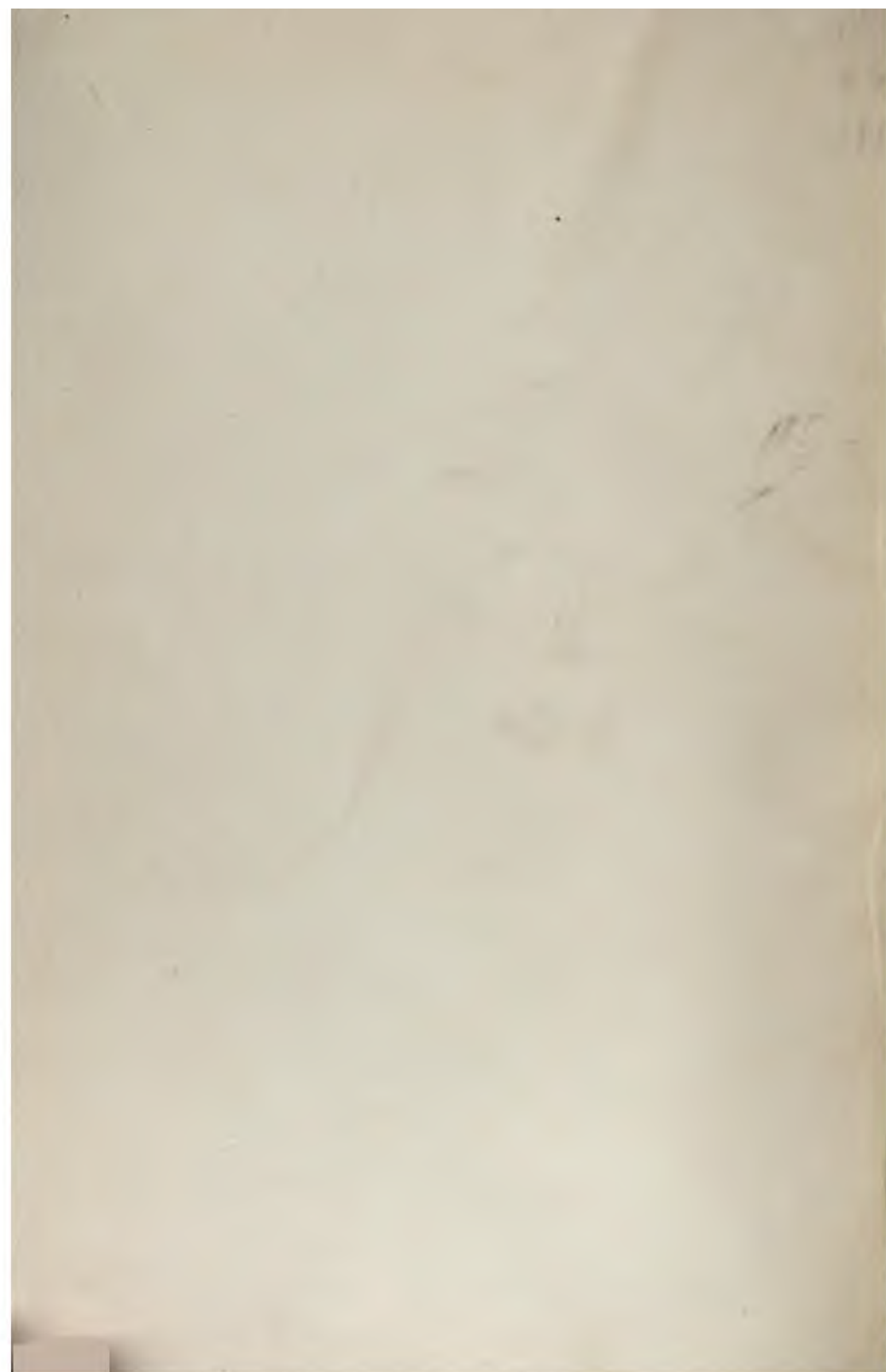
(Chapter 115.) "

Sec. 5339. *Keeper of Great Seal of State; design.*—The Governor shall procure for the State a seal, which shall be called the Great Seal of the State of North Carolina, and shall be two and one-quarter inches in diameter, and its design shall be a representation of the figures of Liberty and Plenty, looking toward each other, but not more than half fronting each other, and otherwise disposed as follows: Liberty, the first figure, standing, her pole with cap on it in her left hand and a scroll with the word "Constitution" inscribed thereon in her right hand. Plenty, the second figure, sitting down, her right arm half extended towards Liberty, three heads of wheat in her right hand, and in her left the small end of her horn, the mouth of which is resting at her feet, and the contents of the horn rolling out;

there shall also be inserted thereon the words "esse quam videri." It shall be the duty of the Governor to file in the office of Secretary of State an impression of the Great Seal, certified to under his hand and attested by the Secretary of State, which impression so certified the Secretary of State shall carefully preserve among the records of his office. Code, ss. 3328, 3329; 1868-9, c. 270, s. 35; 1883, c. 392; 1893, c. 145.

Sec. 5340. *Procures seals for each department and courts of record.*—The Governor shall also procure a seal for each department of the State government to be used for attesting and authenticating grants, proclamations, commissions and other public acts, in such manner as may be directed by law and the usage established in the public offices; also a seal for every court of record in the State, for the purpose of authenticating the papers and records of such court. All such seals shall be delivered to the proper officers, who shall give a receipt therefor and be accountable for their safe-keeping. Code, ss. 3328, 3332; 1868-9, c. 270, ss. 35, 37; 1883, c. 71.





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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 8

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORY
IN A DEMOCRACY

A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT THE PRIDE TO RECORD THEIR
HISTORY WILL NOT LONG HAVE THE VIRTUE TO MAKE HIS-
TORY THAT IS WORTH RECORDING.



CLIO, MUSE OF HISTORY
MONUMENT UNVEILED AT GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND, NEAR
GREENSBORO, N. C., JULY 3, 1909.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORY IN A DEMOCRACY

BY

C. ALPHONSO SMITH

Professor of the English Language
University of North Carolina

*An Address delivered at the unveiling of a monument to the Muse
of History on the Guilford Battle Ground, near
Greensboro, N. C., July 3, 1909*

RALEIGH, N. C.
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1909

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman.*

W. J. PEELE,

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M. C. S. NOBLE.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh, N. C.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORY IN A DEMOCRACY

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

There is a day famous in the creed and practice of Christendom known as All Saints' Day. On this day honor and reverence are paid without distinction to all the saints and martyrs who have gone before. At other times individual saints and individual martyrs have their individual days; but on this great democratic day all saints and all martyrs, wherever their loyal dust may lie, receive their merited guerdon of praise and gratitude. It is a homage as honorable to those that render it as to those that receive it, for it is a homage paid not so much to saints themselves as to the universal spirit of saintliness, not so much to martyrs as to the inner meaning of martyrdom. All Saints' Day has its secular counterpart in the day and in the occasion that have brought us together. The Fourth of July is for us and our posterity All Heroes' Day. And the monument which we have met to dedicate is a monument not to this hero or to that hero, but to the spirit of heroism which made them what they were. It symbolizes no detached date or occurrence in history. It is itself the august spirit of history.

There is to my mind something peculiarly beautiful and suggestive in the thought that this Greek figure is henceforth to keep watch and ward over this historic field. Beneath the shadow of this figure Socrates talked and Plato dreamed and Aristotle reasoned. Into those eyes Sappho looked as she sang herself into the heart-history of the world. Around the base of this figure, in Athenian portico or in Attic grove, Greek boys and girls gathered to hear again the story of Helen and Paris and Ulysses. From its pedestal outward Pericles spread the splendor of a democracy which has served as beacon light for all democracies. The far-off Queen of Sweden cherishes as an unpurchasable heritage one of these Greek

figures which the mutations of history have transferred from Athens to Stockholm.

This historic figure, ladies and gentlemen, could not have played the part that it has played in human thought and in national progress unless it symbolized some universal truth. The other eight muses have had their day, but this figure lives on. Receding nations catch glimpses of it and are stirred to renewed effort. Youthful nations interpret it in terms of practical patriotism and of constructive idealism. It beckons to poets and philosophers, to statesmen and historians, giving a wider horizon to their thought and a finer unity to their concepts. Every discovery of an historical truth, every refutation of an historical error, every contribution by word or deed to a nation's story is a leaf added to the laurel chaplet around the brow of the Muse of History. Jefferson saw this figure when he wrote the Declaration of Independence. It was shield and buckler to the great Washington. It was with Cornelius Harnett when he defied the power of Tryon. It stood at Charlotte and at Halifax. It was by the side of William R. Davie when he laid the foundations of the University of North Carolina. And I pray God that when the things of sense grew dim to the fading eyes of the patriots who fell here, this immortal figure may have passed before their vision as a herald of the time when their memory should be pedestaled in triumph and their example become a nation's heritage.

To the Greek mind statuary was not only a thing of beauty and a joy forever: it was the outward and visible sign of an inward and abiding truth. A study of this statue will show that there are two underlying conceptions which have served to vitalize and perpetuate it through all the centuries.

The first great truth that the Greek artist wrought into the pose and grouping of this figure is the vital relationship that should ever exist between the present and the past. Whenever a Greek looked upon this figure he observed that the single scroll in the uplifted hand had been taken from the

sheaf of scrolls in the casket behind. The single scroll, the scroll that the Muse of History is reading, represents present time; the scrolls in the casket represent past time. The present, therefore, is included in the past, for it is the product of the past; and out of the treasures of the past a progressive nation must seek the meaning and conduct of the present.

It was this unbroken continuity of history, this duty of the present to recognize its filial obligation to the past, that drew from Tennyson one of his most characteristic messages:

"Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied past, and used
Within the present, but transfused
Through future time by power of thought."

In his great essay on *The Meaning of History* Frederic Harrison defines the past as "that power which to understand is strength, which to repudiate is weakness." The motto of our efficient State Historical Commission will henceforth find an eloquent advocate on this field:

"The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is."

A democracy, fellow-citizens, can not afford to be ungrateful. Built as it is on loyal service and patriotic sacrifice, the day of its forgetting will be the day of its undermining. Other nations trace their origin back through a long series of successful and unsuccessful wars. We find our national genesis in a single war; and the measure of our greatness and stability will be the measure of our gratitude to the men who made Yorktown possible.

I wish also to enter my protest here against the lifeless and mechanical way in which our Revolutionary history is so frequently taught. The purely scientific method of cause and effect has its rightful place in colleges and universities, but whenever the Revolutionary War is interpreted to youthful minds in terms merely of great industrial or social or

political movements and not in terms also of personal heroism and individual initiative, the actors in the struggle seem mere puppets. They are but the playthings of irresistible external forces. There is no charm or personal appeal in the story thus told. There is information, it may be, but no inspiration. No great literature of stimulant song and story will ever spring from our Revolutionary history unless that history is taught in terms of individual heroism on the one side and individual gratitude on the other.

There are those, however, who say—or who used to say—that the lesson of relatedness to the past and of consequent indebtedness can not appropriately be taught by the Battle of Guilford Court House. It is not my purpose to go into historical details, but the North Carolinian who accurately informs himself of what took place here on March 15, 1781, and who does not thrill with pride and gratitude is unworthy of his citizenship. One hundred and twenty-eight years ago there was a rail fence yonder and in front of it an open field. On this side of the fence lay the North Carolina militia under Eaton and Butler. Across the open field, advancing from west to east, charged the flower of the English army. There are elements of pathos as well as of glory in the scene. These foemen spoke the same language; they knew by heart the same prayers; their institutions were the same; Shakespeare and the English Bible were the common heritage of both; and both were equally proud of their Anglo-Saxon blood and of what it had accomplished. But these North Carolina militiamen had never seen an English soldier before, nor had they been present at a battle. They had shot rabbits, squirrels, and an occasional fox, but no larger game. If they succeed gloriously there will be no promotion, for they are not professional soldiers. If they fall, the only note taken of it will be the widowed cry of some desolate woman as she fronts the future alone.

If the North Carolina militia, with thoughts like these stirring at their hearts, can hold their ground and reserve

their fire till the English army, disciplined on a hundred battlefields, has come within easy shooting range, if they can stand the ordeal of merely waiting and then pull their triggers with steady aim,—they will have done the bravest deed that either army on that eventful field can boast. Let history answer. Captain Dugald Stewart, of Scotland, who led his men across the open field, says:¹

“In the advance we received a very deadly fire from the Irish line [he means the Scotch-Irish North Carolinians] of the American Army. One half of the Highlanders dropped on that spot.” Brown, in his *History of the Highland Clans*, says: “The Americans [the untrained North Carolina militia], covered by the fence in their front, reserved their fire until the British were within thirty or forty paces, at which distance they opened a most destructive fire, which annihilated nearly one third of Colonel Webster’s Brigade.”²

The following letter was written by an American soldier shortly after the battle and published in the *New Jersey State Gazette* of April 11, 1781:

“The enemy were so beaten that we should have disputed the victory could we have saved our artillery, but the General thought that it was a necessary sacrifice. The spirits of the soldiers would have been affected if the cannon had been sent off the field, and in this woody country cannon can not always be sent off at a critical moment.

“The General, by his abilities and good conduct and by his activity and bravery in the field, has gained the confidence and respect of the army and the country to an amazing degree. You would, from the countenances of our men, believe they had been decidedly victorious. They are in the highest spirits, and appear most ardently to wish to engage the enemy again. The enemy are much embarrassed by their wounded. When we consider the nakedness of our troops and of course

¹ See Caruthers’s *Life of Caldwell*, p. 237.

² Both of these citations may be found in *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company*, prepared by Judge David Schenck and published in 1893 by Reece & Flam, Greensboro, N. C.

their want of discipline, their numbers, and the loose, irregular manner in which we came into the field, I think we have done wonders. I rejoice at our success, and were our exertions and sacrifices published to the world as some commanding officers would have published them, we should have received more applause than our modesty claims."³

These letters from actual participants in the battle tell their own story. They do more. They make it plain that for a quarter of a century the most unselfish form of practical patriotism exhibited in North Carolina has been exhibited by the Guilford Battle Ground Company. With but one meager appropriation from the National Government, with an inadequate appropriation from the State Government, they have exhumed the bodies of our heroic dead, they have redeemed their memories, they have made the name of Guilford Court House known and honored where it was unknown before, and they have brought to the historic past of North Carolina a new meaning and an added renown. Surely there is no place in this State where a monument, whose design is to invest the past with new significance and the present with a larger sense of responsibility, could be so fitly dedicated as on this spot and by this company.

There is a clause in the letter last cited that suggests the second teaching of this monument. The writer says:

"Were our exertions and sacrifices published to the world as some commanding officers would have published them, we should have received more applause than our modesty claims."

In other words, there had come to the writer of this letter a dim realization of the fact that the writing of history is part of the making of history, that the deed of an individual or of an army or of a nation is comparatively incomplete and ineffective unless perpetuated in writing. This great truth the Greeks were also the first to apply in a national way.

³ I am indebted for this letter to my friend, Mr. B. C. Gregory, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Chelsea, Mass.

History, as represented by Greek genius in the design of this statue, is a recorded history, a history written down on legible and accessible scrolls, to be read of all men. The written scrolls in the casket and the written scroll in the hand are evidence that to the Greek consciousness Clio was the tutelary deity not of history enacted but of history recorded. Other deities presided over the events that went to the making of a nation's history. To the Muse of History was assigned the honor of garnering in written form the example of the past for the emulation or avoidance of the present. No such conception could have originated among a people who had not themselves attained a rare degree of civilization, who had not themselves realized their grateful indebtedness to the past, or who did not feel at the same time a sense of trusteeship for the future.

The lines written by the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company⁴ express with accuracy and beauty the second teaching of this monument:

"As sinking silently to night,
Noon fades insensibly,
So truth's fair phase assumes the haze
And hush of history.

But lesser lights relieve the dark
Dumb dreariness of night,
And o'er the past historians cast
At least a stellar light."

It is this great truth that we dedicate afresh to-day. The darkness that has rested upon this field shall be dispelled and the starlight of history shall irradiate it with imperishable splendor. If I were to call the roll of the nations foremost in history and ask how their historic past escaped the thralldom of the tyrannous years and why it lives on in undiminished youth and beauty, the Muse of History would answer that these nations have themselves realized the duty of

⁴ Major Joseph M. Morehead, to whom alone belongs the credit for this monument and who for seventeen years has labored unselfishly and unceasingly to establish the truth of North Carolina history.

preserving their past for the guidance and enrichment of their future. By history and biography, by song and story, by epitaph and monument, they have made of their past an ever living present.

The glory of Greece lives forever in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and is inscribed on a thousand marble memorials. Rome immortalized her past in the *Æneid*. England's greatest historian was Shakespeare, and Westminster Abbey is to-day her most eloquent spokesman. United Germany points to her Siegesallee. Scotland found her world-interpreter in the stories and poems of Walter Scott.

America has made a beginning, but only a beginning. No writer has yet realized the possibilities of world-appeal that lie in our Revolutionary War as Shakespeare realized the possibilities in the far less significant Wars of the Roses, or Scott in the border skirmishes between Lowlander and Highlander, or Schiller in the tragedy of the Thirty Years War, or Victor Hugo in the single battle of Waterloo. One great Revolutionary novel or drama in which the contributions of both the South and the North—of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia as well as Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania—should be portrayed with equal insight and with compelling power, would bind this nation together in the indissoluble bonds of a common sympathy and a common historic pride. Such a work will never be written, nor would it be acclaimed if written, until each State recognizes the value of its own historic material. No writer can be just to a State until that State is just to itself.

National unity and stability must be built upon a foundation of common sympathies, sacrifices, and triumphs. Every battlefield of the Revolution, where American valor was tested and not found wanting, will yet become a link in the golden chain of national brotherhood. The men who fought here and the men who have since wrought here are nation-builders. Slowly but surely the truth of history is widening its domain, and a heroic past is returning to make a

heroic and united present. This Battlefield, already a Mecca of patriotism, will yet become in the expanding life of this commonwealth a stepping-stone to a larger national consciousness and a chapter in the epic of a nation's birth. I dedicate this monument, therefore, to the spirit of a just and impartial history. In gratitude and love I dedicate it to the splendor of the past and to the ever-widening service of the future.



BUST OF WILLIAM L. GRAHAM

ADDRESSES

AT

THE UNVEILING OF THE BUST

OF

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM

BY THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

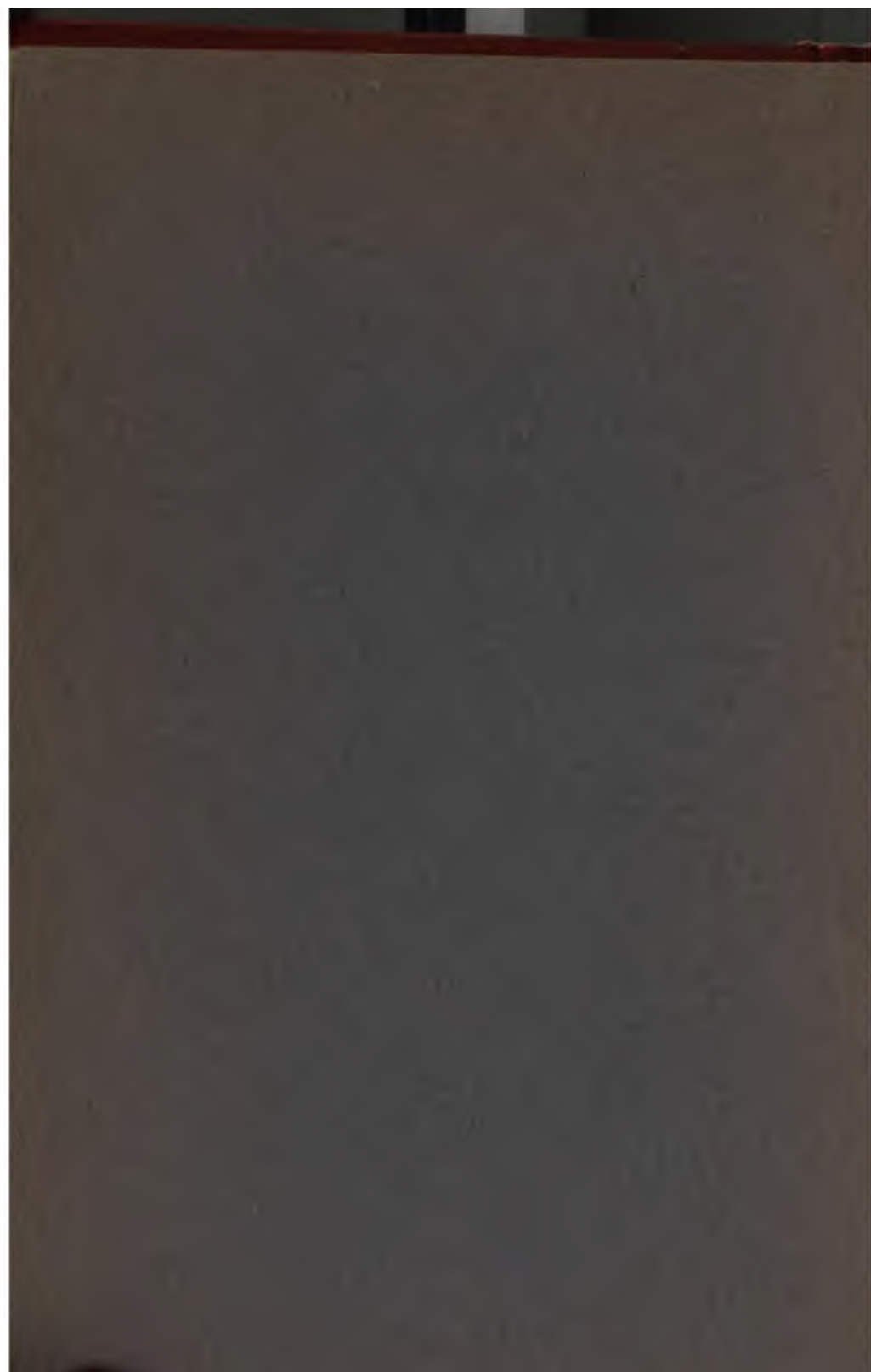
IN

THE ROTUNDA OF THE STATE CAPITOL

*Delivered in the Hall of the House of
Representatives, January 12, 1910*

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
1910





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BUST OF WILLIAM A. GRAHAM

ADDRESSES

31

THE UNVEILING OF THE BUST

12

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM

BY THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

18

THE ROTUNDA OF THE STATE CAPITOL

*Delivered in the Hall of the House of
Representatives, January 17, 1890*



ROBT H WILLIAM A. GRAHAM

ADDRESSES

AT

THE UNVEILING OF THE BUST

OF

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM

BY THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

IN

THE ROTUNDA OF THE STATE CAPITOL

*Delivered in the Hall of the House of
Representatives, January 12, 1910*

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
1910

The spirit of a people is the history of a people impersonated in the life of a people. If there is no history of a people, there is no spirit of a people.—THOMAS W. MASON.

0 an al.

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN

RALEIGH

W. J. PEELE, RALEIGH

M. C. S. NOBLE, CHAPEL HILL

D. H. HILL, RALEIGH

THOMAS W. BLOUNT, ROPER

R. D. W. CONNOR, SECRETARY

RALEIGH

THE GRAHAM BUST

In the rotunda of the Capitol of North Carolina are eight niches, designed to hold the busts and statues of eight of the eminent sons of the State. Completed nearly three-quarters of a century ago, these niches remained empty until 1910, silently protesting against the failure of the State to perform one of her highest and most important duties, the preservation of the memories of the founders and builders of the Commonwealth.

Convinced that the State was unconsciously doing herself a serious injustice by her negligence, the North Carolina Historical Commission, charged with the duty of preserving the history of the State, on October 23, 1907, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the sum of one thousand dollars be set aside out of the funds of the Commission, to be expended for a marble bust of William A. Graham, to be set up in one of the niches in the rotunda of the State Capitol, and that the Secretary be instructed to have the bust executed in the best manner by some reputable sculptor, as soon as possible."

In accordance with this resolution a contract was made with Mr. Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, of New York, who executed the bust and delivered it to the North Carolina Historical Commission in December, 1909. Upon the invitation of the Historical Commission, Messrs. Frank Nash and Thomas W. Mason consented to deliver addresses upon the occasion of the unveiling. On the evening of January 12, 1910, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in the presence of the Governor of North Carolina, the members of the State Historical Commission, the members of the Graham family, the Grand Lodge of Masons of North Carolina, and a large audience, the bust was set up in the northwestern niche of the rotunda on the first floor of the Capitol, and unveiled by Master William A. Graham, Junior, the Fourth. The ceremonies of the occasion consisted in the delivery of the addresses printed in this bulletin.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES

Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission

Ladies and Gentlemen:

North Carolinians have been careless in preserving their history, and that we have been neglected, and in some cases have been misrepresented by historians of the country, has been largely our own fault. We must remember that to receive proper credits we must keep our own accounts. We have been lacking in self-appreciation and wanting in a proper State pride, which is to some extent due to the fact that we were ignorant of the accomplishments and heroic deeds of our own people.

The North Carolina Historical Commission is collecting from every available source data and records pertaining to the history of North Carolina, and stimulating and encouraging historical investigation and research in every way in its power, and now our history is being more thoroughly studied and written than ever before. The State Historical Commission believes that one of the most powerful stimulants in arousing State pride and proper appreciation of our own great men is to be found, not merely in recording their great deeds, but also in preserving their forms and features in marble and in bronze. Inaugurating this movement, therefore, the State Historical Commission will unveil this evening a marble bust of one of the greatest of Carolinians—William A. Graham.

Accordingly the Commission has invited a scholar and historian, Mr. Frank Nash, to address you upon the life and services of Governor Graham, and Capt. Thomas W. Mason, who, as soldier, statesman and orator, is known and beloved by all North Carolinians, to speak upon the "Value of Historical Memorials Among a Democratic People."

WILLIAM ALEXANDER GRAHAM

BY FRANK NASH

INTRODUCTION

"Office is the most natural and proper sphere of a public man's ambition, as that in which he can most freely use his powers for the common good of his country."—*Lord Palmerston.*

In recent years it has been the endeavor of some writers to strain the facts of history a little in order that North Carolina may appear to have been first in some great political, or other, movement. This not only makes our State motto an hypocrisy, but it has no sound moral basis, is untrue in fact, and is foolish from the standpoint of philosophy. That she was first at Bethel was an accident; that she was farthest at Gettysburg and last at Appomattox, means daring, but steady, courage and staunch unfailing fidelity. Indeed the things in which she was last have done her more credit than those in which she was first. I do not like to think of her as a meretricious, volatile, impulsive figure, but as a noble, steadfast one, unadorned (certainly by gewgaws and jim-cracks), and like the Mother of the Gracchi pointing to her sons as her jewels. Certainly she has a right to be proud of them, for, at no time from the days of Glasgow to the days of the Carpetbagger and from the days of the Carpetbagger to the present, did any of these sons prey upon her. Peculation and fraud in public life may have existed elsewhere, but not in North Carolina.

In this paper I try to depict one of those sons as the most prominent figure amid the scenes in which he lived and worked, and in the company of those who lived and worked with him. I want, too, to show what he was and what he stood for, as well as what he did, for it is not so much the material as it is the spiritual, that gives to men real power and renders them immortal. Not that activity and energy

are to be contemned, far from it—slothful in business can never be predicated of the truly great and good—but because it is the subtle and silent, but pervading, influence of character, only, that gives action, force and efficiency for good.

The story of William A. Graham's life is well worth the telling for what he did, but much more for what he was. The writer is very conscious that it has not been told adequately in the following pages. The final word about him can not be said until his literary remains are collected and published with his correspondence.

HIS ANTECEDENTS

William A. Graham was no less fortunate in the race from which he sprang than in his immediate ancestry. The Scotch Presbyterians, located in Ireland by James I, and the English by Cromwell, made that composite race which has been for some time known to history as the Scotch-Irish. During three or four generations they lived in Ireland among a people hostile in faith and differing in language, in ideals, in aims and in temperament. The Saxon was the representative of a stern, unyielding, but essentially uplifting Calvinism, while the Celt was the representative of all the superstition and ignorance of an unenlightened Romanism. The one had a faith so clear, so earnest, so vital that, in his worship he discarded nearly all symbol, while the other's faith was so obscured by false conceptions that only a sensuous and symbolic worship could appeal to his inferior nature; the one, even in his superstitions, dealing only with things supernal, while the other made to himself graven images, likenesses of things in heaven above and in the earth beneath, and bowed down to them and worshiped them; the one industrious and thrifty, doing with all his might what his hands found to do, the other thriftless, industrious only by fits and starts, content, in the midst of degrading poverty, to live among swine and fowls; the one sensitive about his rights, and ready in the fear of God to defend them with a calm, cool, unflinching

courage; the other, a serf to his lord, a child to his priest, a willing servant to his friend and a savage to his foe, his emotions a sensitive harp that responded to every wind of passion.¹

What wonder that the contact of two such races should result only in an antagonism which manifested itself, on occasions, in murders, in riots and in relentless warfare! But all this was to the Saxon a tonic, stimulating his intellectual, moral and physical development, making him the bolder, the more watchful, the more self-reliant. He was a minority of the people of Ireland, but it was a militant and dominant minority. So little brought in contact with the English government was he, that he was fast becoming republican in his political ideals. Kings and governors were kings and governors to him only so long as they obeyed the laws and were faithful to the rights of the people. Otherwise he cared nothing for them. His liberty consisted in laws made by the consent of the people, and the due execution of those laws. He was free not from the law but by the law. So these English and Scotch Protestants in Ireland, these Saxons in Celt land, were, in their dealings with the Irish unconsciously fitting themselves for their greater work in America. It was, so to say, a forty years sojourn in the wilderness in preparation for the land of Canaan, and they entered that land strong in the holy confidence that, "the Lord, He it is that doth go before thee; He will be with thee; He will not fail thee, neither forsake thee; fear not, neither be dismayed."

Of this sturdy and virile race was James Graham, who at the age of nineteen years, in 1733, migrated from County Down, Ireland, to Berks County, Pennsylvania. He was twice married, his second wife being the widow Mary Barber, and died in 1763. By the last marriage there were five children. In 1768 Mrs. Graham, with her children, coming by sea to Charleston, S. C., thence across country, located in Mecklenburg County, N. C. In 1771 she purchased a tract

¹ It must be remembered that the Irish of the 17th century had only reached a stage of racial development, through which their Saxon foes had passed 200 years before. So this parallel has to do only with such developments, and not at all with racial capabilities.

of land containing two hundred acres within three miles of the then little hamlet of Charlotte. Most of these Scotch-Irish, and there were many of them, migrated from Pennsylvania south in search of fertile lands in a milder climate. It is probable that this was Mrs. Graham's motive, induced thereto also by the fact that many of her neighbors and friends had preceded her. She must have been a woman of remarkable courage and strength of character to undertake this long, tedious and dangerous journey with six young children, the youngest scarcely more than four years of age. No doubt she selected the actual location with a view to the religious and educational privileges convenient to it. John Frohock, Abraham Alexander and Thomas Polk had already laid off the town of Charlotte into 360 half-acre lots, and on some of these good, habitable houses had been erected. Eighty lots had been sold and must be built upon within three years, under pain of forfeiture.¹ So with the court-house, prison and stocks there, with tradesmen and artisans plying their trades, and lawyers locating to practice their profession, Charlotte at the time of its incorporation, November, 1768, must have been attracting some attention as a place with a future. Many of the settlements about the county, too, were fertile, fruitful, well tended farms. The rule, however, was here, as it was in all these Scotch-Irish communities, the man to the plow, the woman to the distaff and the child to the school. Mrs. Graham, though of limited means, after giving her children such instruction as she was capable of doing, sent most of them to the best school in this section, Queen's Museum, afterwards Liberty Hall. She instilled into all of them a love for learning and a desire to acquire knowledge. Her sons were among the most prominent men of their time, and probably came into public notice at an earlier age than any other youths of the county. Her daughters were the heads of families whose descendants are known for their virtue and intelligence, and have ever been prominent in the communi-

¹ State Records of North Carolina, XXIII, 772-3.

ties in which they lived on account of their worth and public spirit. She was, herself a faithful Presbyterian, member of Sugar Creek church, and her children were noted not only for their intelligence and activity in worldly matters, but were also earnest supporters of morality and religion.¹

Her third son, Joseph Graham, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, October 13th, 1759. He assisted in cultivating his mother's farm and attended school in Charlotte. He was distinguished among his fellow-students for talents, industry and manly bearing. The mere schooling, though, was not the most valuable training that he had at that period. In the political ferment of the time, 1768-1776, the minds of men were expanding. At every church gathering, at every county court, they discussed the power of parliament, the rights of the colonies, and how best to preserve those rights. These discussions were going on throughout all the colonies, making every intelligent man a politician, and causing the patriots in the face of threatened danger to draw closer together in sympathy, thus paving the way for future organization. Patrick Henry, in Virginia, was but giving eloquent utterance to the aspirations and hopes and ambitions of the people, unexpressed, or inadequately expressed, by themselves. He was, in other words, but the mouthpiece of, and interpreter for, the people. The intelligent boy or youth, standing about in these crowds listening to these discussions among his elders, was having his own ideas enlarged, his patriotism aroused and his mind trained for his future work. Joseph Graham was interested in all these discussions and attended many of these public meetings. He, as a boy in the 16th year of his age, was present at the adoption of the Mecklenburg Resolves of May, 1775. Fifty-five years later he gives an account of this meeting and testifies that it was held on May 20th. At this distance of time, without any contemporary record to verify his memory, there are errors in his statement which subsequently-discovered records

¹ Graham : Revolutionary Papers of General Joseph Graham, 16.

show. In several instances, he mistakes the time of events that he undertakes to narrate, but he and others have so completely identified May 20th as the date upon which some resolutions were adopted, that, in the absence of better evidence we may assume that a meeting was held on that day, in order to take some action upon the news of the Battle of Lexington, which, we know, arrived that week, the 20th occurring on Saturday. And it makes no difference whether they met on Friday the 19th and continued the meeting over until 2 a. m. of the 20th, or met on Saturday morning the 20th, so far as the essential fact is concerned, that a meeting was held at that time and that certain resolutions were adopted. Confining the issue to this essential fact, I have seen nothing that contradicts the testimony of the many eye-witnesses on that point. We can imagine the excitement and anger among these descendants of the bold defenders of Londonderry and Enniskillen at the news of Lexington, how they would hold a public meeting as soon as the crowd could gather, how in the anger and excitement of the moment they should adopt resolutions, which on calm second thought they would realize were premature and unwise. That there were two meetings, at least, is perfectly apparent from the fact that the papers of which J. McKnitt Alexander had the custody were resolutions adopted at a public meeting of which he was secretary, whereas those of the 31st were adopted at a committee meeting, Ephraim Brevard being the secretary of that committee. The resolutions of the 31st, too, necessarily presupposes a previous meeting, or meetings. They are not the product of a day or of a week. They were not devised by one mind or written by one hand. They show calm deliberation, and not emotional excitement or sudden anger, such as that provoked by news of the Battle of Lexington. It seems to me, with deference, that the modern historians have taken issue on immaterial facts and have obtained a verdict on those issues alone. Captain Jack did not take the resolutions of the 20th to Philadelphia; he did

take those of the 31st. Admitted, because proven. Governor Martin sent those of the 31st, and not those of the 20th, to London. Admitted, because proven. There was no contemporary record, or allusion to those of the 20th; there were both to those of the 31st. True, also, so far as discovered. The resolutions written down from memory by J. McKnitt Alexander in 1800, show in their verbiage the influence of the Declaration of July 4th, 1776. This, too, is probably true. We have been mistaken heretofore in regard to these matters, it is true, yet after all, none of them is essential to the determination of the true issue—was there a meeting held on the 20th with resolutions which amounted to a Declaration of Independence adopted? And to this there are a cloud of witnesses. The writer, when not more than half as old as was General Graham at this time, was told of General Lee's surrender by a lady, while we were near an osage orange hedge, and while she was talking a raccoon came from under the hedge. If he should live a thousand years he will never forget the fact of the coon, the expression of his countenance, and his connection with General Lee's surrender. Now, the news of the Battle of Lexington was to Joseph Graham what this coon was to myself—a fact indelibly engraved upon his memory. It seems, therefore, reasonably certain, though there are many conflicts in the testimony of the various witnesses, that the resolutions of the 20th were real, but having been adopted in a moment of anger and excitement, the sober sense of the people prevailed in those of the 31st, and the latter were published, while the former were permitted to slumber undisturbed, in the possession of Alexander, as a folly to be regretted rather than a matter of supreme importance.

It was amid scenes such as these, among men such as these, that young Graham worked and studied and thought, his character under the control and guidance of a wise mother, developing into an almost perfect type of the noble race to which he belonged—bold, self-reliant, earnest, God-fearing.

He was eighteen years of age when he took up arms for his country and fought valiantly, successfully and faithfully, until his services were no longer needed. He was just twenty-two years of age at the close of the Revolutionary War. "He entered the army as a private, passed through the grades of orderly sergeant, quartermaster sergeant, quartermaster, adjutant, captain, and major. * * * He commanded in fifteen engagements with wisdom, calmness, courage and success to a degree perhaps surpassed by no other officer of the same rank. Hundreds who served under his command have testified to the upright, faithful, prudent and undaunted manner in which he discharged the duties of his responsible stations. Never was he known to shrink from any toil, however painful, or quail before any dangers, however threatening, or avoid any privation or sacrifice which might promote his country's cause."¹

The very qualities that made him successful as a soldier—courage, alertness, intelligence—made him successful in civil life, as legislator, as member of two Constitutional Conventions, as iron miner and founder. I may not pause over the stirring incidents of the military service of this excellent man and soldier, nor can I tell more fully of his great usefulness to church and state in the quieter walks of his civil career. Suffice it to say that he loved and served his state and church faithfully and well, that in all that concerned their welfare, he was not only interested, but active, not only intelligent but wise. "His life was a bright and illustrious pattern of domestic, social and public virtues. Modest, amiable, upright and pious, he lived a noble ornament to his country, a faithful friend to the church and a rich blessing to his family." In 1787 he married Miss Isabella Davidson, a daughter of Maj. John Davidson, and of a family distinguished alike for intelligence and patriotism. It was in consequence of this marriage, that, forming a business connection with his father-in-law, he moved to Lincoln County in 1792, and became an iron founder

¹ Revolutionary papers of General Joseph Graham.

and monger. Mrs. Graham is said to have been the most beautiful of Major Davidson's handsome daughters, and her character corresponded in loveliness and goodness to her personal appearance. It was from her that the subject of this sketch derived so much of the manly beauty that was one of his distinguishing characteristics during his long life. At the residence of his father near Vesuvius Furnace in Lincoln County, he was born, September 5th, 1804.

CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND YOUNG MANHOOD

William Alexander Graham was the eleventh child and youngest son of General Joseph Graham and Isabella Davidson Graham, his wife. Mrs. Graham died January 15th, 1808. The eldest sister, Sophia, who afterwards married Dr. John Witherspoon, of South Carolina, but was then only seventeen years of age, assumed the care of the younger children of the family. She performed the duties with faithfulness, consideration and affection. She was regarded as a typical older sister and daughter and was remembered with great love and pleasure by those to whom she had given her attention and love. Young William was, too, an object of especial solicitude and care to his father. He made him his companion by day and by night, and instilled into him lessons of virtue, piety and patriotism. This constant association with so excellent a man and so good a Christian as General Graham was one of the strongest influences in shaping the boy's life. For years he lived the happy, free life of the country boy in a household where there was competence if not wealth. When he was older he was sent to a neighborhood school, very much against his will, for he hid under a bed and had to be dragged out by the heels. There he acquired the rudiments of learning. His first school away from home was in Mecklenburg County, where he lived with his mother's brother, Mr. Robin Davidson. The schoolhouse being three miles distant, he rode to it on horseback, generally accompanied by James W. Osborne, of Charlotte, who, being the younger, rode behind. His uncle became

very fond of the motherless lad, and the boy reciprocated so heartily, that he later named one of his sons for this uncle. From this country school he was sent to the Pleasant Retreat Academy at Lincolnton, of which his father was one of the trustees. His room-mate was his cousin, Theodore W. Brevard, who afterwards became distinguished in the State of Florida, where he held several important offices. Next he was sent to the classical school of the Rev. Dr. Muchat at Stateville. He was noted for his industry, his thirst for knowledge and his aptitude to learn. One who knew him well, (Rev. Dr. R. H. Morrison), testified that from his childhood he was no less remarkable for his high sense of honor and truth, than for his exemption from the levities and vices common to youth. At this academy he applied himself to his studies with the most exemplary diligence. Judge Brevard, a classmate, said of him: "He was the only boy I ever knew, who would spend his Saturdays in reviewing the studies of the week."¹ This habit he kept up, too, during his subsequent school and college course. When he was fourteen or fifteen years of age, he, for a time, probably during a vacation, superintended, on the advice of his brother John, Spring Hill forge. General Graham was much pleased with his work in this capacity, saying that it was one of the most successful seasons in the history of the works. His final preparation for college was obtained at the Hillsboro Academy, an uncommonly good classical school. The Rev. John Witherspoon had the general supervision of this school, but the active teacher was Mr. John Rogers, who had distinguished himself in his profession at Wilmington. President Caldwell induced them to agree that their institution should be preparatory to the University. Members of the faculty could participate in the periodical examinations of the pupils, and those passing the examinations of the highest classes had a right to enter the University on certificate of the fact.²

¹ McGehee: Memorial Oration on Life and Services of William A. Graham.

² Battle: History of the University of North Carolina, 283.

Mr. Rogers had been educated for the Catholic priesthood, and for accurate scholarship and capacity as a teacher, had few superiors.¹

Young Graham matriculated at the University in the summer of 1820. Says Mr. McGehee in his very admirable memorial oration:² "His course throughout his college life was admirable in every way. He appreciated the scheme of study there established, not only as the best discipline of the intellect, but as the best foundation for knowledge in its widest sense. He mastered his lessons so perfectly, that each lesson became a permanent addition to his stock of knowledge. The professors rarely failed to testify by a smile, or some other token, their approval of his efficiency. On one occasion a professor (Olmstead), who has attained a world-wide reputation in the field of science, remarked to one of young Graham's classmates (John W. Norwood) that his lecture on chemistry came back as perfectly from Mr. Graham as he had uttered it on the previous day. Some thirty years after, the same professor in a letter to Mr. Graham, (then Secretary of the Navy) says: "It has often been a source of pleasing reflection to me, that I have been permitted to bear some part in fitting you, in early life, for that elevated post of honor and usefulness to which Providence has conducted you."

His high sense of duty was manifested in his conscientious deportment under the peculiar form of government to which he was then subject. His observance of every law and usage of the college was punctilious, while to the faculty he was ever scrupulously and conspicuously respectful.

His extraordinary proficiency was purchased by no laborious drudgery. The secret of it was to be found in the precept which he acted upon through life—"whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." His powers of concentration were great, his perceptions quick, his memory pow-

¹ McGehee: Memorial Oration. ² Pages 8-9.

erful, prompt and assiduously improved. By the joint force of such faculties, he could accomplish much in little time. Hence, notwithstanding his exemplary attention to his college duties, he devoted much time to general reading. He participated regularly in the debates and other exercises of the Literary Society. For all such he prepared himself with care; and it is asserted upon the authority of Mr. John W. Norwood—a most competent judge—that his compositions were of such excellence that, in a literary point of view, they would have challenged comparison with anything done by him in after life.

His engaging manners brought him into pleasant relations with all his fellow students. He lived with them upon terms of the frankest and most familiar intercourse. In their most athletic sports he never participated, but he was a pleased spectator, and evinced by his manner a hearty sympathy with their enjoyments. His favorite exercise was walking, and those who knew him well will recollect that this continued to be his favorite recreation while health was spared him. With friends and chosen companions he was cordial and easy, and always the life of the circle when met together.

He graduated in the class of 1824, he being one of the four first honor men, the others being Thomas Dews, afterwards a very able lawyer, but dying early, Matthias Evans Manly, afterwards state senator, judge of the Superior and Supreme Courts, elected United States Senator in 1866, but not allowed to take his seat, and Edwin D. Sims of Virginia, afterwards tutor in the University, and professor in Randolph-Macon College and in the University of Alabama. To young Graham was assigned the classical oration. It has been the privilege of the writer to see this. It is a pleasant and orderly resumé of the history of the preservation of the classics, and an argument for their continued usefulness in the training of the mind and their giving breadth to one's culture. His style at that early period had not become individ-

ualistic, but was rather a reflection of his own training at the University, so was a little stiff and formal. Other noted graduates of 1824 were Daniel B. Baker, judge of the Superior Court of Florida; John Bragg, member of Congress and judge of the Superior Court of Alabama; James W. Bryan, strong lawyer, trustee of the University and state senator from Craven; A. J. DeRosset, physician and merchant of Wilmington, treasurer of the Dioceses of North and East Carolina and often deputy to the general conventions of the Episcopal Church; Augustus Moore, judge of the Superior Court; John W. Norwood, able lawyer, member of the legislature and senator from Orange; David Outlaw, member of Congress, state solicitor, state senator and delegate to the convention of 1836, and Bromfield L. Ridley, chancellor of Tennessee.¹

After his graduation he visited his sister, Mrs. Wither-
spoon, at Lexington, Ky., and while there he made the acquaintance of John J. Crittenden, and had an opportunity to hear him in a great slander case.

On his return from this tour he began the study of law in the office of Judge Ruffin at Hillsboro. The opinion of Judge Ruffin as to the proper course to be pursued with a student of law was somewhat peculiar. He held that he should have little assistance beyond that of having his course of studies prescribed. He must, as it were, scale the height alone, by his own strength and courage; availing himself of a guide only at points otherwise inaccessible. Young Graham's brother, James Graham, in a letter written at this period, made mention of this opinion, and urged him to adopt the expedient resorted to by himself: "When he would not examine me I took the liberty of questioning him very frequently, and by drawing him into conversation on legal subjects, my own ideas were rendered more clear, correct and lasting."²

We may be sure that the contact of two such minds—the

¹ Battle: *History of University*, 296. ² McGehee, 10 and 12.

one young, ardent and acquisitive—the other mature and vigorous, the mind of a master in his particular calling, could result only in good to the younger, whatever the method of instruction might be. As a matter of fact young Graham came to the bar remarkably well prepared. The points he made were substantial and well sustained, and six years afterwards he was in the full tide of a successful practice. He obtained his county court license at the December term, 1826, of the Supreme Court, and was sworn in before the county court at Hillsboro in February, 1827. His first litigated case in that court was at the August term, 1827, *Charles Allison v. Samuel Madden*, Judge Nash, who had recently resigned from the Superior Court bench, appearing with him for the plaintiff.¹ At the ensuing November term he had two other cases on the trial docket, and three on the appearance. He obtained his Superior Court license at the December term, 1827, of the Supreme Court, and took the oaths at the March term, 1828, of the Superior Court of Orange County. His first litigated case was at the same term of that court—*Doe and John Dunn, executor of William Keeling, v. James Keeling; A. D. Murphey and Wiley P. Mangum for plaintiff, and Frederick Nash and W. A. Graham for the defendant.*² His first case of importance in the Superior Court,” says Mr. McGehee, “was one which from peculiar causes, excited great local interest. It involved an intricate question of title to land. On the day of trial, the court-room was crowded and the bar fully occupied by lawyers—many of them men of the highest professional eminence. When he came to address the jury, he spoke with modesty, but with ease and self-possession. His preparation of the case had been thorough, and the argument which he delivered is described as admirable, both as to matter and manner. When he closed, the Hon. William H. Haywood, who had then risen to a high position at the bar, turned to

¹ County Court Records. ² Superior Court Records.

a distinguished gentleman, still living, of the same profession, and inquired who had prepared the argument which Mr. Graham had delivered so handsomely. The answer was, 'It is all his own,' to which Mr. Haywood replied, 'William Gaston could have done it no better.' "

At the time he determined to locate at Hillsboro, young Graham had already spent several years there; first, as a student at the Hillsboro Academy; second, as a student of law under Judge Ruffin, and third, as practitioner in the county court. It was centrally located, convenient to the State capital. It was the county seat of a large county, with a population of about 25,000, and there was much litigation. It was then, as it had always been, the foster mother of great men. There was no town in the State that contained so much that was best of the public life of the State, though it had then only about four hundred white inhabitants. There was Murphey, perhaps the greatest genius in its history; Ruffin, the greatest lawyer and judge; Mangum, one of its greatest popular orators and statesmen; Norwood, the elder, able lawyer, and upright judge; Nash, whose excellencies as an advocate, said Mr. Abraham W. Venable, were equaled by few and surpassed by none, attaining later the highest honors of his profession; Dr. James Webb, distinguished physician and business man, and others too numerous to mention, while Duncan Cameron, George E. Badger, William H. Haywood and Bartlett Yancey, were intimately associated with the place. Among men of his own age, were Richard S. Clinton, Dr. Edmund Strudwick and John W. Norwood, his college- and classmate. The pastor of the Presbyterian Church at that time was the Rev. John Witherspoon, grandson of the signer, an able man, and, though unequal, on occasion eloquent. He was afterwards moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly. The rector of the Episcopal Church was the Rev. William M. Green, afterwards Bishop of Mississippi and chancellor of the University of the South. Mr. Dennis Heartt was successfully editing and publishing the *Hillsboro*

Recorder. The social advantages of the place, too, were very great. It was full of cultivated men and women, none very wealthy, but all having an abundance of the comforts of life and many of its luxuries, and they were hospitable without stint. This society, though somewhat formal, was wholly delightful. Nor was the competition at the bar so stringent as appears on the surface. Judge Norwood was at that time on the Superior Court bench, and so continued until 1836. Judge Ruffin was on the Superior Court bench, resigned that year, 1828, to accept the presidency of the State Bank, and the following year was elevated to the Supreme Court. Judge Mangum was elected to the Superior Court in 1828, and to the United State Senate in 1830. Judge Cameron lived out in the country, and presided occasionally over the county court. Judge Murphey's health was failing, and he died in February, 1832. Of the visiting lawyers, Bartlett Yancey, who did a large business in Orange, died in 1828, and to the United States Senate in 1830. Judge was left, and he returned to the bench in 1836. There is no wonder then that so able a young lawyer as Mr. Graham should locate under these favorable conditions at Hillsboro. Nor is it any wonder that he should be cordially received there, and in a few years should be at the head of its bar, a preeminence which he maintained for forty years. Few young men have commenced the practice of the law with greater natural and acquired qualifications than had he. In him a remarkably handsome and dignified presence was united to the highest character, excellent mental endowments, untiring industry, kind, courteous and elegant, rather genial manners and thorough conscientiousness. He was fully six feet tall, very erect, and had hazel eyes, dark hair and clear-cut features. His action in speaking was easy and graceful, sometimes warming into energy and force when the subject demanded it, and the tones of his voice were mellow, harmonious and well modulated. He was ambitious and self-reliant, so all that was best in him came at his demand.

Success and complete success to such a character was only a matter of time, and one could predict it for him with absolute confidence at the outset of his career.

LEGISLATOR, 1833 TO 1841

Hillsboro, enfranchised by Governor Tryon in 1770, continued to be one of the borough towns of the State under the Constitution of 1776, and until borough representation was abolished by the Convention of 1835. The qualifications for voters in these towns were: First, possession of a freehold in the town, whether the proposed voter was a resident or not; second, freedom, coupled with residence in the town for twelve months, next before and at the day of election, and payment of public taxes. The elections for borough members were annual. Mr. Graham represented Hillsboro the last three years of its existence. At that time there were about 85 qualified voters in the town, and the elections were generally close, and conducted amid great excitement with the free use of intoxicants. Though William Norwood, Thomas Ruffin, John Scott and Frederick Nash had at intervals of time represented it, its member was often some tavern-keeper, or one of the lesser lights of its citizens. At Mr. Graham's first election he was vigorously opposed. He was thereafter, however, elected with little opposition.

At the time he entered public life, North Carolina was on the whole retrograding. Its soil, moderately fertile, yielded remunerative returns only to intelligent and persistent labor. It contained a great variety of minerals; generally enough in a single locality to attract the adventurous prospector, not enough to prevent disappointment to his hopes. There was vast wealth in its forests, but there was little capital to exploit it, and no accessible market for it. Away from the cotton section, in its midland and west, it was a country of small farmers, a majority of whom had their material wants well supplied from the products of their farms, but again there was no adequate market for

any excess. Without this market, there was no hope that they could improve their condition, and without this hope, they toiled on, generation after generation, quite often the laborious father being followed by the shiftless son. In consequence of this occasional retrogression in families, there were whole communities, not numerous, or large in themselves, scattered here and there throughout this section, plague spots upon the body politic, in which the men were without God and without hope in the world, and the women were without decency and quite frequently without virtue—communities, whose fragmentary remains are with us to this day, fast disappearing, thank God, under more hopeful conditions. The opening of the West, too, with its inviting opportunities for the adventurous and bold, was carrying away more and more the brawn and sinew of the State. Those who owned slaves might, year by year and generation after generation, tend their ancestral acres on or within reach of the navigable streams of the East, and live in ease and comfort while they educated their children, but to the small farmer of the West was lacking that contact with the world which brings enlightenment and hope, and stimulates ambition and effort. What wonder then that North Carolina was retrograding and that the pall of ignorance, instead of receding, was extending wider and wider over its people!

It is natural that under such narrow conditions the people themselves should become narrow, and should think that the whole science of government must expend itself on a pennywise pound foolish economy, and that the two great evils in the world were death and taxation. There are two remedies for such a condition that are perfectly obvious to us and were no less obvious to the great men of that period: First, bring the people in contact with the world by opening highways of trade and commerce through their borders; second, place a free school within reach of every child in the State. That was Murphey's program, that was Graham's program, that was the program of nearly all the Whigs of

the period. Some talk nowadays of the ante-bellum aristocracy standing in the way of the people's enlightenment, of their progress. Not so. The aristocrats (if I may use so false a term to designate the better educated class) were the progressives; the reactionaries, with a few exceptions, were the neighborhood political bosses, whose principal stock in trade was an attack upon the kid-gloved aristocracy, as they dubbed the Whigs of the towns. These Whigs, with some notable exceptions, built the railroads of the State. They, again with some notable exceptions, laid the foundations of our public school system. In both these enterprises, Mr. Graham was a leader. His temperament peculiarly fitted him to be a pioneer in this great work. The influence and training of his father, and of Dr. Joseph Caldwell, supplemented by association with Judge Murphey, made internal improvements, the education of the people and the preservation of the history of the State the three great ends that he set himself to secure in his public life. With him it was a calm, set purpose, to be worked out through the means and instrumentalities which the times provided. Those means were small, and the instrumentalities often perverse and blind and stupid, yet with a self-reliance that came from self-knowledge as well as knowledge of the subject, with a self-control that prevented any irritation, he pursued his ends with a placid, but firm persistence, which was not checked by any rebuff nor daunted by any defeat. Throughout his legislative career, during his incumbency of the gubernatorial office, he was constantly stimulating the ambition and State pride of the people by telling them of the great deeds of their sires, constantly in season and out of season, striving to enlighten them by diffusing the blessings of education among them and to arouse them to effort and industry by bringing the highways of commerce to their doors. Early in life he learned the great lesson, that in a democracy, where so many adverse minds are to be convinced, the progress of any great reform is necessarily

slow, that often it is the work of more than one generation, that he and his contemporaries must be content with line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, leaving to the future the fruition of their hopes. Very, very, often the ideals and aspirations of the great men of the past have been realized in the everyday life of the commonalty of the present. To them the days that were to come are the wisest witnesses.

In the Legislature of 1833-4 he was placed upon the Judiciary Committee and the Committee on Education.¹ The House of that body was of average ability, its ablest members, David Outlaw, D. M. Barringer, W. H. Battle, Charles B. Shepard, J. R. J. Daniel, James Seawell, Charles Fisher, Daniel W. Courts, and the Speaker, William J. Alexander. It was in session fifty-five days including Sundays, enacted 184 laws, only twenty-four of which were public. Nineteen academies or schools, including the predecessors of Wake Forest College, Guilford College and St. Mary's at Raleigh, two libraries, three gold mining companies, one manufacturing association and twelve railroad companies were incorporated. This indicates the drift of public sentiment at that time. The Bank of the Cape Fear was rechartered, and the Bank of the State of North Carolina, the Merchants Bank of New Bern and the Albemarle Bank of Edenton, were chartered. Mr. Graham was the author of a bill, afterwards enacted into a law, which corrected a gross inequality in the criminal laws as then administered, making one guilty of grand larceny as infamous upon conviction as one convicted of petty larceny.² He was on a committee to inquire into the right of Romulus M. Saunders to continue as Attorney-General of the State after having accepted a commissionership from the Federal Government on the French spoliation claims. He wrote the report in favor of Mr. Saunders's right.³ His argument is based on the wording of the Constitution of 1776—"No person in the State

¹House Journal, 142.

²House Journal, 182.

³House Journal, 252.

shall hold more than one lucrative office at any one time," and also upon the fact that the offices were not inconsistent. The constitutional prohibition seems upon its face to apply only to State offices. Especially is this true when it is remembered that the Federal Government was not in existence when the State Constitution was adopted. The Legislature of 1833-4 adopted the report thus made by Mr. Graham, but that of 1834-5, repudiating that view, passed a joint resolution that the office of Attorney-General had been vacated by Mr. Saunders's acceptance of the Federal Commissionership, and Mr. Saunders, to avoid controversy, but protesting against the accuracy of this legal conclusion, resigned as Attorney-General. Mr. Graham adhered to his opinion and voted against the resolution.

He was sent again as representative from Hillsboro to the Legislature of 1834-5. By that time the demand for an amendment of the Constitution of 1776 had become so insistent that it could no longer be disregarded with safety to the peace and welfare of the State. Mr. Graham supported the convention bill very heartily. During its consideration he voted against the provision allowing the convention to submit the election of governor to the free white vote of the State,¹ though he afterwards voted for the bill with this provision in it. This vote was afterwards remembered to plague him in his canvass with Mr. Hoke for the gubernatorial office in 1844. He explained that he was never opposed to the provision, but voted against it while the House was considering the bill, section by section, because he was informed by Mr. Outlaw of Bertie that the eastern members, without whose vote the bill could not become a law, would not vote for it with that provision in it, so he voted against that to save the bill itself, but afterwards finding that the bill could be passed with that provision in it, he followed what was his inclination all the time by voting for it. To show the attitude of some members of the

¹ House Journal, 1834-5, 220.

House on this provision and others, at first its advocates could muster but thirty-five votes, while there were ninety-four against it.¹ On the proposition to submit the election of Supreme and Superior Court Judges to the popular vote, there were twenty-two ayes to one hundred and three nays.² On the proposition to debar lawyers, pleading under a license, from membership in the Legislature, the vote was twenty ayes to one hundred and ten nays.³ At this session Mr. Graham was again on the Judiciary Committee and was Chairman of the Education Committee. In the latter capacity he made a report January 3, 1835, on the resources of the Literary Fund, and the best means of improving the same, and accompanied the same by a bill to authorize the Literary Board to sell certain portions of the swamp lands belonging to it.⁴ This bill passed the House, but failed in the Senate. Mr. Hugh McQueen, of Chatham, at this session also introduced a bill in the Senate, to provide a fund for the establishment of free schools. This passed its first reading, and was then laid on the table. By joint resolution of the General Assembly, however, it was afterwards ordered to be appended to, and published with, the laws of the session. The Literary Fund amounted to about \$180,000, with the hope that it would enlarge at the rate of \$15,000 or \$20,000 per annum, through the sale of swamp lands and the receipt of dividends from investment of its capital. This sum was wholly inadequate to establish any general system of public schools, so the efforts of legislators were directed, for the present, wholly toward increasing it. In the state of public sentiment, they did not dare levy additional taxes. Indeed conditions among the people were so wholly adverse to increased taxation, that a plan that involved such increase would have proven utterly futile.

On December 29, 1834, Mr. Graham was elected by the Legislature a trustee of the University,⁵ and he continued

¹ House Journal, 220. ² Ibid., 221. ³ Ibid., 221.

⁴ Coon: Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840, II., 683 et seq.

⁵ House Journal, 223.

until his death to be actively interested in all of the affairs of that institution. An interesting political event occurred at this session. Judge Wiley P. Mangum and Bedford Brown were the senators from the State in the Federal Congress. Mangum voted for the resolution of censure on Jackson for removing the deposits, passed March 28, 1834, and refused to vote for Benton's resolution to expunge the censure. The Legislature of 1834-5 was Democratic, or pro-Jackson, and hence opposed to Mangum. It instructed Mangum and Brown to vote for the expunging resolution. While the House was considering these instructions, Mr. Graham delivered a speech of remarkable power against them. He had just passed his thirtieth birthday, yet this speech made him a leader of his party, the Whig, only second to Mr. Mangum in influence and power. It had so great an effect upon his fortunes and is so characteristic, that these alone would justify my giving it in full, if space permitted. It, too, gives a remarkably clear and just view of the conditions as they were in North Carolina at that period, and of the political issues that confronted the people.

Mr. Graham was again member of the House of Commons from Hillsboro in the Legislature of 1835-6. Among the other able members of that Legislature, were Matthias E. Manly, Kenneth Rayner, Thomas L. Clingman and Michael Hoke, the first three being Whigs, and the latter a Democrat. Mr. Graham was his party's candidate for speaker, but was defeated by William H. Haywood, the vote being fifty-four to sixty-eight. He was again on the Committee on Education, and was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He introduced a bill incorporating the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, and defended it during all the stages of its enactment into a law against a vigorous opposition. It was the first railroad built in the State. There was much discussion of the division of the proceeds of the sale of public lands by the Federal Government among the states, and a resolution was adopted

¹ House Journal, 97.

by the Legislature that they ought to be so divided, the vote being seventy ayes to fifty-four nays, the division being not along party lines, Mr. Graham voting aye. Judge Martin, having resigned as one of the judges of the Superior Court, Romulus M. Saunders was elected by a vote of ninety-seven to succeed him. On the last ballot Mr. Graham received sixty votes, and the *Register* of November 22, 1835, commenting on this, says: "It is due to Mr. Graham to state, that though strongly solicited, he refused to suffer his name to be put in nomination. Had he consented, he is so deservedly a favorite, that the contest would have been a very doubtful one. Mr. Graham is a young man, and the flattering vote which he received, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, is conclusive evidence of his elevated standing in the State."

The new Constitution, having gone into effect on January 1, 1836, and boroughs having been thus abolished, Mr. Graham was a candidate before the people of Orange County in the summer of 1836, to represent that county in the Legislature of 1836-7. He, for the first time, canvassed the county for internal improvements and for the distribution of the land proceeds. He was triumphantly elected, carrying with him also, two out of the other Whig candidates for the House, Orange being entitled under the new Constitution, to four representatives. He, however, ran one hundred and twenty-one ahead of his ticket.

The House was again Democratic by a small majority; Haywood received sixty votes for speaker and Graham fifty-three.¹ He was on the same standing committees as at the last session, and was again chairman of the Committee on Judiciary.² He was also chairman of the Committee on the Revised Statutes, which were then to be enacted into a law, and looked carefully, painstakingly and ably after their progress through the House. He was also chairman of a joint committee of both houses on the funds to be received

¹ House Journal, 243-4. ² House Journal, 268.

under the Deposit Act of Congress, and as chairman pro tem. of the committee made an able and lucid report upon the disposition of that fund, accompanied by bills to carry the suggestions of the committee into effect.¹ In pursuance of the act for the distribution of the surplus revenue, nearly \$28,000,000 were deposited with the states, by three equal payments in January, April and July of 1837. North Carolina's share was \$1,433,757.39. The Graham report contemplated an equal division of this fund into two: one, to constitute a fund for common schools, and the other, a fund for internal improvements. It very strongly reprehended the diversion of any portion of this fund to meet ordinary State liabilities. The legislation, however, did not follow this report in its entirety. \$100,000 were diverted to the payment of the civil contingent expenses of the State Government, \$600,000 were used in purchasing bank stock, \$200,000 were appropriated to draining swamp lands, and \$533,757.39 purchased stock in the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad.

The General Assembly of 1835-6 had enacted a law to regulate the mode of passing private acts. After the enactment of this law, the Constitution of 1835 went into effect. A new provision was incorporated therein that the General Assembly shall not pass any private law, unless it shall be made to appear that thirty days notice of application to pass such law, shall have been given under such directions and in such manner as shall be provided by law. Upon this state of things two questions were submitted by the Assembly of 1836-7 to its Judiciary Committee, of which Mr. Graham was Chairman: First, was the Act of 1835 superseded by the Constitution, which went into effect January 1, 1836, in such way as to render it inoperative upon the present and future assemblies, without its reenactment; second, what is the line of demarkation between public and private acts? Mr. Graham replied to these questions in a

¹ Legislative Documents, 1835-9, No. 15.

very able and luminous report. Except as restricted by the State and Federal constitutions, the authority of the General Assembly to legislate is plenary, and its legislation binds its successors until altered or repealed by them. The Act of 1835 was obnoxious to no provision of the Constitution of 1776, and being in entire accord with the provision of the new Constitution, quoted above, it is still in full force and effect. Upon this point, among other things, he said: "The convention has not only not taken away the power to enact such a law, but virtually ordained that it should be passed. It is supposed that the right to pass it is derived from the amendment, and it could only be passed by a Legislature convened under the new Constitution. It must be observed, however, that the paragraph of the amendment now under discussion, confers no new power on the General Assembly, but forbids the exercise of an old one, except on certain conditions. The legislative power of the General Assembly extends not merely to the present time and events, but may prospectively embrace any future contingencies. The law in question might have provided that in the event of the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution, advertisement of application for private acts should be made for thirty days, much more, when it was authoritatively announced that the amendments had been adopted, might it provide to give them practical operation. A wise lawgiver will endeavor as well to prevent grievances as to administer remedies for them. To have enacted no law in reference to private acts at the last session of the Legislature, would have been to exclude any private bill from consideration for at least the first thirty days of this session. Your committee, therefore, deem the passage of the said act to have been both constitutional and expedient."

In answer to the second question he said: "On the one hand your committee have felt that by a too strict interpretation of the term, private law, much useful legislation might have been prevented at the present session, whilst on

the contrary the salutary operation of this section of the Constitution would be wholly abrogated and annulled, unless the General Assembly shall affix a proper construction to this term, and insist on its enforcement in every instance. It can hardly be supposed that the judiciary branch of the government will have either the disposition or authority to look beyond the enactments of the Legislature, to ascertain whether they were passed with or without legal notice of their introduction. This clause of the amended Constitution is binding therefore only on the conscience of the legislator, and is dependent upon this alone for its observance. Its true meaning is for that reason to be sought with greater diligence and adhered to with more vigor. * * * In some statutes special clauses have been inserted declaring that those statutes shall be held and deemed public acts, but this, as your committee believe, has been properly construed not to change the character of the acts, but merely to determine the manner in which they shall be alleged and proved in courts of justice. Whether a statute be public or private must depend on its nature and object. If those be private, the statute itself can not be public, notwithstanding the declaration of the Legislature to the contrary; nor should the evasion be allowed of inserting provisions of a public kind for the mere purpose of dispensing with the necessity of advertising, where they do not belong to the general scope of the particular bill. The general description of public acts is, that they relate to the interests of the public at large; and private, that they relate to individuals and their interests only. This vague description which pervades all the elementary books and has by many been mistaken as a definition, affords but an uncertain test for discrimination. Your committee believe that the following points are settled by adjudication or by common consent, to wit, that all acts are public:

"1. Which concern all persons generally.

"2. Which affect the sovereign in any of his rights of

sovereignty or property. Hence any act which gives a penalty or fine to the State is, on that account, public.

"3. Which concern the officers of the State, whether civil or military.

"4. Which concern the Legislature.

"5. Which relate to trade in general, or the public highways or navigable rivers.

"And of these some are termed public local acts, and others public general acts, according to their respective spheres of operation. The foregoing summary may not embrace all acts of a public nature, but is supported by authority so far as it extends, and may be useful in drawing the line of distinction. Private acts embrace all those not falling within any of the descriptions aforesaid. An attempt to define them more particularly is unnecessary. Your committee are aware that the precise boundary between public and private acts can not in every instance be determined by the rules here furnished, but they are gratified by the reflection that in a great majority of bills there can be no question as to their character, and in any particular case where difficulty may arise, the foregoing classification may be found useful if not decisive. To the wisdom of the House it will belong to apply them with proper discrimination, in each case in which the application becomes necessary."

I reproduce this long extract, not so much because it is an admirable statement of the legal principles involved, as because it throws light upon the stage of mental development at which he had arrived when he was only thirty-two years of age, and also upon his character. This constant sense of the eternal fitness of things, this assumption that because power is irresponsible, it is the more incumbent upon those who exercise it, to exercise it with the utmost circumspection and caution, characterized all his utterances and actions throughout his whole career.

While on his way to one of his courts, in 1836, he was so injured by an unruly horse, that he was compelled to go

North for treatment in the summer of 1837. Before the accident, it was understood that he or Judge Mangum was to have been the Whig candidate for the Federal House of Representatives. Judge Mangum, however, positively declined, and insisted that Mr. Graham should be nominated, and he was nominated without a dissenting voice. He was absent at the North until a few days before the election. He could make no canvass. Instead he addressed an open letter to the voters of the district, in which he discussed the issues of the day and offered himself as a candidate for their suffrages. Martin Van Buren had been President only a few months, and the country was in the throes of a severe panic, largely induced by the arbitrary measures of his predecessor, General Jackson. Mr. Graham, in this letter, thus rapidly describes conditions as they then were:

"Our public moneys amounting to many million dollars have been paid into banks which are unable or unwilling to repay the government, and much it is feared will never be repaid at all. Bank notes which constitute by far the largest portion of our currency are no longer convertible into specie. Exchanges are destroyed, so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to make remittances from one part of our country to another, to carry on the necessary commerce between it and foreign nations. Many of our merchants and other citizens, both the judicious and prudent as well as the reckless and speculating, have suddenly and unexpectedly, both to themselves and others, become insolvent. Pecuniary confidence between man and man has been greatly abridged, and in many places destroyed. The great staple productions of the country have fallen in price, and agricultural as well as mechanical labor meets with insufficient reward. Our immediate section of the country from its interior position, as well as other causes, is happily exempt in a great measure from the calamities which oppress others; but no section can long escape unless a remedy is speedily applied. Every section is interested in the safe-keeping of the public moneys, the

soundness of the circulating medium, the facilities of domestic trade and the prosperity of our foreign commerce." His remedy was a national bank, such as that which was chartered during the Washington and Madison administrations. "I believe," said he, "that Congress has the constitutional power to establish such bank, and I, at present perceive no measure better calculated to relieve our distresses. I am aware of the danger of moneyed power, and if such a corporation can not be so restricted as to be incapable of wanton injury, either to the public or individuals, it should not be allowed. But the legislative power must be lamentably impotent if it can not fashion the creation of its own hands that it shall be accountable to the law for its conduct and thus prevent its abuses."

And he concludes thus: "It is known to many of you that I did not concur in the election of the present chief magistrate, and should a competitor be presented whom I prefer, I probably shall not do so at the next election. I will endeavor, nevertheless, whether in public or private life, to do justice to his measures, and should deem myself altogether unworthy of your confidence, were I capable of opposing or supporting any measure on account of the sources from which it springs. My first wish is that the country should be well governed, rather that it should be governed by any particular set of men."

The *Raleigh Register* had the following on his candidacy, issue of July 17, 1837: "We do not believe there lives a man who can with truth allege aught against the character of Mr. Graham. We say of our own knowledge, that he is as pure a public man as we ever saw, and if elected, will add greatly to the learning, talent and eloquence of the House of which he is a member." In the issue of July 31, 1837, he is designated as follows: "A man whom even his political foes respect for his acquirements, and honor for the irreproachable purity of his private character."

The *Standard* of July 19, 1837, took a somewhat different view: "In him the bank Whigs and Wall street brokers will have as warm a friend and as ardent a champion as they desire. * * * As to Mr. Graham's private character we know nothing and have heard nothing against it. He is a man of talents, but he can never be great among great men. * * * Though he may be looked upon as estimable as a man, he is dangerous as a politician."

At almost exactly the same time and in England another newspaper writer wrote of Mr. Gladstone: "He is a man of very considerable talent, but has nothing approaching to genius. His abilities are much more the result of an excellent education, and of mature study, than of any prodigality on the part of nature in the distribution of her mental gifts. I have no idea he will ever acquire the reputation of a great statesman."¹

Mr. William Montgomery was elected by 191 majority, the only instance in Mr. Graham's long public life in which he was defeated in an election before the people of North Carolina.

He was again a commoner from Orange County in the Legislature of 1838-9, the only Whig elected in that county, all his colleagues being Democrats. The House, however, was Whig, and he was elected speaker over Michael Hoke, the vote being sixty-one to forty-nine. This General Assembly is distinguished by its enactment of the first comprehensive school law. Says Mr. Coon²: "Early in the session of the Assembly of 1838-9, Mr. Dockery repeated his resolution relative to the establishment of public schools. H. G. Spruill presented a resolution and a plan which contemplated dividing the counties into school districts and holding an election in each district on the question of school or no school. The district was to be empowered to levy a tax to pay one-half the teacher's salary, the other to be paid out of the income of the

[¹ British Senate, Vol. II, 64. ² Coon: Public Education in N. C., I, xliii.

literary fund. A notable feature of this plan was the suggestion that every district refusing to establish schools should be required to vote on the question every year until they were established. The plan submitted by the Literary Board recommended the division of the State into 1250 districts, estimating the average school population for each district of 108 children between the ages of five and fifteen; the establishment of normal schools after the fashion advocated by President Caldwell some years before; the holding of an election in each county to determine whether it was willing to levy a tax for schools in amount to twice the sum expected from the literary fund; and the appointment of a state superintendent of public schools. It was estimated by the board that the income of the school fund was then about \$100,000. This amount, added to \$200,000 proposed to be raised by county taxation, would pay the 1250 teachers each a salary of \$240 a year. The suggestions of the board were received with considerable interest. Bills to carry out its plans were introduced in the Senate by William W. Cherry, and in the House by Frederick J. Hill. Mr. Cherry's bill did not contemplate establishing schools until another meeting of the Assembly; Mr. Hill's bill provided for their immediate establishment. * * * The net results of the education efforts of the Assembly of 1838-9 was the passage, on January 7, 1839, of a law submitting the question of schools or no schools to a vote of the people of several counties in August, 1839. A favorable vote meant a county tax levy of one dollar for each two dollars to be received from the income of the literary fund. The schools established were to be under the control of five to ten county superintendents; the whole territory of the county was to be divided into no more districts than one for each thirty-six square miles, and the first term of the schools in each district was to be conducted on \$20 of county taxation and \$40 income from the literary fund."

No member of the Assembly took a more active interest

in the enactment of this law, than did the speaker, Mr. Graham. Four out of the nine sections of the original House bill were in his handwriting, and two of the bills finally adopted by the Conference Committee were also in his handwriting.¹ It is said to have been adapted from the New York law on the same subject.

Mr. Coon very finely says of this act²: "While the school law of 1839 was not a very satisfactory measure, it marked the beginning of a new era. Individualism was now gradually to give way to community spirit; selfishness and intolerance, which only desired to be undisturbed, must now needs give place to measures devoted to the welfare and uplift of the people; hatred of taxation for schools must now begin to disappear before the dawning of that wiser policy that no taxation is oppressive which is used in giving equal educational opportunities to all."

Mr. Graham was reelected a member of the House of Commons from Orange in 1840. He was accompanied by two Whig colleagues to, and Mr. Wiley P. Mangum was senator in, the General Assembly of 1840-1. So fair and impartial as speaker was he the preceding session that he was reelected unanimously at this. The meeting of the Legislature was immediately after the triumphant election of Harrison and Tyler. The State, falling in line, had given the Whig ticket a large majority. The Democratic Legislature of 1835-6 had instructed the then senators in Congress, Bedford Brown and Wiley P. Mangum, to vote for Benton's expunging resolution. Mangum, denying the authority of the Legislature to instruct him how to vote, voted against that resolution, and refused to resign. In the campaign of 1836 he and Brown, who took the affirmative of the right of the Legislature to instruct, discussed the matter largely before the people of the State. The General Assembly, elected that year, was Democratic by a very small majority, and Mangum interpreting this as a rebuke of his own course, by the people

¹ Pub. Ed. in N. C., II, 881 and 890. ² Ibid, I, xlvii.

themselves, resigned and was succeeded by Robert Strange, a Democrat. In 1838-9 conditions were reversed. The Benton resolution was passed by the Senate January 16, 1837, both Brown and Strange voting for it. The General Assembly of 1838-9 was Whig by a substantial majority. Kenneth Rayner, on December 4, 1838, introduced in the House of Commons a series of resolutions that in the aggregate amounted to a condensed but definite statement of the Whig faith, the first resolution containing a simple allegation that the present senators had not truly represented the people of the State in voting for Benton's expunging resolution, and the last, being as follows: "That our senators in Congress will represent the wishes of a majority of the people of the State by voting to carry out the foregoing resolutions." There is no doubt that these resolutions were drawn up at a conference of the Whig leaders, for the *Register*, in its issue of November 26, 1838, said: "That course is not to instruct them as their party instructed Mangum to do a particular act or resign, but to give so decided and unequivocal an expression of the opinions of their constituents, that they can not disregard it, unless they are determined to set at naught the popular will and practically assert their independence of it." So every amendment in the House and in the Senate was voted down, and the resolution passed the former body, without dotting an *i* or crossing a *t*, December 25th, and the latter, December 27, 1838, in each instance by a strict party vote, so far as their essential features were concerned. Senators Brown and Strange, protesting that when positive instructions were given them they would either vote as the General Assembly commanded them, or resign, by a letter to that body, dated December 31, 1838, asked for more authoritative instructions. These the Legislature never gave. Messrs Brown and Strange, still treating these resolutions as an expression of opinion on the part of the Legislature, which did not concern them, refused to resign until June

30, 1840. Their resignations were accompanied by long explanations, the gist of which may be found in the following: "My resignation is not prompted by a belief that the resolutions imposed on me any such obligation, but from an anxious desire to submit my public course to the decision of the people of the State, which would have been done sooner, if an election had sooner intervened." As I have already said, the General Assembly, elected the second Thursday in August, 1840, was Whig by a large majority. These vacancies were to be filled by it at its coming November session. Bedford Brown's term was to expire March 4, 1841, Wiley P. Mangum was elected to fill the unexpired term, and also for a full term commencing at that date. Robert Strange's term was to expire on March 4, 1843, and William A. Graham was, on November 24, 1840, elected to fill this by a vote of ninety-eight for himself and sixty-four for Strange. Both candidates were selected by the Whigs in caucus, out of some five or six names. Mr. Mangum was at the time the leader of the Whig party in the State. By general consent of the Whigs at large he was to be Mr. Brown's successor, and he was unanimously so named by the caucus. It was a very great and unusual honor that the Whigs conferred on so young a man as Mr. Graham to choose him out of five candidates as United States Senator, when he was a resident of the same county as Mr. Mangum. It is, too, the strongest testimony to his ability and his private and public worth. His selection was received with great satisfaction by the Whigs. Said the *Register* of November 27, 1840: "He is a statesman of high order, is a powerful debater, and combined with these qualifications has indefatigable application. His virtues and amiable qualities endear him to all who know him." The Democratic comment, however, was rather caustic, on his age, his lack of experience and his geographical situation.

UNITED STATES SENATOR

It was the second session of the Twenty-sixth Congress that the new senators first attended. Mr. Mangum was sworn in on December 9th, and Mr. Graham, December 10, 1840.¹ That Congress was Democratic, both in the House and in the Senate. The Senate was composed, then, of the ablest men in public life throughout the country. From Alabama there were William R. King and Clement C. Clay; from Delaware, Thomas Clayton; from New Jersey, Samuel L. Southard; from Kentucky, Henry Clay and John J. Crittenden; from Missouri, Thomas Benton; from Georgia, Wilson Lumpkin; from New York, Silas Wright and Nathaniel P. Tallmadge; from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster and John Davis; from South Carolina, John C. Calhoun and William C. Preston; from New Hampshire, Franklin Pierce; from Vermont, Samuel Prentiss, and from Virginia, William H. Roane. Martin Van Buren's term as president was expiring, and his last annual message was a defense of the policy of his administration.² Especially did he congratulate the country that in the midst of the very trying conditions which confronted it at the outstart, a panic and the stoppage of specie payments by the banks and the consequent loss of revenue from such a condition, complicated by large expenditures in the removal of the eastern Indians, appropriations for which had already been made, every demand upon it at home or abroad, had been promptly met. "This has been done not only without creating a permanent debt, or resort to additional taxation in any form, but in the midst of a steadily progressing reduction of existing burdens upon the people, leaving still a considerable balance of available funds which will remain in the treasury at the end of the year. * * * The policy of the Federal Government, in extinguishing as rapidly as possible the national debt, and subsequently in resisting every temptation to create a new one, deserves to be regarded in the same favorable light.

¹ Senate Journal, 1840-1, 22. ² Senate Journal, 6, et seq.

Coming into office the declared enemy of both (a national debt and a national bank), I have earnestly endeavored to prevent a resort to either." Mr. Graham was placed on the Standing Committee on Revolutionary Claims at this session.¹ From that committee, on January 13, 1841, he reported a bill to cause monuments to be erected in honor of Brigadier-Generals Francis Nash and William Davidson, favorably.² He accompanied the bill with a special report which was ordered printed. It being his first attendance, and at a short session when the Democrats had a majority, he does not appear to have taken any part in the larger debates, contenting himself with a constant attendance, voting generally with his party.

The Senate of the Twenty-seventh Congress, at the call of the President, met in special session on March 4, 1841. Mr. Webster, having been nominated as Secretary of State by Mr. Harrison, had resigned and was succeeded by Rufus Choate. Levi Woodbury, who had been Secretary of the Treasury under Van Buren, appeared as one of the senators from Vermont. John J. Crittenden, who had been appointed Attorney-General, was succeeded by James T. Morehead. John McPherson Berrien appeared from Georgia, and Richard H. Bayard from Delaware. The leaders of the Democrats were Thomas H. Benton, William R. King, James Buchanan, Silas Wright and Levi Woodbury; of the Whigs, Henry Clay, Thomas Clayton, Samuel Prentiss, William C. Rives and Wiley P. Mangum. The Whigs had a majority of seven. This, however, was merely an executive session to confirm the nominations of the new president, Harrison. The new cabinet was: Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, Secretary of the Navy; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General, and Caleb Grainger, Postmaster-General—a very able company of counselors. At Mr. Clay's suggestion, President Harrison called the

¹ Senate Journal, 23. ² Senate Journal, 101.

Twenty-seventh Congress to meet in extra session on May 31, 1841. Unfortunately for the country and fatally for the Whig party, Mr. Harrison died, after a short illness, on April 4, 1841, and was succeeded by John Tyler, the Vice-President, a Democrat, misplaced in the Whig party, to the confusion and dismay of all who wished it well. The extra session began at the time appointed, the House being also Whig by nearly fifty majority. The program of the Whigs as announced by their leader, Mr. Clay, was:¹

1. The repeal of the sub-treasury law.
2. The incorporation of a bank adapted to the wants of the people.
3. The provision of an adequate revenue (there was a deficit at the time, estimated, of \$14,000,000), by the imposition of tariff duties, and a temporary loan.
4. The passage of the necessary appropriations.
5. The prospective distribution of the proceeds of public land sales.
6. Some modification of the banking system of the District of Columbia.

Of the general legislation involved in this program, all was frustrated by the veto of President Tyler, except the repeal of the sub-treasury law and the temporary loan.

The chairmen of the standing committees of the Senate were chosen by the ballot of the senators. Mr. Graham was elected chairman of the Committee on Claims,² a very important position for so new and so young a senator. He was also a member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims,³ and was appointed a member of a select committee on so much of the President's message as related to a uniform currency, and a suitable fiscal agent, by Mr. Southard, president pro tem. of the Senate.⁴ Remembering that one of the greatest evils of the times was the wholly inadequate currency system, this was one of the most important

¹ Senate Journal, 1841, 24.

² Senate Journal, 18.

³ Senate Journal, 20.

⁴ Senate Journal, 20.

committees of the Congress, and it was composed of very able senators,—Mr. Clay, chairman; Mr. Choate, Mr. Wright, Mr. Berrien, Mr. King, Mr. Tallmadge, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Graham and Mr. Huntington. As above said, however, all the measures of this committee were made futile by the veto of the President.

At the second session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, Mr. Graham was continued as chairman of the Committee on Claims, but was transferred from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims to that on Pensions.¹ He presided over the Senate as president pro tempore on February 17, 1842.² He was appointed second on the special Committee on Retrenchment, on February 28th.³ On March 31st⁴ Mr. Clay retired from the Senate, and was succeeded by his friend and follower, John J. Crittenden, who, with all the rest of the original cabinet except Mr. Webster, had resigned the preceding September. "I want rest," wrote Mr. Clay, "and my private affairs want attention. Nevertheless I would make any personal sacrifice, if by remaining here I could do any good; but my belief is, I can effect nothing, and perhaps my absence may remove an obstacle to something being done by others."

As I have said, the administration of Mr. Van Buren had left to the administration of Mr. Tyler an inheritance of debt, and the compromise tariff measure of 1833, working automatically, had reduced the revenues below the necessary expenses of the government. There was an annually increasing deficit. The special session of 1841 had authorized a temporary loan of \$12,000,000, to tide over immediate embarrassments. Coupled with that measure was one requiring the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of public lands among the states, this distribution, however, to be suspended whenever the necessities of the treasury required an increase of the tariff duties above the twenty per cent fixed by the compromise of 1833. To raise the duties above this

¹ Senate Journal, 1841-2, 22. ² Senate Journal, 173. ³ Senate Journal, 188. ⁴ Senate Journal, 262.

twenty per cent level was absolutely necessary to secure an adequate revenue for the expenses of the government. Thus any further distribution of these funds among the states could not be made. Indeed such was the condition of the treasury, that Congress was compelled at the ensuing session to extend the loan of 1841 and add \$5,000,000 thereto. The Democrats wished to devote the proceeds of the sale of the public lands to the gradual liquidation of this temporary loan. This the Whigs opposed, and, having a majority, defeated. It was while the bill authorizing this loan was pending that Mr. Graham made his first set speech, April 13, 1842. He first shows that during the four years of the Van Buren administration, the expenses of the government exceeded its revenue by \$31,000,000; that this deficit was reduced to \$5,500,000, by the application of \$26,000,000 of extraordinary funds, \$17,000,000 of surplus at the beginning of the administration, \$9,000,000 of which should have been the fourth installment of the deposit of land proceeds with the states, and \$9,000,000 were received from debts due the United States, principally for the sale of its stock in the late Bank of the United States; that they not only diverted this capital to the payment of the ordinary expenses of the government, but they were compelled to borrow \$5,500,000 more by the issue of treasury notes to meet their extravagant expenditures, and this legacy of debt they have left to the Tyler administration. "To meet this deficiency, what have we? Instead of surplus, we have debt. Instead of extraordinary means falling in, we have a daily increasing charge of interest. Instead of a tariff of forty per cent, we have one nearly approaching 20 per cent, and that upon little more than half the imports. What then is to be done? * * * Mr. President, our whole duty in this emergency seems to be comprehended in three propositions:

"1. Borrow such sum, upon the best terms we can obtain,

as will relieve our present necessities, and save the public honor from disgrace.

"2. Reduce our expenses to the lowest point which is consistent with an efficient public service.

"3. Levy such duties upon imports as are necessary for an economical administration of the government, and no more."

The Democrats had suggested that the Tyler administration could relieve itself of all its financial difficulties by demanding the return of the \$28,000,000 of land proceeds already distributed among the states. Mr. Graham proceeds in a calm, courteous and well-reasoned argument to show that such extraordinary funds were not to be devoted to the ordinary expenses of the government, according to the scheme of the Constitution itself, even if they could surmount the impracticableness and injustice of the scheme of taking back from the states the money which had been so recently deposited with them. "I have said, Mr. President, that the authors of the Constitution did not rely upon the public lands as a means for the ordinary maintenance of government, and, in my humble opinion, to effectuate their design to make this a government of limited powers, confined to comparatively few objects, it ought to be restricted to those modes of supply pointed out in the Constitution. All history will verify the fact, that those nations have been most remarkable for purity and correctness of administration, for the strictest accountability of public agents, and have longest preserved their liberties, who have kept their ruling powers constantly dependent upon the contributions, direct or indirect, annually levied upon the people. As a certain writer has remarked, 'They who would trample on their rights are restrained by the want of their money.' This general truth applies with tenfold force to a government like that of the United States, far distant from the great mass of the people whom it affects, and so complicated in its structure and so diversified in its operations, that, to keep up a minute knowl-

edge of its details of administration, federal politics must be made, to a great extent, an exclusive profession. That period of our history, when speculation and embezzlement were most rife, when the responsibility of public officers was least rigid, when salaries were unregulated and the gains in many offices were almost what their holders desired, and when appropriations were most extravagant, was the period which I have reviewed in the first part of these remarks (Van Buren's administration), when revenue was not redundant but grossly deficient, but there were surpluses and extraordinary means in your coffers, which the administration had nothing to do with, but to expend. Think you, sir, that in any other state of the treasury, a district attorney would have been allowed to receive emoluments greater, by more than one-half, than the salary of the President of the United States—greater according to his own declaration when about to leave office, 'than any citizen of a free republic ought to receive'; that marshals, collectors of customs and postmasters, would have been permitted, like Roman proconsuls, to enrich themselves to immense fortunes out of the offices created for public benefit alone, and oftentimes, by like instances of official abuses—abuses to which no corrective was applied until the third of March, 1841, the very last day of the late administration, when a clause was inserted in the appropriation bill—a kind of bequest to pious uses upon the deathbed repentance, spoken of by the senator from South Carolina (Mr. Preston), restraining the compensation of these functionaries to \$6,000 per annum, for the future."

On May 31, 1842, Mr. Mangum was elected president pro tem. of the Senate in the place of Mr. Southard, of New Jersey, who had resigned, thus making a vacancy on the Finance Committee.¹ Mr. Graham was appointed to fill this vacancy.² A question about which there was much discussion at this session was the redistricting of the country

¹ Senate Journal, 1841-2, 366. ² Ibid, 377.

according to the census of 1840. The Democrats were in favor of leaving the matter of electing members of the House of Representatives by districts or by a general ticket to the legislatures of the various states. Mr. Graham was in favor of Congress determining this question for itself and of its requiring the legislatures to lay off contiguous districts containing a certain number (70,680) of voters, thus in effect prohibiting the election of representatives by general ticket. On June 3, 1842, he made a very able speech sustaining this view. He discusses it, first, from the standpoint of expediency and, second, from the standpoint of its constitutionality. In concluding the latter branch of the discussion, he said: "But we are told we have no power to pass this law, because we can not enforce its execution by penal sanctions; and an urgent appeal is made to us by the senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Woodbury) to know whether an armed force or a writ of mandamus is to be sent to the state legislatures to compel them to lay off the districts. No, sir, neither. No one ever conceived the idea of compelling a free legislative assembly to do, or not to do, anything by physical force, or the precept of a court of justice. The crime of omission or commission in their constitutional duty, like that of parricide among the Athenians, is provided with no legal sanction, but left to the oaths and consciences of men, to an accountability to public opinion, and to that constituency whose rights have been outraged or neglected. The preservation of this government greatly depends on the faithful fulfillment of the duties imposed by the Constitution on the state legislatures. If a majority of them shall fail to elect senators (as one has done), if five or six of those in the largest states shall fail to make regulations for choosing electors of president and vice-president, in conformity to the laws of Congress, the Union would be as effectually dissolved as if we who are sent to the legislative halls of the capitol should obstinately refuse to attend in our places and pass

the laws annually necessary for the support of the government. It is faith, honor, conscience, and not the hangman's whip, on which at last rest the blessings of this noblest human institution which has ever been devised for the security, the welfare and the happiness of man. The duties of the states, under our Constitution, are not to be determined by their liability to punishment, but by the covenants into which they entered by that instrument."

At this session of Congress a tariff bill was passed.¹ It represented fairly the Whig idea of a tariff, *i. e.* for revenue with incidental protection. The President had already stated his objection to a bill² that contained a provision continuing the distribution of the public land sales. Mr. Graham was with the Democrats in nearly all the reductions proposed by them during the consideration of the bill, and voted against it on its third and final reading. He was very earnestly in favor of continuing the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of public lands, and this bill being a surrender to the President on this subject, he could not vote for it without stultifying his own record. Compared with the present it was an exceedingly moderate protection measure, not averaging more than thirty per cent. Moderate, however, as protection was at that period, he, being a southerner, was even more moderate. He said himself in his letter accepting the Whig nomination for governor, December 18, 1843: "I have no hesitation in saying, that whilst I think the government should collect the least amount of money, which may be necessary for an efficient public service, in laying duties to raise such sum, I would incidentally afford protection to American interests, when they were deemed of sufficient importance to deserve it, as well as counteract the effects of restrictive regulations on our trade by foreign nations wherever it should appear expedient to do so. * * * I did not vote for the tariff now existing. Some of its duties were higher than I approved, but in the vacant condition of

¹Senate Journal, 1841, 251. ²Ibid, 643.

the treasury, I would not have withheld from it my support had an amendment which I offered, proposing a distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the states, been incorporated in the bill."

At the third session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, 1842-3, he was again Chairman of the Committee on Claims, second on the Committee on Finance, and second on the Special Committee on Retrenchment.

When it is remembered that Mr. Graham was only thirty-eight years and five months old when his term as United States Senator expired in March, 1843, and consider the influential position he had taken in that august body, we need no stronger evidence of his ability, his faithfulness and his industry. The functions of the chairman of the Committee on Claims, at that time when there was no court of claims, were very much like that of a chancellor presiding over a court of equity. Many important matters were presented to that committee while Mr. Graham was chairman, matters which involved the reading and digesting of a great mass of written evidence, the application of the principles of law and of justice to the case under consideration, and finally the rendering of the written opinion in such form as to carry conviction to the minds of the great lawyers and eminent statesmen, who constituted the body to which the report was made. None of his reports was perfunctory, and some of them show such industrious mastery of detail, such capacity for sifting out the strong from the weak, the true from the false, from a great mass of conflicting, or obscure, or false testimony, such clearness in statement of conclusions of fact and enunciation of legal and constitutional principles applicable to them, that we are convinced he would have made a great chancellor as well as a great senator, if fair opportunity had presented itself.¹

The Legislature elected in North Carolina, in 1842, was largely Democratic in both branches. Mr. Romulus M.

¹ See his Report, Harris-Farrow Claim, 3 Senate Doc., 27th Con., 3d Session, No. 187.

Saunders and Mr. Bedford Brown, both Democrats, were candidates to succeed Mr. Graham, and divided the votes of that party between them, while the Whigs voted to a man for Mr. Graham. On December 20, 1842, Mr. Graham's name was withdrawn from the balloting, and the next day Mr. William H. Haywood, Jr., was elected senator. Says the *Raleigh Register* of December 23, 1842: "The elevation of this gentleman over the head of all of the leaders of the genuine Democracy is a strong exhibition of political legerdemain, in which, however, we believe he, himself, had no hand. (As a matter of fact he was not in Raleigh at the time.) * * * At the beginning of the session, Judge Saunders was taken up as a representative of the Calhoun wing of the party, while the Hon. Bedford Brown, being the beau ideal of pure locofocoism, was the nucleus about which the elements of Van Burenism rallied. It was in vain that caucus after caucus was held. The friends of Saunders, regarding his success as a matter of vital importance to Mr. Calhoun, would not give way, though in a minority. On the other hand, many of Brown's friends at an early period declared that they would prefer Mr. Graham to Judge Saunders, and some of them affirmed that in no event could they be brought to the support of any man tainted with nullification."

After Mr. Graham's withdrawal on the 19th, the Whigs had no candidate, but voted, some for Saunders, and others, scattering. When the Democrats, however, centered upon Mr. Haywood, they again voted as a body for him, the final ballot standing Haywood ninety-five and Graham sixty-nine, with two scattering.

FIRST TERM AS GOVERNOR

At the end of his term of service in the United States Senate, Mr. Graham returned to the practice of the law at Hillsboro. But the people of North Carolina were not willing that he should remain long out of their service.

The Whigs throughout the State, while they were intensely

indignant at what they regarded as Mr. Tyler's treason to their party, were not discouraged by it. They turned as one man to Mr. Clay, as their candidate for the presidency in 1844, and to Mr. Graham as their candidate for governor. The Whig State Convention was held in Raleigh December 7, 1843, and Mr. Graham was unanimously and with great enthusiasm chosen as its candidate for governor. It was with some sacrifice of his financial interests that he accepted this nomination. He said in his letter of acceptance, December 18, 1843: "But, however gratifying to an honorable pride, your communication awakens feelings also of a different character. It breaks in upon my plans of life, my professional and agricultural pursuits, and demands a sacrifice of interests which can not well be spared from my family. I had therefore most earnestly and anxiously hoped that the choice of the convention would have fallen on some one of those able and virtuous citizens, whose names have been connected with this subject and whose disinterestedness and zeal in the Whig cause, is only equaled by their devotion to its principles. Nevertheless, with my conceptions of duty (however much I had wished it otherwise) I have no alternative but to accept the nomination. Without stronger reasons than any I have to urge, I could not hold any other person justified in refusing a call from such a source, to lend his name and his efforts to the support of principles, which, I verily believe, lie at the foundation of the enduring prosperity and happiness of the country."¹

Mr. Graham's opponent was a personal friend and fellow county-man, Michael Hoke, of Lincoln. Mr. Hoke was young (only thirty-four years of age), ardent and able. He was considered the most promising of the younger Democrats of the State, had great personal magnetism, was a fine debater and universally popular. He was a man of irreproachable character and had a great deal of humor, but it was a

¹ NOTE.—He was urged very strongly by Senator Mangum and Mr. James W. Osborne not to accept this nomination, that his proper place was in the U. S. Senate, and this would prevent his being considered for that place.

kindly, genial humor that left little sting behind it. His death, on September 9, 1844, from a fever contracted in the eastern part of the State during this campaign, was a great loss to the State, and it was deplored scarcely less by his political opponents than by his party associates. The campaign was arduous, the candidates occasionally meeting in joint discussion. Graham, more learned, more experienced, calmer, more dignified and impressive; Hoke, more nimble, quicker, brighter and more entertaining. The Graham-Hoke campaign was long spoken of in the State in very much the same terms that we speak of the Vance-Settle campaign of 1876, as one of the most remarkable in the history of the State. Mr. Graham was elected by 3,153 majority.

Here is a contemporary estimate of Mr. Graham which I give. It is that of a political follower, but allowing something for natural partiality and exaggeration, its essential features present him very near as he was: "Governor Graham dignifies and adorns everything he touches. Such grace, such elegance, such ease, such candor and so much placid eloquence, were never seen before concentrated in one man. He can not fail to acquire the attention of his audience, and when acquired, he keeps it chained with a magic spell. We have seen speakers who seemed as if they snatched the very lightnings and thunders of heaven to assist them in overpowering the senses and arousing the passions of their hearers; we have seen those who appeared to make the very walls laugh with anecdote and the air boisterous with mirth; we have seen those whose plain, matter-of-fact statements fell with convincing force upon the judgment, but in so cold and formal a manner that, although we were compelled to acknowledge the force of the argument and the solidity of the facts, we could not forget the repulsive manner of the speaker; but never have we seen so due a degree of the excellences of a public speaker united in one man as in Governor Graham. He is possessed of a lofty dignity without haughtiness, ease without affectation, talent without vanity, and

principles which have the respect of even those who entertain others." Of course the tone of this is exaggerated, but after all it is simply truth somewhat colored. Governor Graham had a very fine and noble presence. He was at this time the handsomest man in public life in North Carolina. The tones of his voice were mellow and harmonious, and, though not strong, well modulated. His action was free, easy and graceful, on occasion warming into energy. His matter was carefully arranged so as to give his argument the effect of cumulation. He was fair in statement, and perfectly honest and sincere in the positions he took. His public addresses, though always orderly arranged, are never closely reasoned. He knew the danger of the logical short cut in dealing with public questions. Its beauty and force could be appreciated only by the initiated, and such were not his fellow-citizens whom he was addressing. He very seldom dealt in sophistry. Indeed so practical a mind as his could rarely do so. In short the matter of his public speeches was interesting and instructive, while his manner was always attractive.

On January 1, 1845, he was installed as governor, the oaths of office being administered by the Chief Justice, Ruffin, in the Commons Hall, in the presence of both houses. He then delivered his inaugural address. After a merely cursory glance at the relations of the State to the Federal Government, in which he condemned the practice of devoting so much of our public discussions to Federal topics, he confines himself to the problems which were to confront him in his coming administration. "That these important concerns of the nation should be objects of constant observation and active vigilance is to be expected and desired; but that they should be so to the exclusion of those immediate interests which come to our homes and our firesides, and which are wisely retained under state jurisdiction, is a misfortune to be deprecated. If we glory in the name of American citizens, it should be with feelings akin to filial affection and grati-

tude, that we remember we are North Carolinians; and that the preservation and prosperity of our system and its ability to secure the permanent and habitual attachment of the people, depend quite as much, nay much more, upon an enlightened policy and a correct administration in the state governments than in that of the union. * * * North Carolina, possessing a soil, upon the average not above the medium grade of fertility, but yielding fruitful returns to patient toil in our generally salubrious climate; excluded by the nature of our sea coast from any enlarged share in the commerce of the world, her people have been inured to self-reliance, industry and economy. The natural fruits of this situation have been personal independence, unostentatious self-respect, habits in general of morality, obedience to the law, fidelity to engagements, public and private, frugality in expenditures and loyalty to the government, the offspring of the simple manners and honest and manly character of its citizens." He then proceeds to show the necessity for continued efforts to provide an adequate common school system, and the means for creating an adequate market for the products of the people: "If we can not, without too great a loss of profits, send our staples to existing markets, we must endeavor to bring a market nearer to them, by inducing capital to come to the State, by utilizing local capital in the establishment of various industries for which the State could provide so much raw material, by the building of more railroads and better local highways. Our country must be made to hold out the hope and expectation of acquiring the means of comfortable livelihood and a reasonable accumulation, or its population can not be expected to remain, nor its resources to increase. While labor is the true foundation of national wealth, it may be, much aided in its efforts by the kind and upholding hand of government." He concludes thus: "In our past history we have gained a high character for the virtues of honesty and fidelity. Thus far our escutcheon is unstained, the public faith has been kept, the public honor

is inviolate. And whatever tests may await us in the future, let us fervently unite our invocations to that good Providence, who has so signally upheld and preserved us heretofore, that our beloved North Carolina may still be permitted to walk in her integrity, the object of our loyalty and pride, as she is the home of our hearts and affections."

The *Register* of January 8, 1845, commented on this address as follows: "We have never seen a larger or more intelligent assemblage on a similar occasion in our State; and we can say without disparagement to others that the address of Governor Graham on the occasion was decidedly the best inaugural we have ever heard, or have ever seen from any of the state executives of the union. It speaks the words of truth and soberness to our sister states and counsels our own in a language of the soundest wisdom."

One of the first problems with which Governor Graham had to deal was the foreclosure of the State's mortgage on the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad. The building of railroads was, of course, a new thing in North Carolina. The lack of experience in such work, as usual, wrought its own penalty. It cost more than it should, and was operated badly—expensively and inefficiently. The State had made itself liable as surety on \$787,000 of its bonds. The company had failed to pay even the annual interest on these bonds, and the State was forced to pay both interest and a part of the principal. Legal proceedings were instituted for the foreclosure of all the mortgages on all of the property of that company at the Spring term, 1845, of the Wake County Court of Equity. But owing to the resistance made by the company, and the decision of the Superior Court in their favor, an appeal was rendered necessary to the Supreme Court, and the decree of foreclosure was postponed to the fall term of that year. The cost of the road was \$1,500,000, and it brought at the foreclosure sale, on the bid of the State, through Governor Graham, \$363,000.

The Legislature of 1844-5, also, made it the duty of the

Governor to collect the memorials of the Revolutionary history of the State. In pursuance of this, Governor Graham wrote to Judge Francis Xavier Martin, of Louisiana, on February 8, 1845: "Presuming that your researches when engaged in writing the history of the State put you in possession of many of the letters of these early governors (Caswell, Nash and Burke), as well as other documents of great interest to our people, I have to request as a special favor to North Carolina that you will be kind enough to communicate to me any of our public documents of the description desired, which may be under your control; or that you will inform me as early as your convenience will permit, where copies of them may be procured." But Judge Martin, as he wrote Governor Graham on March 29, 1845, had collected no material so late as the administrations of early governors. He corresponded also with Miss Mary Burke, the only surviving child of Governor Burke, and it was by her consent that the Burke papers, then in the possession of Dr. James Webb, of Hillsboro, were turned over to Governor Swain. On March 5, 1845, he issued a circular letter to the people of the State, reciting the resolution of the Legislature and giving in detail the public documents already discovered in the capitol and describing those missing and desired, and requesting them to cooperate with him in the preservation of the memorials of the Revolutionary period. The early part of his first administration, too, was much occupied with the preliminaries to the establishment of a school in Raleigh for the deaf, dumb and blind.

He met his first Legislature in November, 1846, with an elaborate and very able message, dealing largely with the finances of the State. The average expenditure for the ordinary support of the government at that time was \$67,500 per annum. At the same time the income from ordinary sources of revenue averaged \$83,000, the excess of which, over and above ordinary expenses, was devoted to the account of rebuilding the capitol, interest on the State's debt until

it was liquidated in full and to liabilities of the railroad companies. After showing that the income could be largely increased by an adequate assessment of the lands and polls in the State (there had been no reassessment of lands in ten years), he proceeds: "No valuation can continue to be a just criterion of worth for any considerable period, and a reassessment should be provided for once at least in five years, if it be not annually. By adopting these measures of fairness and justice, to collect what is now imposed without increase of taxes, it may reasonably be expected that the public revenue from present sources, now equal to about \$86,000, may be raised to \$100,000 per annum." He then recommends a specific tax upon pleasure carriages, gold watches kept for use and other articles of luxury, to go into operation at once, and to continue in force until the expiration of the next session of the General Assembly. "In advising therefore but a temporary provision for extra taxation, I am influenced by the consideration, that possibly it may not longer be required, rather than a fear of any aversion of our constituents to contribute whatever may be needed to redeem the public obligations, however incautiously or unfortunately entered into. The odious doctrine that a State may refuse or postpone the fulfillment of contracts guaranteed by her public faith and sovereign honor, has no resting place in all our borders, and I am yet to hear of a single exception to the unanimity of our people upon this subject."

There were at the time many railroad schemes. Among others were two proposed railroads into South Carolina, one from Wilmington, which was by this Legislature incorporated as the Wilmington and Manchester, and one from Fayetteville. Governor Graham, while not opposing these projects, was very much in favor of a railroad from Fayetteville to Salisbury or Charlotte, and thence into South Carolina. And the Legislature did grant a charter to the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad.

At that time our common school system was in its infancy, only \$95,578 being distributed by the State for its support. Governor Graham recommended that the office of Commissioner of Common Schools be created, and that it be filled by one charged with the superintendence of the system throughout the State, and devoting his whole time and attention in imparting to it vigor and usefulness. "The subject is of sufficient weight, especially in the infantile stage of these institutions, to engage the best talents and most exalted patriotism of the country."

In May, 1846, the President, Polk, called for one regiment of volunteer infantry, to be enrolled and held in readiness to aid in the prosecution of the existing war with the Republic of Mexico. Governor Graham, in response, issued his proclamation, and with a most commendable promptitude, said he, more than three times the number required tendered their service. Capt. S. L. Fremont, the army officer appointed by the Federal Government to muster this regiment into service, wrote, after he had performed this service and was leaving the State: "Public men may differ about the justice of the war, but the good people of the Old North State have shown that in a foreign war, they know no party but their country, and no country but their own." Governor Graham's attitude toward the Mexican War was that held by most of the leading Whigs of the period, *i. e.* it was unnecessary, if not criminal, and was brought on not by the annexation of Texas, but by President Polk's precipitancy in sending General Taylor to take possession of the territory in dispute between the State of Texas and the Republic of Mexico. War being flagrant, however, everything must be done to make the arms of the United States successful.

To some degree Mr. Graham's first term as governor was devoted to carrying out the plans of the previous administration (Morehead's) or that had been inaugurated by the General Assembly of 1844-5, such as, for instance, saving

the State harmless from the bankruptcy of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad and the Clubfoot and Harlows Creek Canal, and directing the settlement of the accounts between the State and insolvent purchasers of the Cherokee lands and their bondsmen. In all these matters he demonstrated his very superior ability as an administrator. Especially was this the case in his management of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. Had it not been for a fire in February, 1848, by which the machine shops and engine house were destroyed and its stationary engine and four locomotives were seriously damaged, it would in the course of a few years have been made a profitable investment. There had been occasional discussions of amendment to our penal code which would moderate in harshness and provide a penitentiary for a certain class of offenders from 1791 on, notably so in 1817 and in 1822, but nothing definite had been done until the General Assembly of 1844-5. The governor was directed to secure statistics from states in which the penitentiary system then prevailed and submit the same to the people before an election to be held under the Act. Governor Graham, through an extensive correspondence, did collect the data desired and published the same in the newspapers of the State in the early summer of 1846. Under the act, the question of a penitentiary or no penitentiary was submitted to the people at the time of the election for governor in August of that year. The election seems to have gone by default against any change, the vote for it being very small.

So satisfactory to his own party and to the people of the State was his first term as governor, that in January, 1846, Governor Graham was nominated for a second, by a largely attended and very enthusiastic Whig convention, and the following August was reelected by a great majority (7,850), over his Democratic opponent, James B. Shepard. Mr. Shepard was a man of fine ability and was a good speaker, but he had inherited wealth, so was disinclined to the drudgery of politics and of the bar. His candidacy and canvass

against so popular and efficient a governor as Mr. Graham was, of course, a forlorn hope. Mr. Graham, had, by this time, become unquestionably the leader of the Whig party in the State. He practically dictated the policy of that party. I do not use the term dictate in an offensive sense, for he was too courteous a gentleman and too wise a public man ever to assume a dictatorial manner. His knowledge of the people was so extensive and so accurate, that his party associates had the utmost confidence in the soundness of his judgment in all matters of policy, and so almost invariably adopted his views after a conference, or if on rare occasions they overruled him, had cause to regret it, as subsequent events showed their wisdom. As a party leader, it is quite probable that he was never excelled by any man in the history of the State.

In the General Assembly of 1848-9, the two parties were tied in both House and Senate, so a compromise was made by which R. B. Gilliam, Whig, was elected Speaker of the House and Calvin Graves, Democrat, was elected Speaker of the Senate. The principal subjects for consideration by this Legislature were the establishment of a State Hospital for the Insane at Raleigh, the disposition of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad and the charter of the North Carolina Railroad. Governor Graham gives his views at large on all these topics in his last biennial message. He concludes his recommendation of a State Hospital as follows "A distinguished person of the gentler sex,¹ who has devoted much of her life to the pious duty of pleading the cause of the lunatic before States and communities, has recently traversed a considerable part of this State in search of information respecting these unfortunates among us, and will probably ask leave to present their cause to you at an early day. I can not too earnestly commend the cause itself, or the disinterested benevolence of its advocate."

There is no more dramatic incident in the history of the State than Miss Dix's appeal to this Legislature, Mr. Dob-

¹ Dorothea L. Dix.

bins's great speech, and the passage of the act on January 29th, 1849, but it is without the scope of this paper.

Governor Graham's views in regard to the disposition of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad were so interwoven with those on the charter of the North Carolina Railroad, that I discuss them together. He said in his message that there were only three modes of disposing of the former road: 1st, a resale to existing stockholders by compromise of the suits now pending, if suitable terms be offered; 2d, retain it as a permanent property of the State after repairing it in the best manner; and, 3d, to unite it with another work through the interior of the State. The last was the plan which he urged very forcibly upon the Legislature in his regular message and in two special messages sent to the Senate. His idea was to fill in the missing link between Raleigh and Columbia, S. C., in the great chain of railways from New York to New Orleans by incorporating and building a railroad to be called the North Carolina Railroad, from Raleigh to Salisbury, and thence on to Charlotte, where it would connect with the Charlotte and Columbia road, already chartered and then being built. The details of his plan may be summarized thus: Private individuals to subscribe \$500,000. As soon as the Board of Internal Improvements should be satisfied that these subscriptions were in good faith and solvent, the suits then pending against delinquent subscribers to the stock of the Raleigh and Gaston road should abate, the new corporation was to be formed and the State to convey that road to it. He estimated that the cost of the new road would be not more than \$2,500,000, and of this the State was to assume half, but the conveyance of the Raleigh and Gaston road was to be in lieu of \$500,000 of the State's subscription. The \$500,000, subscribed privately as above said, were to be used first in putting the Raleigh and Gaston road in thorough repair and good condition, and the balance was to be expended in building the new road toward Salisbury from Raleigh. He estimated that there would be about forty miles

thus completed. After so much of the work should be done, then the State was to advance such further sum as might be necessary to complete the road, the amount paid by the State, however, to be always in equal proportion to those paid by private stockholders. His scheme also comprehended the building later a railroad from Raleigh to Goldsboro and one from some point east of the Yadkin to Fayetteville, and still later one from Goldsboro to Beaufort. As is well known this scheme was not adopted in its entirety. As a matter of fact, it was only through many concessions and compromises in the face of very determined opposition that the North Carolina Railroad was chartered. The Democratic speaker of the Senate, Calvin Graves, fully aware of the consequences of his act, committed political suicide when he broke the tie in the Senate in favor of the railroad. Governor Graham supported this measure sincerely, though it was some modification of his own. He is said to have drawn the whole bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Mr. William S. Ashe, of New Hanover, and was certainly the author of section 45 to the end of the act. (Laws 1849-9, chapter 82.) If any one could be said to have been the father of the North Carolina Railroad, where there were so many taking an active and efficient part in its inception, certainly it was Governor Graham. Ground was broken for the new railroad by Calvin Graves in the presence of a large crowd at Greensboro, on July 11th, 1851. Governor Graham was then in Washington City, as Secretary of the Navy, so could not attend this meeting, but he wrote a letter, which was read to the assembly and from which I extract the following: "To the friends of this enterprise, with whom I have been proud to cooperate in the darkest hours of its fate, as well as to all the good citizens of the State, who shall participate in the celebration of its happy commencement, I offer my hearty congratulations and good wishes. * * * I look forward to the day of its final completion, as a time of deliverance not merely from the shackles of commercial bondage, but from

the dominion of prejudice and error, which, however honestly entertained, have been the bane of our prosperity."

There were three measures that he repeatedly urged upon both of his Legislatures, but in vain: 1st, the appointment of a state commissioner of education; 2d, the abolition of the jurisdiction of county courts over pleas; and, 3d, a more modern and more efficient system for the maintenance of public roads.

This summary of the leading events and measures of Governor Graham's two administrations shows how wise and practical he was in dealing with the affairs of the State. Adopting a phrase of his own, "he devoted himself to those noble studies, by which States are made prosperous and their people happy," and the knowledge thus acquired he applied wisely to the service of his native State. His messages, addresses and other state papers were systematically arranged, businesslike and practical, indicating hard, intelligent, apprehending and appreciative labor. Their style was pellucid, flowing and attractive, yet dignified and impressive. In the weight of their matter, in the orderliness of its arrangement and in the attractiveness of their vehicle, they compare well with the state papers of any man at any period.

TO THE CIVIL WAR

At the end of his last term as Governor, in January, 1849, Mr. Graham returned to the practice of his profession at Hillsboro and in the adjoining counties.

General Taylor was inaugurated as President in March of that year. The end of the Mexican War, with the cession of a vast territory to the United States, presented many serious problems to the Taylor administration. That, however, which assumed an exceedingly threatening aspect and absorbed most painfully the attention of the whole country, was what was and should be the legal and constitutional status of slavery in the newly acquired territory. The North, speaking generally, was determined that there should be no

extension of slave territory, while the South, standing upon its clear rights under the Constitution, was equally determined that the new territory should be open to settlement by slaveholders if they so desired, without any interference with their slave property. Never in the history of this country has there appeared in the Senate of the United States so splendid an array of talent, of statesmanship and ardent patriotism as in the Senate of the Thirty-first Congress at its first session, yet never was there so plain an illustration of the futility of all the wisdom of the wisest of men when set in opposition to that march of events, which is controlled only by the infinite wisdom of Providence. These wise men could bring about a compromise which could postpone for a moment the final catastrophe,—that is all.

Mr. Graham was a very much interested and sympathetic observer of all the events which led up to Mr. Clay's famous compromise, and was in frequent communication with the senators from North Carolina, Messrs. Badger and Mangum. He, himself, supported that measure without reserve. In the summer of 1849, President Taylor offered him his choice of the missions to Russia and to Spain. Fortunately for his State and country, he had no inclination to a foreign appointment. On July 4th, 1850, the President was much exposed to a hot sun, and contracted a fever from which he died on the 9th. The Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, qualified the next day as President. It has been the habit to speak of Mr. Fillmore as a man of only moderate ability, dominated and controlled by his very able and experienced cabinet. The truth is, he had already as chairman of the Ways and Means (then also Appropriations) Committee of the Twenty-seventh Congress, shown his unusual ability as a practical, conservative, laborious legislator. Without being at all brilliant, he had in full measure the capacity for labor, for calm, sane, unimpassioned investigation, and for firm, consistent action, when once his course of action had been determined upon. He was a man of high character and indubi-

table patriotism. Had not the majority of both Houses of Congress been adverse to him during the less than three years of his administration, that administration would have been noted for its constructive statesmanship. Many useful and salutary measures advocated by him were disregarded by Congress, but his administration has to its credit cheap postage, the extension of the Capitol, the Perry Expedition, the exploration of the Amazon and, to some extent, (he and his advisers being in sympathy with it, whereas General Taylor was lukewarm, if not opposed to it), the compromise of 1850.

Soon after General Taylor's death his cabinet resigned. Mr. Fillmore selected as their successors: Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy; James A. Pearce, Secretary of the Interior; Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General.

To this important office, Mr. Graham, though comparatively a young man, only 46 years of age, came in the full maturity of his powers. His diligence in mastering detail, his capacity for labor, his accessibility and courtesy to competent advisers and his sound and well-balanced judgment, soon made him an exceptionally efficient secretary. The measures with which he was especially identified were four:

- 1st. Reorganization of the coast survey, making it more practical and useful.

- 2d. Reorganization of the personnel of the navy, providing for the retirement of officers, etc.

- 3d. The exploration of the Amazon.

- 4th. The expedition to Japan.

On the first of these measures Mr. Benton commented as follows in a letter to him, dated February 19th, 1851: "I have just read a second time your report on the coast survey subject. I consider it one of the most perfect reports I ever read—a model of a business report, and one which should carry conviction to every candid, inquiring mind. I deem

it one of the largest reforms, both in an economical and administrative point of view, which the state of our affairs admits of."¹

A gentleman, still living and who has a very accurate memory, reports a conversation had with Com. M. F. Maury long after this period, in which he spoke in the highest terms of Secretary Graham's efficiency, and his own sense of gratitude to him for giving him opportunities to set out on his own distinguished career.

On the second of these measures, Mr. McGehee, (Memorial Oration, pages 25-6) quotes a letter of another distinguished senator: "You had a new field opened to you, and well and ably have you occupied every portion of it. The report is to be properly characterized by a bold originality of conception and a fearlessness of responsibility too rare in that class of state papers. You have had to grapple with a system built up by a series of abuses, and to use the knife—that fearful and unpopular instrument—somewhat unsparingly. If I do not greatly err, it will give you more reputation in the country than anything you have heretofore produced before the public." The third great measure of his secretaryship was the exploration of the valley of the Amazon by Lieutenants Herndon and Gibbon. This was suggested by Lieut. M. F. Maury. Seeing the importance of this venture, both as adding to the world's knowledge of that remote and little known country, as well as the possibilities for trade with its inhabitants, Secretary Graham readily adopted the suggestion. His letter of instruction to Lieutenant Herndon, February 15th, 1851, is characterized by that familiarity with the details of the project and that clearness as well as largeness of view which are found in all his important papers.

Of all the great measures with which he was identified as cabinet official, that which was most fruitful in results was the Perry Expedition to Japan. There had been many dis-

¹ McGehee, 26.

asters among the fishing vessels of the United States on the uncharted, or insufficiently charted, seas of the northeast coast of Asia. A fishing vessel had been cast away on the coast of Formosa, and all its survivors had been massacred. Another vessel had been wrecked off the coast of Japan, and the fifteen survivors had been cast into prison and treated with great cruelty. The settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute, the cession of California by Mexico, the discovery of gold there and the completion of the Panama Railroad, had aroused the people of the United States to the promising aspect of trade on the Pacific coast and to the far East. Japan was at that period one of the hermit nations of the world. As early as December, 1850, Commodore Perry suggested to Secretary Graham the project of an expedition to Japan. Mr. Graham, at once impressed with the hopefulness of the scheme and its far-reaching consequences if successful, encouraged the commodore to confer confidentially with Mr. Aspinwall, of New York, who had experience in trade to the East and had recently completed the Panama Railroad, and certain mariners in Boston, and collect such facts and statistics as might throw light upon the subject, and report to him. At this time the discussion was kept from the public, because it was feared that England or France might forestall this country, if information of these proposals should reach either of those powers. Mr. Graham, upon receipt of the information desired, seems to have laid the matter before the cabinet, but without their coming to any definite conclusion at that time. Soon after it was the fortune of an American vessel to rescue a number of Japanese in the Pacific about six hundred miles from Japan, and to bring them into the port of San Francisco. The administration, upon hearing of this, quickly realized its importance as giving an opportunity to establish friendly relations with Japan. Preparations were immediately made to return these Japanese to their home on a man-of-war, which, leaving San Francisco, was to join the Eastern Squadron at Macao

or Hong Kong. Meantime Com. John H. Aulick was dispatched, with additional vessels, to take command of the Eastern Squadron, bearing with him from President Fillmore a letter to the Emperor of Japan. The instructions to Aulick, May 31st, 1851, drawn by Secretary Graham, do not on their face contemplate a special mission to Japan. When the shipwrecked Japanese reached their home escorted by the American war vessels, the natives refused to permit them to land, or to supply the American vessels with food or water. Early in the year 1852, no doubt under the urging of Commodore Perry and Mr. Graham, the plans of the administration underwent a change. It was then determined that Perry should be given the command of the Eastern Squadron and that he should go with very considerable reenforcement of vessels upon a special mission to Japan. He was commissioned on March 24th, 1852, preparations were begun immediately to fit out his squadron, and he sailed on November 24th, 1852, Aulick having in the meantime, July 10th, been relieved of the command of the Eastern Squadron. The results of this expedition are before the world. There can be no doubt that Governor Graham was the prime mover, in the cabinet, of this epoch-making adventure.

His services as Secretary of the Navy showed the country that he was a fine administrator as well as an able statesman, as much master of detail, as he was capable of taking whole views of great public questions. The Whig National Convention met in June, 1852. President Fillmore, who was supported very earnestly by Mr. Graham and who, according to all the rules of the game, should have been nominated, led on the first ballot, but Mr. Clay, who was still all-powerful, threw his influence to General Scott, and nominated him. Mr. Graham was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the second ballot, receiving 232 votes against 52 for Bates, of Missouri.

Never was a weaker nomination made for an exalted office

by any party than that of General Scott by the Whigs. He was an able and virtuous man, but many of the salient features of his character approached so near being ridiculous in themselves and lent themselves so readily to caricature, that his candidacy, though a tragedy to the Whig party, became a comedy to a large majority of his fellow-citizens. There was defection, too, among the Whigs of the South, because he was thought to be tainted with free-soilism, and among the Whigs of the North, because he was thought to be under Southern influence. The result, of course, was foredoomed. He received only 42 out of a total of 296 electoral votes.

Whatever expression of dissatisfaction there may have been at the head of the ticket, there was none at the nomination of Governor Graham. His personal worth, his ability and his usefulness were freely admitted by every one. In Pennsylvania, however, party capital was made against him on account of his votes on the Whig tariff bill of 1842. He generally voted with the Democrats for lower rates when the measure was up in the Senate and against the bill, when completed, because provision for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands was omitted. Notwithstanding the evident failure of the Scott campaign, Pierce and King carried the State of North Carolina by only 603 majority. This, under the discouraging conditions for that party then existing in the State, was a Whig victory, or rather a Graham victory, for it was his popularity and influence only that reduced the Democratic majority of a few months before of 5,564 to 603. The disintegration of the Whig party, the symptoms of which were very marked in most of the other States, had also begun in North Carolina. David S. Reid, Democrat, had been elected Governor in 1850. Renominated by his party in 1852, he and the very eloquent and accomplished John Kerr, the candidate of the Whigs, had canvassed the State on Governor Reid's proposition to remove the freehold qualification from voters for State Senators, and in August of that year Governor Reid had been

reelected by the largely increased majority stated above. This free suffrage program was not alone in undermining the Whig strength in the State, for voters were coming more and more to realize that the only safety for slavery was the continued ascendancy of the Democratic party in national affairs.

Governor Graham seems to have had no substantial objection to the extension of the suffrage. He was so much absent from the State after the subject was introduced in the General Assembly of 1850, that he gave the matter only casual consideration until 1853. Then he was opposed, not so much to the policy as to the method of incorporating it in our fundamental law. "A constitution of government for a free people," said he, "is a complicated machine, like a steam engine or the human frame. It consists of various parts adjusted to one harmonious whole. * * * In other and more familiar language, it is a system of checks and balances, one article of which would not have been inserted without another on kindred subjects, and one of which can not be removed without carrying with it others, or deranging and destroying the balance of the whole." He happily illustrated this idea, as follows: "It might be supposed by a superficial observer that the human hand would be improved by cutting off the fingers to equal lengths, and the operation would be so simple that any child who could handle an ax could perform it. And yet we know that the curtailment of an extremity would wound nerves and blood vessels connecting with the brain and heart, the very vitals of the system." The freehold qualification for voters for Senators was incorporated in the Constitution of 1776 and retained in that of 1835, as a measure of protection to the landed interest against those who owned no land, yet as free men voted for members of the House of Commons and so were represented there. Land was much the more valuable part of the possessions of the citizens of the State who lived in its midland and its west, whereas slaves constituted a large part of the wealth of

the east. By a compromise between these conflicting interests, the land was given this measure of protection in return for that given slave property by forbidding any other taxation than the poll tax, (the same as that of the whites), on all slaves between twelve and fifty years of age,—much less than this property would yield if taxed *ad valorem*, as land was. Yet the Democrats proposed to strike down the protection to land, while leaving slave property still protected, and paying an inadequate tax. He, then, met the plan to enact the suffrage amendment only, by a bill to submit to the people the question of a convention to amend the Constitution, not only in this regard, but in others where it required amendment.¹ As a sort of forlorn hope that he might stem the tide setting so strongly against the Whig party, he was elected to the Senate from Orange County in 1854. On December 14th of that year he made a very able speech in the Senate elaborating the above ideas. That the Democrats, themselves, split a few years later on the question of *ad valorem* taxation of slaves, and were finally forced to adopt it as a party measure, is very strong evidence of Governor Graham's political acumen.

The immediate effect upon the South of the compromise of 1850, was quieting. The love of the Union, that had been weakened by the agitation which induced that measure, became once more an active principle in that section. The failure of some States in the North to enforce, or permit to be enforced, in their borders, the fugitive slave law, (the only thing which they yielded in the so-called compromise), in good faith, the Kansas-Nebraska agitation and the Dred Scott decision, however, soon aroused both North and South as they had never been aroused before. It became daily more and more evident that Mr. Seward's irrepressible conflict was not an oratorical exaggeration, but a stern reality. Men, wise men, patriotic men, continued in the midst of the turmoil to cry peace, when there was no peace and could be no peace. We, from the vantage ground

¹Senate Journal, 1854, 70.

of the present looking back upon the past, can only wonder that the final catastrophe was postponed so long. That it was, is due in large degree to the wisdom and moderation and patriotism of the dwindling band of Whig leaders in the South and of their sympathizers in the North. There is something very admirable in the character and pathetic in the history of the Old Line Whigs of the South. In politics they were conservative, but in all that concerned the industrial interests of the country they were progressives. They were as incorruptible as a Roman senator in the palmiest days of Rome. Their public life was as clean and immaculate and as far above suspicion as Cæsar would have had his wife. To them patriotism was more than a sentiment, it was almost a passion. To them the Federal Constitution was not a compact, but the great charter of an indestructible Union, the repository of the political wisdom of the ages, by which America was to be made great and kept great throughout all time. Patriotism to them, then, assumed a twofold aspect—love for their native State and love for the Union. This blinded them to that fact of facts, which is written all across the history of the period immediately preceding the Civil War, namely, that it was either slavery *or* the Union. There was no other alternative. If slavery was to continue, then the Union must go; if the Union was to continue, then slavery must go. The vision of the secessionist was clearer. He saw that he could not long hold on to his slave property in the Union, so he prepared himself to hold on to it out of the Union. To him, to use the sharp and cutting characterization of Henry A. Wise, there were only three parties—the Whites, the Blacks and the Mulattoes: the Whites, the secessionists; the Blacks, the Republican party North; and the Mulattoes, the union men of the South. It was the day of the extremist. Events moved too rapidly for the moderates. They could not stem the tide; they must move with it or be overwhelmed. It was a choice between loves, and, in agony of soul, they chose the greater, their homes, their fire-

sides and their neighbors, and ever after their faces were to the foe. Governor Graham was one of the wisest and noblest of the moderates. He loved the Union scarcely less than he did his native State. He thought the southern agitator only less to blame than the northern abolitionist. He condemned secession with all the earnestness of his nature, not only as a political heresy, but as essentially suicidal to the best interests of the South. So strong was his position before the country at large, so great was the confidence in his ability, his moderation, his probity and his patriotism that he was supported by North Carolina, Georgia and several district delegates for the nomination for the presidency by the Constitutional Union party in 1860, and after the popular election of Mr. Lincoln in the fall of that year, the New York and Pennsylvania electors were strongly urged to cast their ballots for him in the electoral college, as the only means to avert the impending dissolution of the Union.

Even after the secession of South Carolina and the Gulf States, Union sentiment in North Carolina continued very strong. Governor Graham could see no reason for secession, (or revolution, as he preferred to call it), in the bare fact of Mr. Lincoln's election. He regarded the strong expressions of the campaign used by Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Seward and others, (*i. e.*, that the government could not endure half slave and half free, that the question was whether freemen should cultivate the fields of the North or slaves those of the South, etc.), as mere oratorical exaggeration, rhetoric of the hustings on which they were canvassing for free-soil votes. He, therefore, very consistently opposed the calling of a convention in February, 1861, and his course therein was sustained by a majority of the people of the State. After Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, he hoped that he might let the seven "erring sisters go in peace," that he would convene Congress in extra session, acknowledge the independence of these States, grant guarantees to the other slave States, which had adhered to the Union, that slavery would not be interfered

with within their borders, and thus maintain a happy and contented Union of twenty-seven States, instead of precipitating the country into a bloody and destructive civil war. This seems to have been Mr. Lincoln's program at the time he offered a seat in his Cabinet to Mr. John A. Gilmer, but later, his views no doubt modified as well by the current of events as by the urging of more bloody-minded advisers, he adopted what historians now call the bolder policy; he called for troops to crush the rebellion, as he called it. Thenceforward Governor Graham saw clearly that there was no other alternative but civil war, and that North Carolina must take part with the other Southern States. He had no illusions about its extent. He knew that it was to be long drawn out, destructive and agonizing, with the South's only hope a desire for peace at the North, or interference from abroad. He was sent as a delegate from Orange County to the secession convention of May, 1861, and after strenuous efforts to change its phraseology so as to make it an appeal to the ultimate right of revolution, instead of to the constitutional theory of secession, he, with all other members, signed the secession ordinance, after it had been adopted by the convention.

THE CIVIL WAR AND AFTER

Governor Graham's training, his temperament and his habit of thought, would necessarily make him a moderate in any acute crisis, so though he sincerely desired the success of the arms of the Confederacy, (he devoted five of his seven sons to the cause, all that were old enough to bear arms), he was in opposition to its government. In the State Legislature, in 1863-4, when he was Senator from Orange, in the State Convention and in the Senate of the Confederate States, he uniformly opposed all propositions to abridge the freedom of the press or of speech, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, to substitute military for civil tribunals, or otherwise impair the common rights of the people. The disastrous defeats of Vicksburg and Gettys-

burg, and the consequent declension of the fortunes of the Confederacy, made the people of North Carolina turn more and more to the original union men. Governor Graham was elected to the Confederate States Senate by a more than three-fourths majority in February, 1864, and took his seat in May of that year. At this session he, in conjunction with other members of Congress, labored to procure the opening of negotiations looking to peace, but unsuccessfully. For the same object he labored at the ensuing session, and the Hampton Roads Conference was, to some extent, due to his counsels. After the failure of that conference, he insisted that a new commission should be sent without limitation of powers; for the independence of the Southern States it was evident was not attainable, and if the administration scrupled to treat on the basis of the annihilation of their own government, that commission might, nevertheless, ascertain what terms would be yielded by the United States to the States concerned, and communicate the same to them for their action; but his exertions in this behalf were of none effect. When he became satisfied that it was the fixed purpose of the administration to make the recognition of independence the basis of any peace, he lost no time in counseling the Governor of North Carolina (Vance) to interpose promptly for the termination of the war. The rapidity of military operations on the part of the troops of the United States did not allow adequate time to render such interposition effective, had Governor Vance been complaisant, as he was not, and it is perhaps fortunate that such was the fact and that the war closed when and in the manner it did. Had the State intervened at this, or some former period, the disaster to the cause would have been imputed solely to that reason, and ill blood and angry feeling, crimination and recrimination, would have been the consequence. As it is all are convinced that the result is to be ascribed to the exhausted resources of the country and its entire inability longer to maintain the struggle against such fearful odds. There was

left, therefore, no jealousy or controversy among States or individuals, but a general disposition to submit as to a decree of fate. This is, substantially, Governor Graham's own account of these transactions in his petition to Andrew Johnson for pardon, dated Raleigh, July 25th, 1865.¹ His course shows his calm, unimpassioned wisdom in the midst of the most exciting circumstances in a very remarkable light. If his course at the end of the war, set out above, was erroneous, it was a virtuous error, founded upon the highest of motives, the desire to stop the further effusion of blood and to save the people of his own State from the horrors which marked the course of General Sherman's army through the other states of the South; this too when there was not the slightest hope for a successful issue to the contest.

He was elected to the United States Senate by the General Assembly of 1866, but was not allowed to take his seat. For the remainder of his life he was a loved and trusted adviser and leader of the people, without being allowed to serve them in any public office, for rancorous politicians in North Carolina prevented the removal of his disabilities before his health had failed—a very marked instance of the small things of this world confounding the great.

In 1867 George Peabody established a fund of \$2,100,000, increased in 1869 to \$3,500,000, to be devoted to education in the Southern states. This fund was placed under the control of fifteen trustees, of whom Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts was chairman, and they were to meet annually. At the suggestion of Mr. Winthrop, Governor Graham was selected by Mr. Peabody as one of the original trustees. Among his associates in the management of this fund were, besides Mr. Winthrop, Hamilton Fish, General Grant, Admiral Farragut, Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, W. M. Evarts and William C. Rives, and later, to fill vacancies, Bishop Whipple, A. H. H. Stuart and Chief Justice Waite.

¹ See also his letters in Spencer's "Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina," pp. 112-120.

Governor Graham was wholly in sympathy with the attempt to reorganize as a political force the better element among the white voters of the State, regardless of their former political affiliations. He was one of the fathers of the Conservative-Democratic party—a flexible and convenient designation, which could be reversed in Democratic communities, while it remained steadfast in Whig. He presided over the political convention that met in Raleigh, February 6, 1868, and made a notable speech defining his position, and later canvassed the State for Ashe against Holden.

He recognized fully the brutal folly, if not criminality, of the reconstruction program of Congress; he was opposed to negro suffrage, because he knew the negro was not fitted for the ballot, yet he believed in strict obedience to the law and a patient biding the time when the extent of the evil should, itself, work its own remedy in the awakening of the public conscience North, and the arousing of the people of the South to the necessity for firm, consistent, united action against the vandals and corruptionists who were preying upon them. He condemned the Ku Klux organization, not only as unwise, but as criminal, as a resort to extra-legal remedies, that could be justified by no concatenation of circumstances. Applying Bacon's definition of revenge, a species of wild justice, to their deeds, he did not hesitate in his great speech as leading counsel for the managers in the impeachment trial of Governor Holden, to describe the hanging of Wyatt Outlaw "as an atrocious act of assassination." It is difficult, if not impossible, for human wisdom to devise a formula beforehand, that will fit abnormal and unforeseen conditions, which may arise in the future. In this assertion, Governor Graham was applying this formula in all its damning quality, disregarding the abnormal conditions which rendered it not strictly applicable. But this illustrates his remarkable moral courage. Never in his long public life did he hesitate to do or say anything, which he thought wise or true, on account of any supposed bad consequences to himself.

His health commenced to fail the latter part of 1872, and in 1873 it was apparent to his physicians that he was suffering from a heart disease that might end his life at any time. In 1874 he was selected by Virginia as one of the arbitrators between that State and Maryland. He concurred fully with the public sentiment in North Carolina, which enabled the Legislature of 1874-5 to call a convention to amend the Constitution of 1868. He thought that Constitution too cumbersome, too minute in its provisions and too restrictive upon the Legislature while placing too much patronage in the hands of the governor. Orange County elected him its delegate to the convention of 1875, but on August 11, 1875, while at Saratoga Springs, New York, in the performance of his duty as one of the arbitrators of the boundary dispute, he expired in the 71st year of his age.

"The intelligence of his death was transmitted by telegraph to every part of the country. All the great journals responded with leading articles expressive of the national bereavement."¹ In North Carolina all the people grieved at the death of its greatest and most honored citizen. At the border of the State his remains were met by many of its prominent men, and escorted to Raleigh where they lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, guarded by state and national troops, for hours as they were viewed by crowds. Late that afternoon they were conveyed to Hillsboro, attended by the militia and special guards of honor from the towns of the State, where they lay in state at his own house until the noon of Sunday, August 15th, when funeral services were held over them at the Presbyterian Church, and in the presence of an enormous concourse, collected from many counties. They were interred in the graveyard of that church.

There has lived in North Carolina no public man, whose life was a greater force for good than was that of Governor Graham. It was, and is, an exemplification of all the virtues that a public man should have—intelligence, industry,

¹ McGehee, 75.

courage, unselfishness, devotion to the public welfare and to duty. Ingrained into his nature too was that respect for religion, without which no man can be good, as well as a definite faith in Christ, not only as a great moral teacher, but as the Redeemer of mankind. He was a Presbyterian by inheritance and by choice, though for reasons satisfactory to himself, he did not enroll himself as a member of that church. During the last few years of his life (the writer, as a boy had personal knowledge of this), no one in the community in which he lived, ever spoke of him without the very tones and inflection of his voice showing the deep respect and admiration and regard he had for him. The feeling with which a North Carolina Episcopalian thirty years ago spoke of Bishop Atkinson, more nearly expresses the regard of the people of Hillsboro and Orange County for Governor Graham, at that period, than anything else. He was endowed by nature with an excellent mind, and a noble and very handsome presence. His mind was assiduously cultivated and trained. He had the religious and moral instincts by inheritance, and these grew and strengthened in the environment in which his life was placed. He had no bad habits as a boy, none as a youth and none as a man. Instead the habits of thrift, of industry and thoroughness became a second nature to him. He was ambitious, but it was with a guided and controlled ambition, which sought place and power for larger spheres of usefulness. All these when he came to face the world enabled him to conquer a place for himself second to no North Carolinian. Judge Murphey was a greater genius, but he was not so practical; Judge Badger had greater intellectual endowments, but he was not so industrious; Judge Mangum was a greater popular orator, but he was self indulgent; Judge Ruffin was a greater lawyer, but his life ran in a narrower channel; Judge Gaston was a greater lawyer and orator, and as pure in heart and life and conduct as he, but he was not ambitious.

Yet if the capacity for taking pains should be the test for one's greatness, Governor Graham was greater than any of these. He was many sided, and a great deal of his work remains, and there is none of it that is not far above the average. He is entitled to very high rank as a lawyer, as a public speaker, as a statesman and as a writer, and the highest rank as a faithful, as a thorough and as a conscientious public official. There was never a more diligent and faithful legislator, never a more diligent and faithful governor.

He labored, day and night, in little things,
No less than large, for the loved country's sake,
With patient hands that plodded while others slept,

* * * * *

Doing each day the best he might, with vision
Firm fixed above, kept pure by pure intent.

His addresses on subjects connected with the history of North Carolina, have the same qualities of accuracy and thoroughness that all his work has, and his memorial orations on Murphey, Badger and Ruffin are classics in their perfection of form and taste, and in their combination of ease and grace with accuracy, strength and dignity.

On June 8, 1836, he married Susannah Sarah, daughter of John Washington, Esq., of New Bern, and by her had ten children. She was a lady of rare beauty and accomplishments, and the union brought to him as much of happiness as it is the lot of man to know. Mrs. Graham survived her husband fifteen years, and their descendants, as well said Governor Kitchin, "in the State to-day, represent the highest type of culture, patriotism and citizenship in the records of both their private and their public life, having the same devotion to their country and fidelity to their country's call as the illustrious William A. Graham."

As a fitting close to this paper, I give the estimates of Governor Graham by others, most capable judges, residents

of other States and associates with him in the management of the Peabody Fund. In the resolutions reported by Mr. W. M. Evarts, and evidently written by him, occur the following:

"The distinguished public character of Governor Graham, and his strong hold upon the confidence of the people of the North and of the South alike, have been of the greatest value and importance to this board in securing the sympathy and cooperation of men of credit and of influence in the country, in furtherance of the beneficial system of education at the South which Mr. Peabody's munificent endowment has so greatly aided in developing. That our personal intercourse with Governor Graham, in the discharge of our common duties, has shown to us his admirable qualities of mind and character; and we lament his loss, as of a near friend and associate, as well as an eminent public servant and benefactor."

Hon. John H. Clifford, of Massachusetts, wrote: "I should not fail to bear my testimony to his thorough fidelity, his manly frankness and his amiable temper, which had made him one of the most agreeable, as he was one of the most useful, members of the board."

Said the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of the same State: "He has held, as you all know, many distinguished offices in the service of his State and country. In all these relations he had won for himself a widespread reputation and regard, which any man, North or South, might have envied. I knew him intimately, and have always cherished his friendship as one of the privileges of my Washington life. * * * No one of us has been more punctual in his attendance on our meetings, or has exhibited a more earnest and intelligent interest in all our proceedings, while his dignified and genial presence has given him a warm hold on all our hearts."

Said Mr. A. H. H. Stuart, of Virginia: "He possessed a sound and vigorous intellect, which enabled him to grapple with the most difficult questions; and he was singularly free

from all those influences of passion and excitement, which too often disturb the judgment. His views of every subject were clear, calm and well considered. He possessed that happy balance of the intellectual faculties, which is the parent of wisdom. Although he has for more than forty years occupied a prominent position in public life, and has filled many important offices during times of high party excitement, no man has ever ventured to question the integrity of his motives or conduct; and up to the hour of his death he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of all who had the happiness to know him. * * * I have rarely met a wiser man, and never a better man, than William A. Graham."

THE VALUE OF HISTORICAL MEMORIALS IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE

BY THOMAS W. MASON

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Our Historical Commission presents to our beloved State at this hour the marble form of William Alexander Graham, that it may stand forever under the dome of our Capitol.

One who is worthy to speak of him, his townsman and his peer,¹ has just now told us of this servant of the people, with the simplicity and beauty of unadorned truth, the story of his life and service. Nor does this story delight us less because it is a familiar part of our later history. Not a few of us have seen this majestic man moving among us and leading us along the higher walks of life. We saw him as he came out from the storm of war between the North and the South, serene, undaunted, pointing the way of peace and safety and honor.

It all seems clear enough to us now. We look back along the way we have come, and we do not see now how we could have gone any other way. But we are forgetting how dark it was. Never, in all history, did thicker darkness descend upon a people, and so suddenly. A President had been slain; another, his successor, stood before us impeached, distrusted and despised by those who had placed him in office. Our State governments were dismantled and our States became military provinces. Our leading citizens were in prison or their rights of citizenship denied them. Our emancipated slaves were appealing to us, as never before, to care for them in their new relation to us. Our wasted fields and homes remained to us, only to remind us of our former estate and our wretched poverty. The soldiers of the blue and the gray looked into each other's faces, aghast at the ruin they had

¹Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro.

wrought, willing and ready to be friends, while the foundations of the Union shook beneath their feet with a tremor more ominous than the shock of battle. One false step, and the ruined South with blinded rage might pull down the pillars of our government in the very strength of its agony. We have called these dark days our era of reconstruction. History will be true if it shall write above this chapter, as its title, the words of Thomas de Celano's hymn of the judgment, "*Dies iræ, dies illa.*"

In these dark days, this servant of the people of whom we are thinking now, with love and gratitude, was of those who saved us and led us along the way we have come. He was of those who have given their lives to the service of the people. He was of those who loved the Union of these States, and who gave to it its hold upon our hearts. He was of those who led its navies into far distant seas and made its flag, not the ensign of a world power of conquest, but a mission of peace and good will to men. He was of those who sought always to compose the quarrel of the sections that its angry contentions might not drive us apart, and he was of those who loved our Old North State with an unspeakable love, as the apple of his eye. Gaston's hymn of devotion rang through his heart always. It was the refrain of his life and the inheritance of his blood from Mecklenburg. And so it was that when he heard the voice calling him which he had heeded always as the voice of his own mother, not doubting, he led his sons, one by one, to the altar of sacrifice, and bowed his own good, gray head under the burdens that were laid upon him.

Can we ever think unmoved of these men of the South who turned, with sorrowing hearts, from the old flag to the defense of their homes? Is there a heart so hard that it does not burn with sympathy, when Lee is bidding good-bye to his old regiment and coming home to Virginia? He had grown old in the service which he adorned as few have done and which honored him above all others. What power could

break the ties that bound him? We know that no political creed, no party faction moved him. It was the spirit of the South; the voice of Virginia calling him to her, and he could not disobey. Like him was he, whose lineaments the divinity of art has now shaped for us, with unerring finger, and whose heroic spirit speaks to us again from the heart of the everlasting rock, lighted by the genius of the true artist¹ whose soul it has inspired.

These men of the South differed in their political creeds as the billows, but in their sense of duty, each to his own State, they were one as the sea. They were pleading with each other earnestly and anxiously for the cause of the Union when the war burst upon them. In no school of politics had they ever learned that a State could be coerced and the Union maintained by force. They could not bear to see their neighbors trampled under foot, and they took up arms. All party lines were forgotten. They were no longer Whigs or Democrats, but henceforth they were the men of the South. What followed we know.

They suffered defeat in battle, but here and everywhere, fair women and brave men listen with warm hearts to the story of the part they acted under the stars and bars. Not the North only, but the world now knows the moral of their endeavor. Their peerless captain has taken his place in our Pantheon at Washington. The name of their honored President, who suffered in their stead as none other could suffer, has been recarved upon our national tablets. In town and village and neighborhood, the image of their brother in arms, in stone, or bronze, with silent lips, invokes the homage of him who passes by and gives assurance to his living comrades that they shall never be forgotten. Their struggle has ended. Let us believe and be thankful that in the providence of God it has ended well and with honor and good to us all.

And so, too, has ended our era of reconstruction. We have rebuilt our Union, and we pray that, when the rain

¹Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, sculptor, formerly of Alsace, Germany, present address: The Arts Club, New York.

descends, and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon it, it may not fall, for it is founded upon a rock. Slavery no longer mars our structure.

Once before, in our earlier history, we had our era of reconstruction. It began four years after the treaty of Paris of the 20th of January, 1783, which declared the thirteen original States "to be free, sovereign and independent." It lasted until our own State, last of them but one, entered the Union, November 21st, 1789. It was then that the great convention assembled at Philadelphia on May 25th, 1787, which was presided over by Washington, and which, on September 17th, 1787, presented our first Constitution to these thirteen States for their acceptance, declaring its purpose "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." It was then that Madison and Hamilton and Jay put forth those wonderful arguments, urging its acceptance, which have become a text-book of our constitutional law. It was then that our people, assembled in convention at Hillsboro, in the Presbyterian Church, on July 21st, 1788, hesitated, halted and adjourned, without accepting the Constitution, demanding further and fuller safeguards of liberty. It was then that, in response to this demand, these safeguards were given and the ten amendments were written into our first Constitution. And it was then that our people assembled again in convention, at Fayetteville, adopted the Constitution, entered the Union and our first era of reconstruction ended.

This is all very familiar learning. So, too, the air that fills our lungs and gives us life is very familiar. But we ought to repeat this familiar learning, because it expresses that spirit of independence which first declared itself in Mecklenburg, in May, 1775, and again in Halifax, in April, 1776, and which has been always the inspiration of the higher life of our people. We ought to repeat it, that he who

may write of us in the war between the North and South may know us and our motives; and how it was that these men of the South, who loved the Union, yet sought to form a Confederacy of their own; and when they could not, have striven, as never men strove before, to rebuild our walls and to form again a more perfect Union of these States. It ought to be repeated that he who writes of us may understand how it is that these men of the South, who rejoice in the growth and strength of our national government and who will uphold the honor of our flag in peace and in war, are yet sensitive to any encroachment of Federal power upon the rights of the State; and that this sensitive regard is a sentiment of political virtue and the safest guardian of our form of government.

It is well for us that we have begun a closer study of the forces which have been moving and are still moving the life of our people; that in the midst of our industry, thrilling us with the enthusiasm of its progress, our thoughts are turning to the higher things of life; that our women and men of letters have associated themselves to re-read and re-write our history; that they have moved our General Assembly to institute our Historical Commission, as a part of our higher education; that it may find and preserve the records which mark our progress and point out to us those who have been leading and are still leading us along the pathway of service and of honor and whom we ought to follow. It is well for us that our Historical Commission, in this high service, has reminded us that the niches provided in our capitol for our good and faithful servants who are worthy of them are still empty; and that in all our midst we, as a people, have placed but one statue of our illustrious dead. It is well for us to be reminded that in our educational progress, great as it is, we have left far behind this school of higher learning. Who of us, coming northward into our capitol grounds and looking into the face of Washington, is not lifted up into a higher realm of thought and patriotism? Or who of us,

coming westward and looking into the face of Vance, does not love our State with a deeper love? Or who of us, coming eastward and looking into the face of the Confederate soldier, does not feel that it is beautiful to die for one's country? Or who of us, looking into the face of our brave sailor lad, Bagley, standing midway between the Father of our Country and the soldier of the Confederacy, does not rejoice that we, too, have reconsecrated the flag of the stars and stripes?

Nor is this school of higher learning only a school of art, or of ancestral worship, or of State pride, or of polite letters; nor will our Historical Commission be content only to sweep the dust from our records and to clear away the moss that has gathered upon our gravestones. This it will do, but more. In its best service, it will minister to the spirit of our people; that which brought us together about our first shrines of worship; that which was ours when we were building these States into the fabric of our Union; that which drew us together in the great contest of the North and the South; and that which will be needed more and more as our ministry to the beauty and strength and worldwide beneficence of our republic. It is not idle boast or foolish pride to say that the South will grow great and strong in numbers and in riches, and that the men of the South will yet take the places which they ought to take in directing the course of our National Government and in preserving the life of our republic. Let us prepare ourselves for our ministry and our duty. Let us be full-panoplied and armed with the sword of the spirit of our people; and let it be stainless like the sword Excalibur of King Arthur; aye, let it be stainless like the sword of Robert E. Lee.

What is the spirit of a people? May we not answer: the spirit of a people is the history of a people impersonated in the life of a people. If there is no history of a people, there is no spirit of a people.

It has been asked, Can Africa be civilized? Why not?

Because, in all that vast, dark continent, with rich soil and teeming millions, save along the shores of the Mediterranean, there is neither history, nor tradition, nor a memorial stone to tell where some great deed was done. There is no history of the people and no spirit of the people upon which to build their social structure. All effort in their behalf has been in vain. They are still naked, and the lion of the jungle is the ruler of their land. The spirit of England, carrying her drum-beat around the world, is the story and the song, not of Briton only, but of adventurous Saxon and Dane, and Roman and Norman; the great composite race fitted to sweep over every sea and to rule under every sky. The spirit of China is the history of a people who have built about themselves a wall, over which others must climb to be their neighbors. The spirit of our people is the history of a people from whose loins has sprung our ever widening confederacy of States; who have instituted forms of government based upon the consent of the governed, kindly and gentle and easy to be entreated, but firm and strong to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare and fitted, as we believe, to become the final form and pattern of all nations.

What saved us in our dark era of reconstruction? It was the memory of Moore's Creek Bridge, of Kings Mountain, of Guilford Court House, and of later fields yet red with blood; it was the memory of those who had subdued our forests and tilled our fields; of those who had written and administered our laws; of those who had founded and fostered our schools; of those who had built our churches and kept alive our love of God and our neighbor; these memories, rekindling the spirit of our people, saved us. Our history was still our own; its light was still upon our pathway. After the din of arms had ceased, our laws were no longer silent; the plow moved in the furrow; we rebuilt our workshops and reopened our schools; we restored our fields and homes and our altars of worship; we took our emancipated

slave by the hand, and taught him his duty to the State, and how to share with us our history and our spirit. And thus we moved forward with our ministry and our duty, until the world wonders how, from the ashes of war, we have grown so great. We have won our victories of peace with the sword of the spirit of our people.

And of such spirit was he who comes to his place in our capitol to-day, first of his peers because he was their most flawless type; because he was of the best in the life of our older Union, and of our brave young Confederacy, and of our later and more perfect Union; because the history of our people was impersonated in his full and rounded life. In all the movement of that full life there was no false note to mar its harmony. Among all her sons there is no clearer ideal of our mother State than he whom we now lift up before us that we may follow where he leads.

And they, too, will come apace and with cheerful accord to their places at his side; his co-workers, who have kept the spirit of our people unbroken and unspoiled through bad fortune and good fortune alike.

Let them gather to our capitol, these good and faithful servants of our people, seeing whom, enraptured with the story of their lives, our children's children shall cry out "We can make our lives sublime!"

PRESENTATION OF THE BUST ON BEHALF OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN

Your Excellency:

This evening marks a new departure in historical activities in North Carolina. The Historical Commission, in addition to the work of collecting and preserving the historical records of North Carolina, is endeavoring to arouse our people to the necessity of erecting memorials to great men and great events in our history. To the traveler or visitor here, there must be a feeling of disappointment when he enters our capitol. There are nowhere visible reminders of those men who have made our history and brought fame and glory to North Carolina—our State builders. Among historians, scholars and sight-seers accustomed to read the history and study the life of other States and nations in monuments and marble busts, the absence of such memorials invariably provokes comment.

In this rotunda are eight empty niches that misrepresent our State, as it leaves the impression that we have had no sons sufficiently great to be commemorated in marble or bronze.

Realizing the injustice that the State does itself and appreciating the importance of such memorials, the Historical Commission, as agent for the State, has had executed a bust of that great North Carolinian, who it believes most perfectly typifies the highest ideals of democratic citizenship—William A. Graham. And I have the honor to present to the State of North Carolina this bust of that great Carolinian whose character was as spotless and clean as the Carrara marble from which this image is carved.

We trust this is but a beginning and that the people of North Carolina will soon show enough appreciation of her other great sons to fill the other seven niches in this rotunda.

ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Chairman:

With all others in this magnificent audience, I listened with great interest to the appropriate addresses of the gifted historian from Orange and the distinguished orator from Northampton, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, and we have now heard with pleasure your own eloquent words of presentation.

I congratulate you and through you the Historical Commission upon the excellence of your choice for the first bust for this rotunda of our capitol. I share with you the hope that other similar occasions shall soon follow when other busts of our great Carolinians shall take their places in the other niches.

If the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation, I am happy to believe that there is truth in its counterpart, and that the virtues of the fathers are likewise visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation. No family in our commonwealth, through so long a period, through so many generations, has rendered the State more significant, faithful, honorable and effective service than the Graham family. From the Revolutionary period to this good day, its part in our military and civil life has been nobly performed. Its members, representing the highest type of cultured and patriotic citizenship, worthily exemplify in their records, in both public and private life, Governor Graham's illustrious devotion to the State, and with dignity rejoice in his useful and eminent career. Their race is not yet run, and their pledges to fortune and futurity are all that worthy veneration for ancestry, moral integrity, intellectual strength, and love of right, purity and country can suggest.

Mr. Chairman, it is with pleasure that in behalf of North Carolina, I accept from the Historical Commission this marble bust of Governor William Alexander Graham. Permit me to express the hope that the selections for the remaining niches will be as wisely and as fittingly made as this one.

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BULLETIN No. 8



CANOVA'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON

1910

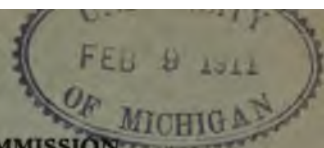
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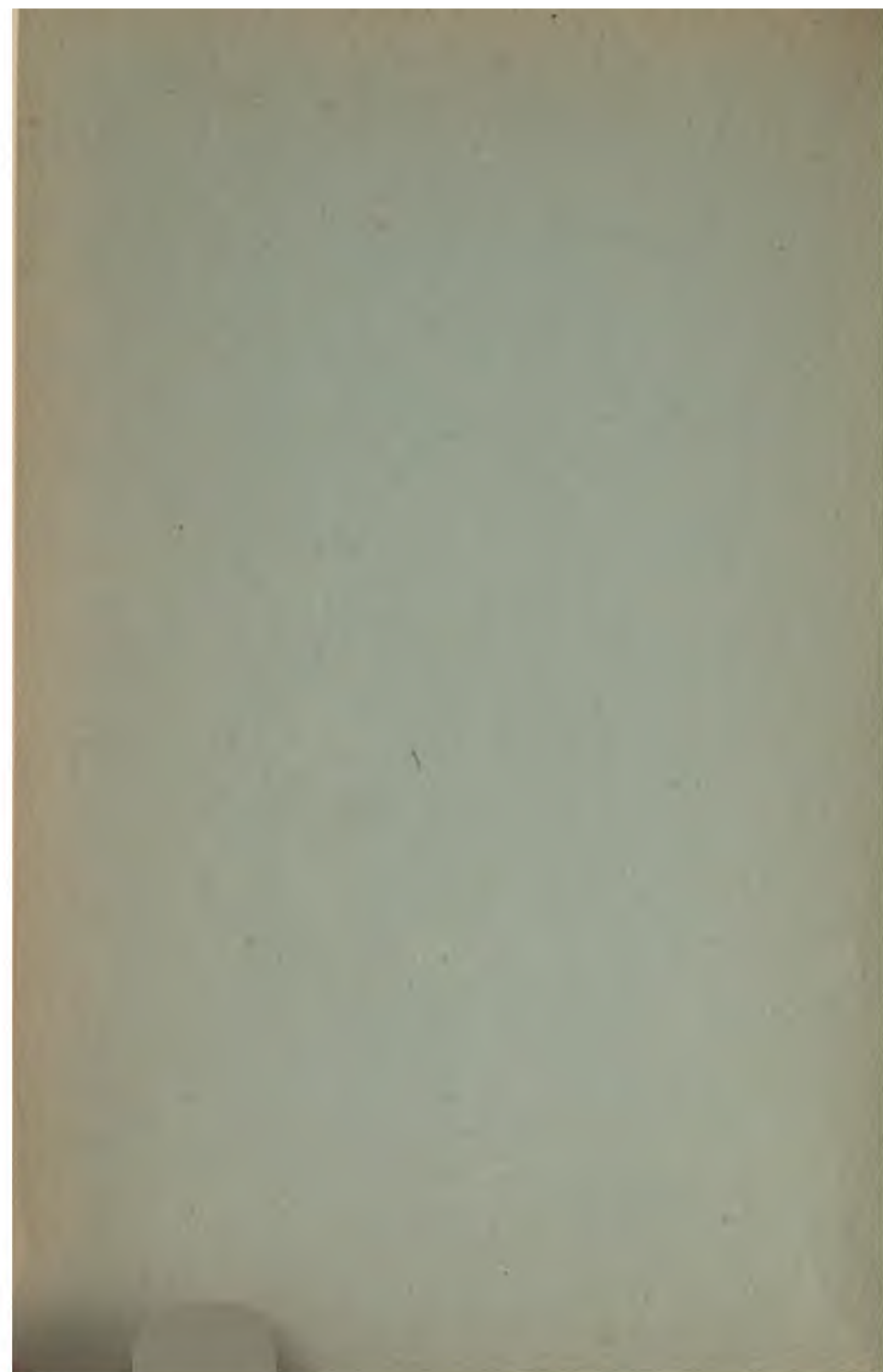
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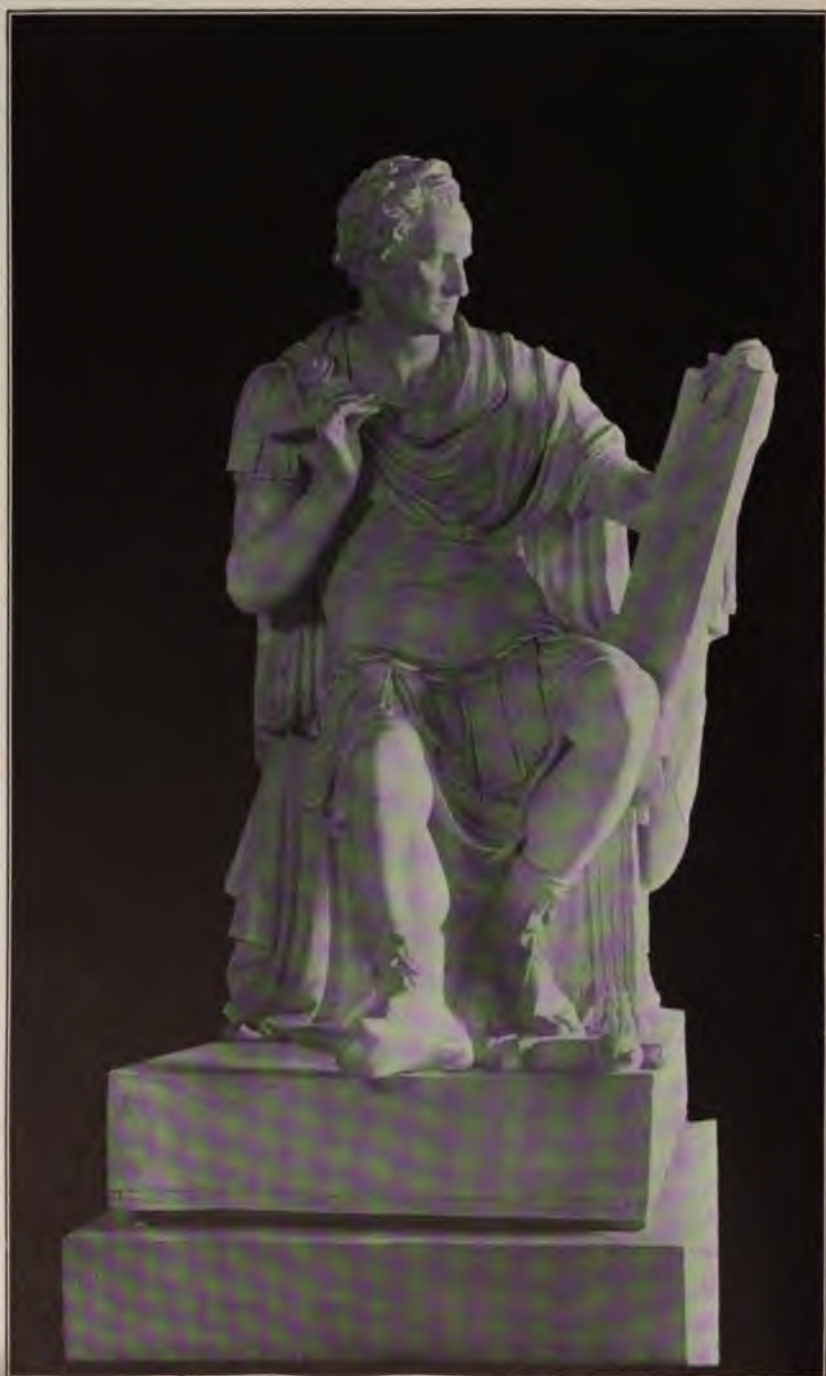
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**CANOVA'S STATUE OF
WASHINGTON**

1910





Replica of Canova's Statue of Washington, presented to the North Carolina Historical Commission by the Italian Government, 1909, now in the State Capitol of North Carolina. From the original in the Canova Museum, Possagno, Italy.

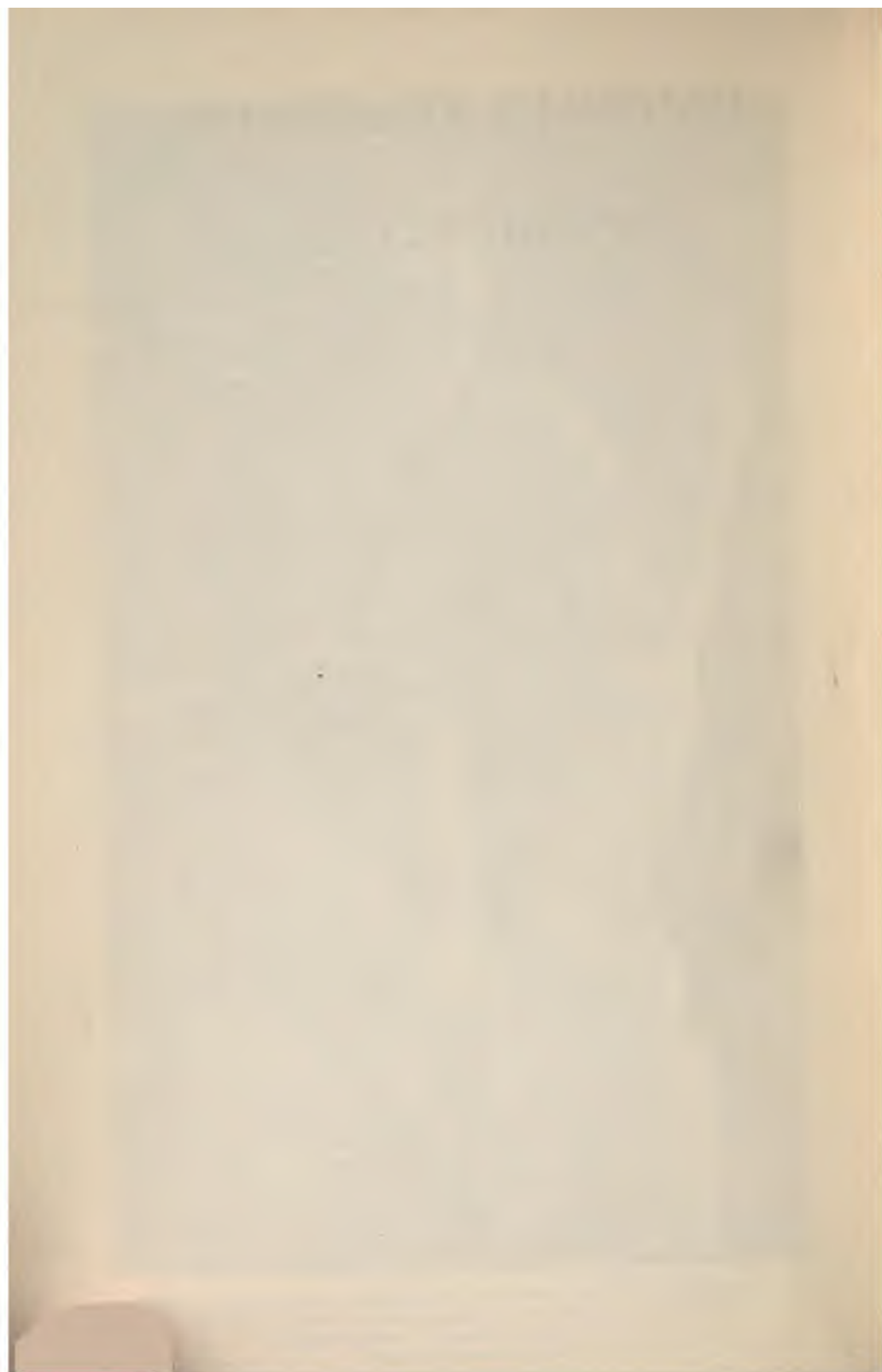
CANOVA'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON

BY

R. D. W. CONNOR

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission

1910



THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*
Raleigh

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill

D. H. HILL, Raleigh

THOMAS W. BLOUNT, Roper

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*
Raleigh

CANOVA'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON

INTRODUCTION

Probably no work of art ever excited a more general interest in the United States than Canova's statue of Washington. The time at which it was ordered, the scarcity of such works of art in the United States, the fame of the sculptor, the manner in which the statue was brought to this country, the eminent names associated with its history, and its tragic fate, all combined with the love and veneration felt for the memory of Washington to attract to it the attention of the Nation and to make its erection a national event. The recent liberality of the Italian Government in presenting a replica of the plaster cast to the State of North Carolina has added another interesting incident to its history.

The statue was ordered just after the close of our second war with England, in which the young Nation had asserted its dignity and vindicated its claim to the respect and consideration of the world. Men spoke of the contest as our "Second War for Independence," and its victories recalled the glories of the Revolution. At the Fourth of July banquet in Raleigh, in 1815, the following were among the toasts offered:

*"The Army of the United States:—*The achievements of our soldiery against the veterans of Europe during the late contest, have confirmed that character for skill and bravery which we acquired in the Revolutionary War."

*"The Day We Celebrate:—*May Americans ever cherish the political principles of '76."

*"The Warriors and Patriots of the Revolution:—*Men whom their country delights to honor."

As memories of the Revolution were revived, the central figure of that struggle loomed up with more than its usual

greatness. Somehow or other it seemed that as the genius of Washington had established independence, so his spirit had guided the Nation through its struggle to maintain it.

"The Memory of Washington" (thus ran the toast at the Raleigh banquet):—"Though every struggle we are called upon to make for the maintenance of our Independence will raise up distinguished Heroes and Statesmen, Washington will still remain *first* in the hearts of the American people."

While this feeling was at its height, the General Assembly of North Carolina met in annual session. On the 16th of December, 1815, the House of Commons, and four days later the Senate, unanimously adopted a resolution instructing the Governor "to purchase on behalf of this State a full length statue of General Washington." As there was no limitation of price or action placed on him, the Governor determined to execute the commission in the most liberal spirit. At his request the State's senators in Congress, Messrs. Turner and Macon, undertook to ascertain whether a statue "worthy the character it is to represent, and the State which erects it," could be made in the United States; and if not, what would be the cost of getting one from Italy.

Some of the most eminent men in the country became interested in the work. William Thornton and Benjamin H. Latrobe, architects of the National Capitol, declared that the statue could be executed in the United States as well as anywhere, and recommended a French sculptor named Valaperti; but Joseph Hopkinson and Thomas Jefferson were of opinion that no sculptor in the United States would offer himself as competent to do the work. Both urged that Canova be employed.

Accordingly to Canova Governor Miller decided to apply. In determining what style should be adopted and what model should be followed, the opinion of Jefferson, in favor of the Roman, prevailed. Acting again on Jefferson's advice, Governor Miller sought the services of Thomas Appleton, American Consul at Leghorn, in the negotiations with Canova.

His instructions were that the style should be Roman, the size somewhat larger than life, the price to Canova \$10,000, the attitude to be left to the artist. Delighted at receiving the commission, Appleton hastened to approach the sculptor, from whom he received a favorable reply.

As it was intended that the statue should be placed in the hall of the State Senate, which was only sixteen feet in height, Appleton was of opinion that the statue should be in a sitting attitude. This was also Canova's opinion, and he was permitted to have his way. Cerrachi's bust was sent to him as the model for the head, but for the figure the sculptor was left to follow his own imagination. He pushed the work as rapidly as possible and completed it in the spring of 1821. Upon being advised that it was ready for shipment the Governor of North Carolina applied to the Secretary of the Navy for permission to have it brought to the United States in a war vessel. This request was readily granted and the necessary orders promptly issued. Accordingly, Commodore William Bainbridge, commanding the United States Ship *Columbus*, in a letter written May 19, 1821, from Gibraltar Bay, informed the Governor of North Carolina that he had the statue on board and would sail within ten days with it for the United States. The *Columbus* with her cargo arrived at Boston July 22, and thence the statue was shipped by a coasting vessel to Wilmington, N. C. From Wilmington a river boat conveyed it up the Cape Fear River to Fayetteville, whence it was brought overland to Raleigh. It reached Raleigh December 24, 1821, and with elaborate ceremonies was set up in the rotunda of the State House.

Perhaps the most interesting event in its brief history was the visit which La Fayette paid to it in March, 1825. "This was indeed an interesting scene," wrote an eye witness, "and we were fortunately so situated that we heard the inquiries and remarks, and witnessed the feelings which it [the statue] elicited. We were gratified to hear the General observe that the likeness was much better than he expected to see. He

seemed deeply interested in examining the historical designs on the pedestal, and expressed his approbation of the exquisite workmanship of the whole."¹

The statue had but a brief existence. In the early morning of June 21, 1831, the citizens of Raleigh were alarmed by the cry of fire and in a few minutes every person in the village knew that the State House was in flames. The structure was soon a heap of ashes. With it was destroyed the statue of Washington, "that proud monument of national gratitude, which," declared the *Raleigh Register*, "was our pride and glory."

The destruction of the statue was bemoaned throughout North Carolina, and was the cause of much disgust in other

¹ In the life of William Winston Seaton, Mrs. Seaton, writing from Washington City, to her mother, Mrs. Gales, at Raleigh, says:

"We had a most kind note from LaFayette, proposing to spend half an hour with us, during the last day of his stay here. The half-hour passed quickly in the most interesting conversation, and he protracted the visit until the *hour* had also fled. He spoke to me much of North Carolina, of your kind hospitality to him, of Washington's Statue by Canova, which he says is a splendid monument of the Sculptor's genius, but is the most inexcusable action of his life, as he sinned both against light and knowledge in making it as much *like me* as the great Washington. But mum to the Raleighites." Pp. 121-122.

George Bancroft, who visited LaFayette in 1821, made the following entry in his Diary:

"May 30 [1821]. General la Fayette had encouraged me to come to see him. I went to his house today, and was shown into his parlour. Four engravings hang on its walls. The Rights of man and of the citizen, as decreed by the 'Assemblée Constituante,' and accepted by King Louis XVI, surrounded by appropriate devices are hung on one side of the door. A similar copy of the constitution of the United States is on the other side; at the top of it is the likeness of Washington. The third Engraving is that of the French frigate, which when beaten by the English chose rather to go down, than surrender; the moment chosen is that, when the French are about to be swallowed up by the waves, and in the enthusiasm of liberty exclaim, *vive la liberté, vive la République*. The last Engraving is one taken from the statue lately made of Washington by Canova. This hangs in the most conspicuous part of the room, and attracts the eye at once on entering. These are worthy ornaments for the chamber of a distinguished partisan of liberty. It has seldom had in Europe so pure and upright a champion as General la Fayette."—Howe: "Life and Letters of George Bancroft," I., 105-106.

parts of the Union. Chancellor Kent, of New York, in a conversation with William A. Graham, of North Carolina, "spoke of the loss of Washington's statue and expressed much disgust at the negligence which had caused it." At Leghorn, Appleton read the news "with a very sincere sensibility." The State employed Ball Hughes, an English sculptor who had recently arrived in the United States, to restore the statue, appropriating \$5,000 for the purpose; but Hughes proved faithless to his engagement and nothing came of it.

For many years the ruins of the statue on exhibition in the State Hall of History were a melancholy reminder of the precious treasure which had brought to the people of North Carolina so much self-gratification. Nobody dreamed that the statue could ever be replaced, and the State consoled herself for her loss by the purchase of a bronze replica of Houdon's statue at Richmond. But in 1908 the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission learned through the Hon. Bellamy Storer, former Ambassador to Austria, that the original model made by Canova himself still existed in the Canova Museum, at Possagno, Italy. A request for further information directed to Hon. Lloyd C. Griscom, American Ambassador at Rome, brought a reply from Mr. Winthrop, Second Secretary of Embassy, in which it was intimated that the Italian Government would present the State of North Carolina with a plaster replica. The generosity of the Italian Government was promptly accepted, and in January of the present year, the replica was received and set up in the State Capitol at Raleigh.¹

¹ Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, sculptor, of New York, who was in Europe during the summer of 1909 directing the carving of his statue of John C. Calhoun for Statuary Hall, Washington, and of his bust of William A. Graham, for the North Carolina Historical Commission, was largely instrumental in getting the replica completed and shipped to America. At the request of the Italian Minister of Fine Arts, Mr. Ruckstuhl examined the replica, and upon his approval of the work, it was officially accepted. Mr. Ruckstuhl was acting for the North Carolina Historical Commission without compensation for his trouble and expense. It is a pleasure, therefore, to make this acknowledgment of his disinterested services.

Perhaps the best description of the statue is that of the Countess Albrizzi in "The Works of Antonio Canova," illustrated by the great English engraver, Henry Moses:

"In this fine composition Canova has not only maintained the dignity of his subject, but (warmed by admiration of the amiable qualities of this illustrious man) has also infused into the statue an expression of the gentleness and benevolence which attempered his severer virtues.

"The hero is sitting with an air of noble simplicity on an elegant seat, raised on a double square base. Nothing can surpass the dignity of the attitude or the living air of meditation which it breathes; and the grandeur of the style, the force and freedom of the execution, the close and animated resemblance to the original, all conspire to place this statue in the highest rank of art. The fine tunic which he wears is seen only at the knee, being covered by an ample ornamented cuirass, above which is a magnificent mantle fastened by a clasp on the right shoulder, and flowing down behind in majestic folds. Beneath his right foot, which is extended forward, is a parazonium sheathed, and a scepter, signifying that the successful termination of the war, and the establishment of the laws, had rendered them now useless.

"The hero is in the act of writing on a tablet held in his left hand, and resting on the thigh, which is slightly raised for its support. From the following words already inscribed on it, we learn the subject which occupies his mind—*'George Washington to the people of the United States—Friends and Fellow-Citizens.'*¹ In his right hand he holds the pen with a suspended air, as if anxiously meditating on the laws fitted to promote the happiness of his countrymen; a border of the mantle, raised to the tablet by the hand which supports it, gives a fine effect to this graceful and decorous action. In his noble countenance the sculptor has finely portrayed all his great and amiable qualities, inspiring the be-

¹ Giorgio Washington al popolo degli Stati Uniti; Amici e Concittadini.

holder with mingled sensations of affection and veneration. This statue is only in a slight degree larger than life; his robust form corresponding with his active and vigorous mind.

"If to this great man a worthy cause was not wanting, or the means of acquiring the truest and most lasting glory, neither has he been less fortunate after death, when, by the genius of so sublime an artist, he appears again among his admiring countrymen in this dear and venerated form; not as a soldier, though not inferior to the greatest generals, but in his loftier and more benevolent character of the virtuous citizen and enlightened lawgiver."

Though somewhat overdrawn in the author's enthusiastic admiration of the genius of the sculptor, this description is in the main accurate. There were not wanting those, when the statue was first brought to America, who sharply criticized the sculptor for Romanizing the American general, declaring it to be a better statue of Julius Cæsar than of George Washington; nor have such critics yet been silenced. Nevertheless these criticisms rather add to than detract from the general interest which the statue excites; nor do they lessen one whit the liberality of the Italian Government in putting it into the power of the State of North Carolina to restore to the American people what is in many respects the most interesting, if not the most perfect tribute that art has ever paid to the memory of Washington.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the Americas in search of a new life. These early pioneers faced many challenges, but they persevered and built a new society. Over time, the United States grew from a small colony into a powerful nation. It fought wars, both with and without, and emerged as a global leader. The story of the United States is one of resilience and innovation, of a people who have overcome adversity and built a great nation.

The United States has a rich and diverse history. It is a country of many cultures, languages, and traditions. The people of the United States have made many contributions to the world, from the arts to science to politics. The history of the United States is a story of a people who have built a great nation, one that is a source of pride and inspiration for all.

APPENDIX

The following letters form only a small part of the correspondence relative to the statue now in the Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission, but they contain all the data essential to an understanding of its history.

Resolution of the General Assembly

Resolved unanimously, that the Governor of this state be, and he is hereby authorized and requested to purchase on behalf of this state, a full length statue of General Washington; and that he cause the same to be fixed at the intersection of the entries of the lower story of the state house, and have the same surrounded by an iron railing; and that the governor be authorized to draw his warrant or warrants upon the public treasury for a sum not exceeding dollars to pay therefor; and that the treasurer be allowed the same in the settlement of his public accounts.¹

Gov. William Miller to James Turner²

EXECUTIVE OFFICE NO. CA.³

RALEIGH 30th Decem. 1815.

SIR,

By a resolution of the last Assembly I am authorized and requested to purchase for the State a full length statue of General Washington. If a marble one can be obtained in the United States I should wish to get one. Not knowing

¹ Introduced into the House of Commons, December 16, 1815, by Thomas Spencer, of Hyde County. Passed its third reading in the House of Commons December 19. Passed its third reading in the Senate December 20.

² Governor's Letter Book. William Miller, Governor of North Carolina 1814-1817. James Turner, United States Senator 1805-1816.

³ A letter of the same tenor was written to Senator Nathaniel Macon.

where work of this description is executed and thinking it probable you may be able through some of your friends in Congress to aid me I have taken the liberty of troubling you. I am not limited in price and should therefore wish it executed in the best manner.

With great respect

I am Sir

Your obt Servant

WILL MILLER.

To JAMES TURNER Esquire.

Nathaniel Macon to Governor Miller¹

WASHINGTON 6 Jan'y 1816.

SIR

The letter you wrote on the 30 ult. has been received. I will cheerfully give every aid in my power to procure the statue of General Washington, ordered by the General Assembly; to ascertain whether one can be made in the United States, to answer the expectation of the Legislature, I have written to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York; a copy of my letters is herewith transmitted, that you may decide how far the enquiries are calculated to carry into execution the resolution under which you act. Whatever information may be obtained, will be immediately sent to you.

I am very respectfully

Sir

Yr Obt servt

NATHL MACON

N. B. I am almost certain that there is not a statuary in the U. S.

¹ A. L. S.

[Enclosure:]

From Nathaniel Macon¹

WASHINGTON 5 Jan'y 1816.

SIR

The Legislature of North Carolina has ordered a full size statue of General Washington of the best marble and workmanship to be procured and put up in the Capitol of the State. The Governor who is authorized to carry the order into execution has requested me, to ascertain whether one worthy the character it is to represent, and the State which erects it can be made in the United States, and the sum that it will probably cost, if it can not be got in this country; the best means of getting one from Italy and the probable cost there.

I flatter myself, you will pardon the liberty I take in asking you to give the desired information; it is done under the belief that you approve the measure, and are always willing to give aid to carry into execution that which you approve.

I am, etc

NATHL MACON

Nathaniel Macon to Governor Miller²

WASHINGTON 3d February 1816.

SIR,

The enclosed letters contain the information respecting the Statue of General Washington ordered by the Assembly, which has been collected in consequence of your request.

I am very respectfully Sir

Your obt Servant

NATH MACON

N. B. You will I hope attend to the P. S. of Mr. Jefferson's letter.

¹ Copy in Macon's handwriting.

² Governor's Letter Book.

[ENCLOSURES:]

William Thornton to Nathaniel Macon¹

CITY OF WASHINGTON 8th Jany: 1816.

SIR

I had yesterday the honor of your letter, respecting the very praiseworthy determination of the Legislature of your State to erect a Statue to the great Washington, and it would give me very great satisfaction to be in any manner instrumental in forwarding a work so highly honorable to the State you represent.

I went this morning to see an Italian Artist of great merit, Signor Valaperta, who has had some expectation of being employed in the public works here; but nothing has yet been decided relative to him. I enquired what price would be demanded for a full size Statue of the General executed here in his best manner. He said ab[ou]t five thousand doll[ar]s. I enquired how much would be demanded by the great Statuary Canova, an Artist in Rome, whose works equal the best Antiques? He answered ab[ou]t the same Sum. We have found Marble in this Country equal to the fine Marble of Carrara. It is to be had in large Blocks near Baltimore as fine and correct likeness. The celebrated Ceracchi executed Waterford in Loudoun County, Virg[ini]a, of equal quality, and may be obtained in large blocks. The bust of Washington was taken by Houdon of Paris, and the Casts in this Country are all from that Bust. Houdon took an impression from the Face of the General, and finished his work by a good impression from the Mask; whereby he obtained a very fine and correct likeness. The celebrated Ceracchi executed a grand bust of the General, which was purchased for, and is still in possession of the King of Spain. This marble Bust had great dignity of Character, and was considered as a masterpiece. I doubt, however, whether the likeness exceeded

¹ A. L. S. William Thornton, one of the architects of the Capitol at Washington.

or even equalled the one by Houdon. These Busts being done by the first Artists, and Casts being within the command of the European Sculptors a fine Statue could no doubt be executed there. The Statue of Pitt, in New York, cost one thousand Guineas many y[ea]rs ago, and I have heard that it is a capital performance. Flaxman engaged to execute a fine full length Statue of the General for seven hundred and fifty Guineas, and he is the first Artist in England, or in the world, except Canova. Whoever should be employed to execute the Statue should be particularly cautioned against using the full length Painting of the Genl. by our Countryman Stuart; for though he is unequalled in a Head he cannot draw a Figure. The one in possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne is entirely out of proportion: but the proportions by our Countryman Trumbull are correct; yet the head is not to be compared to the Stuart's. Any Statue executed in marble may easily be packed up so safely as to be imported without danger. Any further Information in my power will be given at any time with pleasure.

I am,

Sir,

with the highest respect and esteem yrs. etc

WILLIAM THORNTON.

Honble. NATHL. MACON

Represe. in Congress

Benjamin H. Latrobe to Nathaniel Macon¹

WASHINGTON, January 9th, 1816

The Honble N. MACON

Senate U. S.

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter yesterday afternoon, and give you with pleasure all the information I possess on the subject of

¹ A. L. S. Benjamin H. Latrobe, architect. He perfected Thornton's designs for the Capitol. After the burning of the Capitol in 1814, by the British, Latrobe was called upon to rebuild it.

the Statue of General Washington proposed to be erected in the State-House of N. Carolina.

The Statue may be very admirably made in this country by Mr. Villaperta. He is an Italian artist who after being long employed in Spain, was engaged before the fall of Napoleon in the decoration of his palace at Malmaison. The distracted state of France induced him to seek his fortune in this country, and he has brought with him the most portable of his works,—a few most admirable sculptures in Ivory. He also brought with him letters of recommendation to the President and to other prominent characters in this country. I have likewise received by him letters from France bearing high testimony to his character as an artist and as a Man. But his works bear him the best testimony, and in a few days, I will call upon you with him, and you shall see them. I may therefore answer that the Statue may be as well executed in this country, as in Italy, unless an enormous price is given to Canova, or Thorkeld, men who for many Centuries have had no equal, and whose abilities it is almost impossible to purchase.

I give it now as my opinion, that the Statue would be made by Mr. Villaperta for \$1,500. I wished to have had a bust of General Jackson made for the Corporation of this city, but the project ended in an address. On this occasion I made an estimate with Mr. Villaperta, and rating the time necessary to be employed very moderately, we found that it would cost \$800 in workmanship. The Marble and putting up would probably have made it \$1,000. Now the bust being the most important part of the work, I presume \$1,500 would be a just price for a whole length figure. The block, transportation, and putting up, upon a plain and solid pedestal, would cost, I think, \$1,000 more; at the outside, say in all \$2,500.

We have in America marble very superior in texture to that of Carrara in Italy which is the kind always used for statues, and I believe, is the best that country affords. The Parian and Penthelie Marbles of antiquity, are not inferior

to ours, but they are very superior to that of Italy. They are however inaccessible, being in the hands of the Turks. The difficulty *here* is that our quarries are scarcely opened. An admirable Mass of Statuary Marble has lately been found very near to Baltimore, and I have found as good as any in the world in Loudon county, Virg[ini]a. From what I hear of the Baltimore Marble, as to its size it would probably be the source from whence to obtain a proper block. The strata of that of Loudon County are too thin. Vermont is inexhaustible in good statuary marble, but the transportation of so large a block as is necessary would render it inadvisable to procure it from thence. The only doubt therefore which remains is as to procuring a proper block of Marble. Enquiry will either remove it, or oblige you to resort to Europe. This enquiry I will most cheerfully make, if you wish me to do so.

It is next to be considered in how far a resort to Europe might be adviseable.

Of the two sculptors for whom I sent in the year 1804, Frangoni, the sculptor of Statues, is dead. But Andrei is now in Italy directing the Sculpture of the Capitals of the Columns of the House of Representatives, experience having taught us, that they may be procured for about half the price there of Marble, for which they could be made here of Freestone. If therefore the Statue were made in Italy, there would be a certainty that it would be well executed, Mr. Andrei being not only an excellent Sculptor, in his line, himself, but a Man of rare personal virtue, united to first rate talents, and firmness of character. He has also a perfect knowledge of the temper of our country, and would see that no Italian frippery should degrade the dignity of a figure of Washington. He would employ a good artist. But I feel an objection to the Carrara Marble which is subject to black specks in the body of the stone, which sometimes hit upon the nose or under the eye and disfigure the finest Statues. Nor may they be discovered untill the work is too

far advanced to be thrown away. Mrs. Barlow has a bust of Carrara Marble by Houdon, of her husband. The likeness is strong, but the face has many black spots about it. Our Marble is free from this defect, and is also of much finer grain.

As to the price of the work in Italy, it would be less *there*, than here. The transportation, freight, duties and charges, would however lessen the difference of price. Mrs. Barlow's bust cost in Paris 600 dollars, including the Material. Mr. Bacon in London 20 years ago, executed the Marble Statue of Lord Rodney, for the Island of Jamaica, with its Marble Pedestal, also decorated with Sculpture, for 1000 Guineas, about \$5000 besides the price of the Marble which was 3 Guineas per foot (\$15). In Italy it would have been done cheaper, but not so well.

Upon the whole, whether executed in Italy or in America, less than \$2,500 to \$3000 should not be calculated upon. If, by any endeavors of mine, the price can be diminished, or in any way the object of the Legislature of your State promoted, my anxiety for the advancement of the fine arts, would impell me to exert myself on the occasion, without the inducement which I sincerely and warmly feel, to contribute as much as possible to honor the memory of Washington, as well as to show my personal respect for yourself.

Yours very truly,

BN. LATROBE.

William Jones to Nathaniel Macon¹

PHILADA. 20 Jan 1816

DEAR SIR

My respect for the State you represent and for the memory of the venerated chief whose fame will survive the marble which gratitude may erect to his virtues, could not fail to command the cheerful attempt to execute the task assigned to me in your letter of the 5th current; and I have only to regret that the result is not more definite and satisfactory.

¹ A. L. S. William Jones, Secretary of the Navy 1813-1814.

I have sought information from those gentlemen of science and taste in this city who are supposed to be conversant with the fine arts, and I enclose a letter from Mr. Patterson the President of the mint who kindly undertook to aid my research. I also applied to Mr. Corea a foreign gentleman now resident in this city whose attainment in philosophical science, and knowledge of the fine arts it is believed are not surpassed by those of any individual who has visited our country. Indeed I should rely upon his information and judgment in this case with more confidence than upon that of any other; and not less upon his candour, for he is a real philosopher, entirely divested of prejudice. He is decidedly of opinion that there is not a sculptor in the United States competent to execute the work in the style contemplated by the legislature of N. C., even if the foreign material could be procured in this country which he very much doubts.

You no doubt recollect the statue of Doctor Franklin which adorns the front of the Library in this city. It is of Italian workmanship and is said to be tolerably well executed. It was presented by the late Mr. Bingham who employed one of the most celebrated artists in Italy to execute it, for which he was paid \$6000; but unfaithful to his engagement he employed one of his pupils for that purpose and paid him but \$1000 for the work. This information I derive from Mr. Corea who says, the best method to have the work well executed will be to employ an agent whose taste and judgment in the arts may be relied upon; to have the work done in Italy from the best model of Gen Washington that can be procured; but that everything depends upon the taste of the agent who may be employed.

I should suppose that Stewart's full length portrait in addition to the bust would greatly aid the artist; and that our minister at Paris (when one shall proceed there) would have the best opportunity of selecting a suitable agent to contract for and superintend the execution of the work.

I have no doubt that under this arrangement the statue

would not only be more worthy of the sentiments of your constituents, and of the sage whom it is to represent, but would be completed in less time and for less money than if indifferently and tardily executed in this country.

There is a Mr. Miller in this city whose profession is that of a modeller, in which art he is said to possess considerable talent, having executed some very good casts. He would undertake to make the statue, and at a rough estimate supposes the cost would be from 3000, to 4000, dollars, exclusively of a suitable block of Italian marble to be furnished by the State. It is questionable however whether the contemplated style and execution of the work may be within the compass of his art; and I strongly incline to the opinion of Mr. Corea.

There is now at Washington City a Mr. Hassler one of the professors at West Point who has lately returned from Europe with the collection of astronomical and mathematical instruments procured by him for the government of the United States. He is said to be a gentleman of profound science and extensive knowledge particularly in the arts. It is highly probable that useful information might be derived from him on the subject of the statue.

Mr. Hopkinson one of the representatives of this district is a gentleman of taste and information in respect to the fine arts, with the progress of which in our own country he is perfectly acquainted, having by his zealous exertions greatly contributed to their advancement.

With great regard

I am Dr Sir your friend

W. JONES

The Hon NATHANIEL MACON

Senator from the State of N. C.

In Congress.

Thomas Jefferson to Nathaniel Macon¹

MONTICELLO Jan. 22 [18]16.

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 7th after being a fortnight on the road, reached this last night. On the subject of the statue of Genl Washington which the legislature of N. Carolina has ordered to be procured, and set up in their capitol, I shall willingly give you my best information and opinions.

1. Your first enquiry is whether one worthy the character it is to represent, and the state which erects it, can be made in the U. S.? Certainly it cannot. I do not know that there is a single marble statuary in the U. S. but I am sure there cannot be one who would offer himself as qualified to undertake this monument of gratitude and taste,—besides no quarry of statuary marble has yet, I believe, been opened in the U. S., that is to say of a marble pure white, and in blocks of sufficient size, without vein or flaw. The quarry of Carara in Italy is the only one in the accessible parts of Europe which furnishes such blocks. It was from thence we brought to Paris that for the statue of Genl. Washington made there on account of this state; and it is from thence alone that all the Southern and maritime parts of Europe are supplied with that character of marble.

2. Who should make it? There can be but one answer to this. Old Canove of Rome. No artist in Europe would place himself in a line with him; and for 30 years, within my own knowledge, he has been considered by all Europe as without a rival. He draws his blocks from Carara, and delivers the statue compleat and packed for transportation at Rome. From thence it descends the Tyber; but whether it must go on to Leghorn or some other shipping port, I do not know.

3. Price, time, size and style? It will probably take a couple of years to be ready. I am not able to be exact as

¹ A. L. S.

to the price. We gave Houdon at Paris 1000 guineas for the one he made for this state; but he solemnly and feelingly protested against the inadequacy of the price, and evidently undertook it on motives of reputation alone. He was the first artist in France, and being willing to come over to take the model of the General, which we could not have got Canove to have done, that circumstance decided on his employment. We paid him additionally for coming over about 500 guineas, and when the statue was done we paid the expenses of one of his under workmen to come over and set it up, which might perhaps be 100 guineas more. I suppose therefore it cost us in the whole 8000 D. but this was only of the size of the life. Yours should be something larger. The difference it makes in the impression can scarcely be conceived. As to the style or costume, I am sure the artist, and every person of taste in Europe would be for the Roman, the effect of which is undoubtedly of a different order. Our boots and regimentals have a very puny effect. Works of this kind are about one third cheaper at Rome than Paris; but Canove's eminence will be a sensible ingredient in price. I think that for such a statue, with a plain pedestal, you would have a good bargain from Canove at 7[000] or 8000 D. and should not be surprised were he to require 10,000 D. to which you would have to add the charges of bringing over, and setting up. The one half of the price would probably be to be advanced, and the other half paid on delivery.

4. From what model? Ciracchi made the bust of Genl Washington in plaister. It was the finest which came from his hand, and my opinion of Ciracchi was that he was second to no sculptor living, except Canove, and if he had lived, would have rivalled him. His style had been formed on the fine models of antiquity in Italy, and he had caught their ineffable majesty of expression. On his return to Rome, he made the bust of the General in marble, from that in plaister, it was sent over here, was universally considered the best

effigy of him ever executed, was bought by the Spanish minister for the King of Spain, and sent to Madrid. After the death of Ciracchi, Mr. Appleton, our Consul at Leghorn, a man of worth and taste, purchased of his widow the original plaster, with a view to profit by copies of marble and plaster from it. He still has it at Leghorn, and it is the only original from which the statue can be formed. But the exterior of the figure will also be wanting, that is to say the outward lineaments of the body and members to enable the artist to give to them also their true forms and proportions. There are, I believe, in Philadelphia, whole length paintings of Genl. Washington, from which, I presume, old Mr. Peale or his son would sketch on canvas the mere outlines at no great charge. This sketch, with Ciracchi's bust, would suffice.

5. Through whose agency? None so ready, or so competent as Mr. Appleton himself. He has had relations with Canove, is a judge of price, convenient to engage the work, to attend to its progress, to receive and forward it to N. Carolina. Besides the accommodation of the original bust to be asked from him, he will probably have to go to Rome himself to make the contract, and will incur a great deal of trouble besides from that time to the delivery in N. Carolina; and it should therefore be made a matter of interest with him, to act in it, as his time and trouble is his support. I imagine his agency from beginning to end would not be worth less than from 1[00] to 200 guineas. I particularize all these things, that you may not be surprised with after-claps of expense, not counted on beforehand. Mr. Appleton has two nephews at Baltimore in the mercantile line, and in correspondence with him. Should the Governor adopt this channel of execution, he will have no other trouble than that of sending to them his communications for Mr. Appleton, and making the remittances agreed on as shall be convenient to himself. A letter from the Secretary of State to Mr. Appleton informing him that any service he can render the State

of N. Carolina in this business, would be gratifying to his government, would not be without effect.

Accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

P. S.¹ You mention that you shall communicate my letter to the Governor. To this I have no objection, provided it be kept out of newspapers. But as I do not know to how many he may have to communicate it, I add this P. S. for your and his consideration only. Appleton has a friend and great favorite in a sculptor of the name of Bartholini, whom he thinks equal to Canove, and his friendship may lead him to find difficulties with Canove and draw the job to Bartolini, of whose name I never heard but from Mr. Appleton. But I could not yield to his opinion alone against that of all Europe. He should understand (without mentioning Bartolini) that it is particularly to the hand of Canove, and no other that they chuse to confide this work. Another private circumstance. I know nothing of Mr. Appleton's nephews in Baltimore, not even their names. That of course must be looked into. Ever, constantly and affectionately yours

TH: J.

Joseph Hopkinson to Nathaniel Macon²

Feby 2, 1816

DEAR SIR

My information from Philadelphia fully confirms the opinions I had the honour to offer you on the subject of a Statue of General Washington. There is certainly no artist in this Country to whom the work ought to be entrusted if, as I presume, it is intended to have a work worthy of the subject, and of the dignity of the State under whose direction it is to be performed. Of the European artists,

¹ Written on separate sheet.

² A. L. S.

Canova, residing at Rome, should have the preference, not only on account of his superior excellence in the art; but from a desire he is known to possess to send some specimen of his power to this Country. He would be particularly pleased with this subject. If however he should decline the undertaking, there are other very eminent Statuaries whose services may be obtained. If there is no suitable artist in the United States it may be unnecessary to say any thing on the subject of the marble. I repeat however that I have never seen or heard of any in this Country, equal to that which is found in Italy for this purpose. As to the probable cost of such a Statue as the State of North Carolina would choose to possess, I think it should not be estimated at less than Ten thousand Dollars. I beg you to understand, however, that this is a part of the subject about which I am the least confident.

With high respect

I have the honor to be

Your mo. obed. serv

JOS. HOPKINSON

Honble MR. MACON

Governor Miller to William R. King¹

EXECUTIVE OFFICE N. C.

RALEIGH 4th May 1816

SIR,

The legislature of this State at its last Session having made it my duty to purchase a full length Statue of Gen. Washington, and being advised that it cannot be executed in the United States in a manner worthy the State or the character which it is to represent, I must ask the favour of you during your stay in Italy to give me your aid in procuring one.

The most celebrated artist in Europe, I have been informed, is old Canove of Rome. He draws his blocks of

¹ Governor's Letter Book. A letter of the same tenor was written to William Pinkney, United States Minister to Russia.

marble from the quarry of Carara and delivers the Statue compleat and packed for transportation at Rome. Mr. Appleton, the American Consul at Leghorn, has Ciracchi's bust of the General in Plaister and as he has had relations with Canove, and is convenient to engage the work, I wish through you to procure his services. I will furnish him with a sketch of the outlines of a full length painting, from Philadelphia, which, with the bust in his possession will, I suppose, be sufficient for the artist. He shall be liberally compensated for his trouble in engaging the work, attending to its progress, receiving and forwarding it to the State of North Carolina. Mr. Appleton has two nephews in Baltimore in the mercantile line, and in correspondence with him, whose address I should be glad you would obtain during your stay in Baltimore, and send me that my communications and any remittances necessary, may be made through them.

The style or costume to be Roman. The size somewhat larger than life. The attitude I leave to your taste and that of Mr. Appleton and the artist. The price not to exceed \$10,000 to Canove. Should any advancement of money be necessary, and should Mr. Appleton's services be engaged he may draw upon me through his nephews in Baltimore and his drafts shall be honoured.

With great respect

I have the honor to be

Your obt Servant

WILL: MILLER.

Honble WILL R. KING

Secretary of Legation to Russia.

Thomas Appleton to Governor Miller¹

LEGHORN 20th Sept. 1816.

HIS EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM MILLER, Governor
of the State of North Carolina

SIR

Towards the close of the last month, I received from Naples, through the medium of W. R. King esquire, Secretary of the American Legation to Russia, a letter from the Secretary of the U. S. in date of the 27th of May, relating to a Statue, which the government of North Carolina is desirous to erect to the memory of the late illustrious General Washington. I avail myself, Sir, of the present occasion, to assure you, that no circumstance could be more grateful to me, than in being charged with procuring the Statue of the father of our country; and I beg your Excellency will be equally persuaded, that my utmost exertions shall not be wanting, to correspond in a suitable manner, to the confidence which is thus reposed in me. At the same time, that I received the letter from the Secretary of State, I also received one from Mr. King in which he requests my superintendence of the Statue. On his reception of my reply, he has again written me from Naples, on the 1st of the present month, inclosing me the drawing and inscription which are intended to be sculptured on the pedestal. I immediately wrote Mr. Canova at Rome, to be informed if he would undertake the business. Aware as I was, of his immense engagements, and that no consideration of a pecuniary kind, would induce him to accept a new work; and nothing short of the precise object of my request, it was, therefore, that the terms of my letter were such, as has drawn from him the following passage, or rather, it is the translation of it. "In truth, the numerous labours to which I have obligated myself for many years to come, would seem to require, that I should

¹ A. L. S. Sent in triplicate.

renounce to the honor proposed to me; but my admiration for the genius who has performed such sublime deeds, for the safety and liberty of his country, compel me to make every effort to accomplish the Statue, you have proposed to me to execute; I, therefore, accept the commission etc." I am the possessor of the original bust, in gesso or plaister of General Washington, and made by Cerrachi in the U. S. This will alone suffice for the likeness; I shall, therefore, forward it by Sea to Rome. The lowness of your Senate-hall, which I am informed, is only sixteen feet, would seem to require, that the Statue should be sitting; this is the opinion of Mr. Canova; for a standing figure, and which, of course, must be larger than life, reposing on its proportionate base, would nearly touch the ceiling, and thus violate all established rules. Besides, a sitting figure seems more consistent with the place and purpose, for which it is intended. On this subject, Sir, as well as in relation to the figures which are proposed to be Sculptured on the pedestal, I shall very fully write you in my next respects, as the post departs in a few hours. With regard to the expence, I am in hopes, to encompass it in the sum of Ten thousand dollars; I should be enabled positively to say now, if I were now informed the cost of the pedestal, and some other indispensable charges; but as I have already said, there is every probability, it will be within the before mentioned sum. The payments to be made, are as usual in all similar business, one third immediately, a second third, as soon as the work is commenced, and the last, when completed. I have learnt from Mr. King, that it was your desire, I should draw on you for the amount; but this mode, Sir, would be attended with great inconveniences, and a very large discount would be required, if a purchaser could be found; for the discredit which bills on the U. S. have since the peace fallen into, owing to certain depreciated bank-paper being a legal tender in many States; that certainly, here, a buyer could not be found without a sacrifice, I presume, of nearly one quarter part; even though silver



An Engraving in the Senate Chamber of Raleigh, representing LaFayette viewing Canova's Statue of Washington. From a picture painted in 1840 by J. Weisman and Emmanuel Lentze, and engraved by Albert Newsam. It bears the following inscription:

CANOVA'S STATUE OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

As it appeared on the Pedestal, in the State House Rotunda, at Raleigh, North Carolina.

A beautiful light falling from the Dome Window, upon the slab of marble, illuminates the whole statue. LaFayette is represented as viewing this masterly representation of his beloved General.

Respectfully dedicated to the Legislature of North Carolina,
BY J. WEISMAN.

dollars should be assured them. I, therefore propose, Sir, that this sum should be deposited by the State of North Carolina, in the hands of some banker of London, Paris, or Amsterdam, I should prefer one of the two latter places, and to be held by them payable to my drafts. In Paris, M. Hottinguer, is the banker of the American ministers.

You will readily perceive, Sir, that I shall be immediately called on for this money, pardon me, therefore, if I urge the most speedy remittance, which may be in your power to make of the amount. Should you think proper to avail yourself of the services of my nephews in Baltimore, to negotiate the exchange their address is, N. and C. Appleton of that city. Accept the expressions of respect, with which I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's most obedt. Servant.

TH: APPLETON

Consul for U. S. A.

Leghorn

HIS EXCELLENCY

GOVERNOR MILLER.

Thomas Appleton to Governor Miller¹

LEGHORN 1st October 1816

His Excellency WILLIAM MILLER

Governor of the State of North Carolina

SIR

The foregoing is a copy of my respects of the 20th of September. On this day I have received a letter from Mr. Canova, of which the following is a translation. "Rome 28, September 1816. Sir, I now reply to your much esteemed favor of the 20th of September. I have then the honor to observe to you, that my desire of executing the Statue, Sitting, is occasioned, not wholly from the necessity of proportioning it to the height of the hall; but likewise, because in this attitude, is infinite more dignity; and if I may be

¹ A. L. S. In duplicate.

allowed the expression, I can give a greater force to my feeble genius. If I consulted only my own ease and interest, I should have adopted an erect figure, as requiring less labour; but animated with the ardent zeal, with which I am, to apply every effort of which I am capable, to render me worthy of so great a Subject, I have much preferred the Sitting posture. I am etc. Canova." As no opinion of mine, Sir, could add the smallest weight, to the judgment of so great a man, it must be intirely left to your own decision; and whether the result be for an erect, or sitting attitude it shall, on my part, be most scrupulously adhered to. I have, therefore, given the instructions, to make no further advance in the labour, than in procuring the marble, until I shall receive your reply; and this is in compliance with the sentiments of Mr. King, who left Florence on the 29 ultimo for St. Petersburg. As I was not previously informed of the precise time, he would arrive there, and only remaining a part of two days, it was impossible to meet him as I intended. He has written me from thence, recommending this delay, for he greatly approves the sitting posture. I have not, as yet, informed Mr. Canova, the precise figures proposed for the pedestal, for to my own very limited knowledge of the theory of the Art, there arose some objections to the figures, and which are the result of having very frequently seen, I believe, all the most Celebrated Statues of Antiquity, now extant in Italy. Will you then pardon me, Sir, if I offer some observations on the drawing, and which most assuredly I should not have taken this freedom, if they were correct with the figures which are delineated in our authors on mythology. It is, Sir, an unalterable maxim in Sculpture, as it is in painting, that unity of Subject, should be strictly observed, throughout the piece. The drawing then contains two figures; on the left, one representing the Goddess of Liberty, and the other, I presume, was intended for Ceres; but the latter is by no means correct with mythology. It is delineated in a fashionable, modern deshabelle dress, with a

wreath of flowers round the head; in the right hand, a cornucopia of the same; and in the left an ear of wheat. This figure then combines two Seasons & Subjects.

The Goddess to be correctly expressed, the vestments should be heroic, with a wreath of wheat round the head; the right hand, is usually extended with poppies, a plant of extraordinary fecundity; and the left supporting an ample drapery. If it was intended for Flora, which it certainly more resembles, the cornucopia, should be in the left hand, while the right hand should support a consistent heroic dress, with a wreath of flowers, but she should not have any of the attributes of Ceres. Were I consulted, I should most certainly recommend, instead of the Goddesses in question, to have sculptured on the pedestal, some expressive traits, in the life of the General, which would at once lead to the recollection of the numerous virtues, with which, he was so singularly adorned; and this, I believe, would not only be consistent with the usage of the most enlightened ages of antiquity, but comformable also, to the universal practice of modern times. Your Excellency will greatly oblige me, by forwarding to me triplicate letters of your reply; and to divide them by Baltimore, N. York, and Boston, as offering the most frequent occasions for this port.

I beg your Excellency will accept the expressions of my very high respect & esteem.

TH: APPLETON.

HIS EXCELLENCY

Gov: MILLER

No. Carolina.

Thomas Appleton to James Monroe¹

LEGHORN, 7th October, 1816.

The Honorable JAMES MONROE,
Secretary of State, Washington.

SIR:

In the early part of last month, I received, through the medium of Mr. King, Secretary of the Legation to Russia, the letter you honored me with, in date of the 27th of May, relating to the statue, which the State of North Carolina has decided to erect, to the late illustrious General Washington. I beg you will believe, Sir, that no event could be more agreeable to me than in the superintendence of the commission, and that the assiduous attention which I shall devote to its accomplishment will justify the confidence you have thus reposed in me. Mr. Canova has accepted the commission in terms highly honorable to our country, for most assuredly he would have declined a proposition from any sovereign in Europe, owing to the immense engagements he had previously entered into. His opinion is, that it ought to be sitting, as the senate chamber is only sixteen feet in height, and that in this attitude, to use his own modest expression, "I can thus give a greater force to my feeble genius, animated with the ardent zeal with which I am to render myself worthy of so great a subject." Mr. King having pursued his journey towards Petersburg, he has resigned over to my care, entirely the charge. I have very fully written to Governor Miller, on the subject of the attitude, together with some observations on the emblematical figures intended for the pedestal, for as I did not think myself at liberty to vary a line from the tenor of the instructions, though very generally expressed, I am compelled therefore, to await his reply. Being myself the possessor of the original bust of General Washington, formed in plaster, by Cerrache, in the United States, it will greatly facilitate the execution of the likeness,

¹ Copy of A. L. S. in the Department of State, Washington.

and the passion with which Mr. Canova seems so ardently inflamed for our country, will, I am confident, produce a monument, unexampled in the present age, but my single apprehension, I confess is, that he will make him a god, instead of the greatest of men. From the first moment, I was persuaded he would urge a sitting posture, as better adapted to a senate hall, where every one is seated, and will be thus more on a level with the eyes of the spectators, besides, it is consistent with the usage of the most enlightened periods of sculpture. I have not shown hitherto Mr. Canova the drawing which has been sent for to be sculptured on the pedestal, as the figures even to my own very limited knowledge of the theory of the art, do not in a direct manner, rise out of the subject; for unity is as indispensable a requisite in works of sculpture, as it is in painting or dramatic pieces. One of the figures is designed for the goddess of liberty, and the other for Ceres, or Flora, for which of these, however, it is not possible to determine, as she is adorned with the attributes of both. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to state my objections to them to Governor Miller, recommending at the same time, in order that unity of subject may be preserved throughout, that the sides of the pedestal should be ornamented with some of the great traits in the life of the general, thus they would at once lead to the recollections of the virtues with which he was so singularly conspicuous, and in adopting this mode, I believe, we should write¹ [sic] the usage of the most enlightened ages of antiquity with the universal practice of modern times.

TH. APPLETON.

¹ Unite.

Montford Stokes to Governor Miller¹

WASHINGTON CITY, February 10th, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

Perceiving that the Legislature of North Carolina at their last Session, again took up the consideration of the former resolutions, relative to the monumental Statue of Genl. Washington,² I take the liberty of enquiring what the situation of that business is at present? and what steps have been taken since I left the State. I do not do this to gratify an idle curiosity, but from a desire that the Statue intended to be procured shall possess as many of the features of the deceased General, as it is now in the power of the State to obtain. With this view I herewith enclose you an Extract of a letter from Mrs. E. P. Custis of Virginia to Mr. Hopkinson, a member of Congress, on that subject.³ In the correspondence which you laid before the Assembly during last Session, I observed that it was strongly recommended by some of those who had been consulted, that the Statue should be made upon the ancient models, that is to say, as to the costume or drapery, inasmuch as the fashion of Modern Military dresses is liable to change. In either case I think it would be desirable that as much of the form and features of General Washington as possible, should be preserved in the Statue.

¹ A. L. S. Montford Stokes, United States Senator from North Carolina, 1816-1823.

² This was a resolution of inquiry as to what action the Governor had taken to carry into effect the resolution authorizing the purchase of the statue. After receiving the Governor's reply, the Legislature passed a resolution approving his actions.

³ "You have no doubt felt much pleasure from the resolution of North Carolina to erect a statue or some other monument to the memory of our great father, but as the first of sculptors, Canova, is to execute the work, I am very desirous that the exact model of his form and features should be sent. I possess a small full length picture of the General, painted by Colonel Trumbull. The whole figure is General Washington, the Creator's work, only more perfect. The face was his many years past, but the form was his to the day of his death. Would it not be well to have an accurate drawing made from my portrait and sent to Italy?"

If you think with me, and with the lady from whose letter I have made the extract, an artist can be employed at a very small expense to trace the outlines of the portrait in the possession of Mrs. Custis.

I am, Dear Sir, with great respect
Your obedt Servant

M. STOKES

HIS EXCELLENCY
GOVERNOR MILLER.

Governor Miller to Montford Stokes¹

EXECUTIVE OFFICE N. C.

RALEIGH 19th March 1817.

SIR,

Upon my return home a few days ago I found a letter in the office from you, containing an extract from a letter of Mrs. E. P. Custis of Virginia, and as it is certainly desirable that as much as possible of the form and features of the General should be transfused into the Statue, I would take the liberty of troubling you to have this painting executed (provided it can be done for a moderate price) and I will cause it to be sent to Canova.

With much respect
Your obt. Servant

Honble

WILL: MILLER

MONTFORD STOKES
Wilkes County

Governor Miller to Thomas Appleton²

EXECUTIVE OFFICE N. C.

RALEIGH 19th March 1817.

SIR,

Your letters of the 20th of September and 1st of October 1816, informing [me] of the contract made with Canova, for

¹ Governor's Letter Book.

² Governor's Letter Book.

a Statue of Genl. Washington, for the State of North Carolina, have been received and for the prompt attention you have given to this business, be pleased to accept my acknowledgments. * * * * *

I am not at all tenacious of the inscription sent by Mr. King, and am perfectly willing to leave that and the attitude to yours and the artist's taste. Any incident in the life of Washington which you may select will be pleasing to me. A wish has been expressed by Mrs. E. P. Custis of Virginia, a relation of the Generals, that a drawing should be made from a Portrait in her possession, and sent to Canova, as she seems to think (to use her own language) "the exact model of his form and features," could be obtained from that. The portrait alluded to was taken by Col. Trumbull. As soon as this painting can be had, I will cause it to be transmitted to you. But the work need not be delayed in its progress for this. * * * * *

With the most respectful consideration

Your obt. Servant

THOMAS APPLETON ESQR.,
American Consul
at Leghorn.

WILL: MILLER

Joseph G. Swift to Governor Miller¹

NEW YORK May 8, 1817

DEAR SIR,

The liberal conduct of the State of North Carolina exhibited in authorizing the employment of *Canova* to execute *agreeably to his taste* a statue of the man who was "first in War, first in Peace and first in the Hearts of his Countrymen," has inspired a wide spread respect for the State over which you preside. Those who have many friends in that State, as I have, whose minds are intelligent, and whose feel-

¹ A. L. S. Joseph G. Swift, Brigadier-General U. S. Army, and Chief of Corps of Engineers at New York.

ings are exalted, have received by this exhibition of sentiment a double portion of gratification.

I learn from Gov. Hawkins,¹ that it is desirable to have a Portrait of Washington to send to Italy. A friend of mine in this City, Mr. H. Pierpont, has an original full length Portrait of Washington, painted by Stewart for Washington's friend the late Mr. Constable, (Father in law of Mr. Pierpont). It is the Portrait from which was taken that presented to the Marquis of Lansdown, and is deemed to be every way Equal to that celebrated piece. Mr. Pierpont will with pleasure allow the picture to be used. I recommend Mr. John M. Jarvis, of this City, a distinguished artist, to paint the Portrait. Mr. Jarvis is peculiarly happy in portraying the character of the subject which he paints. My aid in furthering any views you may have upon this subject, are [sic] at your service.

With great respect and regard

Dear sir,

Your obt. Hum Serv

J. G. SWIFT

To His Excellency WILLIAM MILLER

Governor

North Carolina

Thomas Appleton to Governor Miller²

LEGHORN 6th November 1818

His Excellency

WILLIAM MILLER

Govr. of No. Carolina

SIR

* * * * *

I am truly sensible, Sir, of the high confidence you have reposed in me, in leaving intirely to my feeble judgment, the appropriate figures which will adorn the four sides of

¹ Probably William Hawkins, Governor of North Carolina, 1811-14.

² A. L. S.

the pedestal of Washington; and as the great distance which separates us, seemed an insurmountable obstacle to discussing the propriety of the selection I should make, thus I at once determined on the various emblematical figures, and which are now under the hands of the sculptors. I am well aware of the innumerable opinions which will be passed on them; if they obtain the suffrage of the judicious, it is every thing which can be hoped: the censures of the injudicious, are praises not intended. The inscription is placed on the architrave of the front part of the pedestal; below is represented Lord Cornwallis delivering his sword to Genl Washington; in both groupes appear about twelve military figures. No. 2 represents Washington resigning his commission into the hands of the President of the legislature at the close of the War. No. 3 is Washington receiving the unanimous suffrage, which places him at the head of the government, and No. 4, is Washington holding a plough drawn by two oxen; behind, is a humble Cottage, near to which are seen Ceres and Mercury, with their suitable emblems. These appeared to my mind, the four most interesting epochs of his life; and as they are sculptured by the most able hands, I hope, Sir, they will receive your approbation. I was in expectation, agreeably to your letter, to have received from you the portrait you mentioned as belonging to a lady of the family of the General; but as this has never reached me, the likeness can only be taken from the bust made by Cerrachi, and which I sent to Mr. Canova for that purpose. In the course of 1819, the Statue will be compleated; previous to which, I beg your instructions as to the mode of transporting it to the U: States. A public vessel would be greatly preferable to a merchant ship, for few of the latter could receive under cover so large a mass. My opinion was, that the whole expense would be comprised in Ten thousand dollars; but I now find, though I can not say what the expence of packing and transporting to Civita-Vecchia will be, yet we may roundly say, Eleven thousand dollars; and as the

latter payments are drawing near, and wishing, to be in readiness to meet them, I have, therefore, now drawn on your Excellency, in date of this day, and in favor of my nephew Thomas Perkins Jun. of Boston, for Four thousand three hundred and forty-six Spanish dollars, making the whole sum of Eleven thousand dollars, which shall be accounted for by me, in the final adjustment of the total expense of the monument. I beg your Excellency will accept the renewed expressions of my great esteem and respect.

TH: APPLETON.

His Excellency

WILLIAM MILLER

Governor of the State
of North Carolina
Raleigh.

**Governor Branch to Smith Thompson, Secretary of
the Navy¹**

EXECUTIVE OFFICE NO. CA.

RALEIGH Octr 8th 1819.

SIR

By an act of the Legislature of North Carolina the Executive of the State was required to obtain from some eminent sculptor a marble Statue of the [renowned?] father of his country, Gen. George Washington to be preserved in the public buildings of the State at Raleigh.

In obedience to this injunction a contract was made through the polite and patriotic aid of Mr. Appleton the United States Consul at Leghorn with Mr. Canova, of Rome and the former gentleman continuing his attentions to the subject has lately informed the Executive of North Carolina that the same will be finished by the beginning of the next year and in a style worthy of the reputation of the eminent artist to whose execution the task was assigned.

It is also understood that much difficulty will occur in

¹ A. L. S. John Branch, Governor of North Carolina, 1817-1820.

transferring this monument from Italy to the United States in consequence of the bulkiness of the mass, few commercial vessels being prepared to receive a body of its size under cover of their decks.

Under these circumstances I have taken the liberty to request that if it will not interfere too much with the public service that one of its vessels when about to return to the United States may be permitted to visit Rome and take charge of it to this country.

I trust sir that this request will not be considered as unworthy the notice or consideration of the Government of the United States. The Statue though the contribution of an individual State is consecrated to the memory of him who devoted his life to the service of all and must be regarded as a kind of National property and its safe transportation to the United States a just object of National solicitude.

I have the honor to be,
With the highest respect
Your obt St

JNO. BRANCH

The Honble

SMITH THOMPSON

Secretary of the Navy

**Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, to
Governor Branch¹**

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Decr 23d 1819

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th of October last, upon the subject of affording transportation of a marble Statue of the late General George Washington, from Rome to the United States.

Various considerations are to be taken into view in the performance of this service. It is desirable to know the

¹ L. S.

dimensions of the Statue, to determine the practicability of the Ship's receiving it on board, and the proper place for its deposit. As the navigation affords no suitable anchorage at or near Rome, a Ship of War could not take the Statue on board nearer than Naples or Leghorn, and as Thomas Appleton Esquire, Consul of the United States, is resident at the latter place, that port would be preferred.

The United States Ship Columbus will sail hence by the 1st of February, and the consequent return of the Ship Franklin might afford the conveyance to the United States. But as there is no port in North Carolina to which that Ship could proceed, it would become necessary to provide for a second transportation, by some vessel coastwise from Boston to the place in North Carolina, which should be designated.

Upon receipt of your answer to these observations I will give an order to the Commanding Naval Officer in the Mediterranean, to perform this service, if it shall be deemed practicable and not delay the Ship at Leghorn beyond a reasonable period.

The object, as it respects the State of North Carolina, will receive all the attention of this Department to facilitate its accomplishment.

I have the honor to be,

With high respect and consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant

SMITH THOMPSON

To His Excellency JOHN BRANCH

Governor of the State of North Carolina

Raleigh

Governor Branch to Commodore William Bainbridge¹

EXECUTIVE OFFICE NO. CAROLINA

RALEIGH February 15th 1820.

SIR

Enclosed is a letter to Mr. Appleton United States Consul at Leghorn through whose polite agency a marble Statue of the immortal Washington has been executed by the celebrated Marquis Canova for the State of North Carolina.

As the Statue is now complete and ready for transportation to this country and as a merchant vessel will not be able to take the same under cover, I deemed it advisable on the suggestion of Mr. Appleton to apply to the Navy Department of the United States to furnish the requisite facilities. This has been promised by the Gentleman who presides in that Department at this time, as will appear by a reference to the enclosed transcript.

Your attention to the business will I am confident be most cheerfully and patriotically afforded, and permit me as the Representative of the State of North Carolina, to assure you that we shall at all times cherish a high sense of the obligation conferred.

With the highest respect

I am your very obt Servant

JOHN BRANCH

COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE

Commodore William Bainbridge to Governor Branch²

U S SHIP COLUMBUS

HAMPTON ROADS, 30th March 1820

Your Excellency's Letter of the 15th ulto enclosing a Letter for Mr. Appleton, the United States Consul at Leghorn, has come to my hands, and I have the pleasure to assure you that it will afford me much gratification to aid

¹ Governor's Letter Book.

² A. L. S.

as far as will be in my power, the transportation of the Statue of the Immortal Washington! which the patriotism of the State of North Carolina has directed to be made in Italy.

I have the honor to be

With great respect, Your Excellency's

obt. Sert

WM BAINBRIDGE

To His Excellency JOHN BRANCH

Governor of the State of

North Carolina

Thomas Appleton to Governor Branch¹

LEGHORN 1st June 1820

His Excellency

The Governor of

North Carolina.

* * * * *

I regret greatly, sir, this disaster² in a particularly manner as it necessarily occasions a delay in Payments to Mr. Canova who has now completed the Statue and of course requires the completion of the sum stipulated. This Statue is a Chef d'oeuvre of sculpture; as are likewise the basso relievos on the four sides of the pedestal. I must then, Sir, solicit your most early attention and that you would as speedily as possible adopt some mode to make the indispensable remittance in order to obtain the Statue from the hands of the sculptor; and at the same time you will have the goodness to point out by what conveyance you are desirous it should be sent to the United States. It can be conveyed to Civita-Vecchia by Roman boats and may then be received by the vessel you may direct. I have some doubts if the hatch-ways

¹ Governor's Letter Book.

² Refers to the loss of \$3,000 by the failure of Thomas Perkins, Jr., of Boston, to whom the money had been sent to be transmitted to Appleton for the final payment to Canova.

of our Merchant vessels are sufficiently wide to receive it. A ship of War would on all accounts be preferable. I beg your Excellency to be persuaded, that I could not have devoted more feeling and interest to the Statue of my natural father, than I have given to that of the political father of our country. It is from the hands of the first Artist the world has produced, since the period of Nero the Emperor and the important events in the life of our hero which are represented in basso relievos on the sides of the pedestal, are wrought with a far superior hand to the relievos, either on the column of Trajan or on the triumphal arch of Constantine for sculpture had declined for more than a century before Architecture had risen to that perfection which leaves only the power to admire without the genius to imitate. The pedestal was sculptured by Mr. Raimon de Trentanove a young man of only six and twenty years, the first scholar of Canova and strongly recommended to me by the latter as the most capable in Rome. His genius is of a sublime cast and will most assuredly rise at least to the greatness of his master. He is personally known and admired by Mr. Russell and General Harper both of whom he copied in marble during their late visit to Rome. It remains then only to solicit your early attention and that funds may be as speedily as possible placed at my disposal to terminate the payments. I will merely observe that the best remittances are by the way of London and that Mr. Samuel Williams an American banker in that city is reputed to possess a very ample fortune and enjoys the full confidence of our most careful merchants.

Accept, Sir, the renewed expression of the high respect with which I have the honor to be Your Excellency's

Obedient Servant

TH: APPLETON

Thomas Appleton to Governor Branch¹

LEGHORN, 18th April 1821.

To His Excellency J. BRANCH

Govr of the State of No Carolina.

I had the honor to address Your Excellency, a few lines on the 30th of March, by the U. S. Ship Peacock, Captn. Brown, who departed from hence, on that day for Civita-Vecchia, to receive on board, the Statue of Washington, sculptured by Canova, for the State of North-Carolina; from which port, he sailed on the 14th of the present month, having received the Statue, and the pedestal. In the first letter, with which I was honored by your predecessor Governor Miller, I was requested to loan the colossal bust, in gesso, by Cerrachi, of Washington, to serve as a model, in sculpturing the Statue; it was therefore conveyed to Rome for that purpose; he at the same time added, he should send me a painting of the General, in the hands of Mrs. Custis; but as this likeness never reached me, the Statue was necessarily completed, singly from the bust I have mentioned. That this bust was the original likeness, taken by the celebrated Cerracchi, from life, I now inclose you, copy of the certificate of William Lee, esq. then Consul at Bordeaux,² and at present first Auditor of the treasury; as likewise, the certificate of Mrs. Peters, who purchased it from Cerracchi, on his re-

¹ A. L. S.

² "I the undersigned Consul of the United States of America for the port and district of Bordeaux, do hereby certify that the bust of Washington, in gesso, now in possession of Thomas Appleton, Esqr., American Consul at Leghorn, was to my certain knowledge, purchased by Mr. Theodore Peters, a very respectable merchant of this city, of Monsieur Cerracchi, a distinguished Italian artist, who took it himself in Philadelphia from life; and that it is considered as the best likeness ever taken of Washington, indeed, it is said to be the only true likeness taken of Washington from life.

Bordeaux, July 1st, 1809.

Signed to original Wm. Lee.

Attest,

Th: Appleton."

turn from the U States, to Bordeaux. In my first letter to Governor Miller, to which I beg your reference, I mentioned the reasons of Mr. Canova, for preferring a sitting attitude of the Statue, as more appropriate for a public hall, and indispensable from the lowness of your Senate Chamber. In relation to the emblems on the four sides of the pedestal, I offered various reasons, that they should be allusive, of the most memorable events in the life of the hero, as they keep the mind of the spectator, solely intent on the subject; and that unity of action, being as indispensable a requisite in works of sculpture, as they are acknowledged to be, in dramatic writings:—indeed, it is conformable to the invariable practice of ancient Greece and Rome, and the usage of modern times. The reply of Governor Miller, was certainly flattering to me, in fully approving my suggestions; but he extended his acquiescence, further than I wished, as he left entirely, to my feeble judgment, to determine the most important epochs, in the life of the General. The latter part of his confidence, I should unquestionably have declined, if I had not have reflected on the great distance which separates us, and that in waiting for his reply, it would have caused a delay in the work, of at least six months. Thus I combined the four periods, which you will perceive sculptured, in bassi-relievi, on the four sides, to wit—1st. The Surrender of Cornwallis; 2d. The resignation of Washington, at the close of the war; 3d. He is seen holding the plough; and on the 4th He is accepting the Presidency of the U States. All the figures were sculptured by Mr. Trentanove, the first scholar of Canova, and in execution, not inferior, to the finest works of antiquity. This young artist, stands in the first class of Rome; and it is already foreseen, that he will, at a day not far distant, perhaps, rival the greatest artist the world now acknowledges. He is personally known to General Harper, and also to Mr. Russell, late Minister at Sweeden, and whose busts, he sculptured in marble. I am sensible the whole, will attract infinite criticism, especially from the unintelligent;

if it is approved by the judicious, it is every thing that can be wished; the censures of the injudicious, are praises not intended. You will receive inclosed, Sir, my account for the cost, and expenses on the Statue, balance due me, four hundred and eighty seven dollars and 50 cents—say 487. Dollars 50 Cts. You will likewise find herewith, the vouchers of Mr. Canova and Mr. Trentanove. Your Excellency will perceive, I have not made any charge in my account, for my attentions, during four years, to the completion of this commission; however, should it be thought, that they merit a pecuniary recompense, the amount is entirely submitted to your views of my services, and may be with the balance, remitted into the hands of my friends, Messrs John Astor and Son of New York.

* * * * *

I now forward to your Excellency engravings of two views of the Statue, which I beg your acceptance of. It then only remains for me, to express my grateful sense of the high confidence which has been placed in me by the State over which you preside, and to beg your Excellency will accept the assurances of the great respect, with which I have the honor to be,

Your very obedient servant,

TH: APPLETON

His Excellency

GOV^R BRANCH

North Carolina

U. S. A.

Account of Thomas Appleton Against the State of North Carolina¹

The Government of the State of North-Carolina, to Thos.
Appleton, Consul, Leghorn, Dr.

1821. To cash pd Antonio Canova, of Rome, for a colossal Statue of Washington, in marble, as Per ordr. of Govr. Miller of sd. State, in the year 1816, 3000 Roman Golden Zechines, as Per enclosed receipt, which at the excha. on Leghorn in Sil- ver, are equal to Sp. Dollars.....	Dollars 7107
To cash paid Raimon de Trentanove, of Rome, first Scholar of Canova, for the pedestal of sd. Statue, with the bassi- rilievi on the four sides, & Sculptured under the direction of Canova, 1700 Roman Golden Zechines, as Per enclosed receipt, which at the exchange on Leg- horn, are equal in Silver, to Dollars....	4044
Dollars-----	11,151

CHARGES.

1821. To cash p'd Anto. Canova, for Govt. duties on exportation of Statue case, cloth, cords, packing & por- terage to the Tyber. Dolls.....	85.50
To cash pd R. Trentanove for case, cloth, packing, and portorage of the pedestal to the Tyber.....	45.50
To pd transporting both to Civita- Vecchia ..	18.40
To cash pd transpg from Carrara, my colossal bust by Cerrachi, to serve as a model for the Statue....	5.00

¹ A. D. S. Enclosed in letter to Gov. Branch, April 18, 1821.

To pd postage during four years, to & from Rome, relating to Statue, to Amsterdam, London, etc., on remittances amounting to 127 Letters recd, or franked here in reply, on the Subject of the Statue & Piedestal.....	60.00	
To expenses to Rome, to engage the Statue & emblems.....	122.00	
		<hr/> 336.50
		<hr/> Spanish Dollars..... 11,487.50

Leghorn 18. April 1821.

E. E.

TH: APPLETON

Dr. The Government of the State of North-Carolina in
Acct. current with Thos. Appleton Consul Leghorn.¹

Dr.

1821

April	To amount of Colossal Statue of Washing-	Dollars
	ton and charges, as annexed.....	11,487.50

Cr.

1817.

July.	By cash recd for my drafts on Daniel Cromelin & Sons of Amsterdam for 17,- 304.3 florins, being the net amount, they informed me, were at my disposal, for the accot. of State of No. Carolina, and which produced here, at the then excha.	Sp: Dols.
	Dollars ..	6,654
1821	By cash recd of R & W. Pulsford, London, as Per their letter, authorizing me to draw on them for 4346 Dollars.....	4346

11,000¹ A. D. S. Enclosed in letter of April 18, 1821.

Bala. due Thos. Appleton.....	487.50
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Dollars ..	11,487.50
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Leghorn 18. April 1821.

E. E.

TH: APPLETON

**Commodore William Bainbridge to Governor
Franklin¹**

U. S. SHIP COLUMBUS,
GIBRALTAR BAY, 19 May, 1821.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you that I have on board this ship the Statue of General Washington, made by Canova at Rome for the State of North Carolina; which I shall convey to the United States (probably to the port of Boston) whither I expect to sail in the course of ten days.

My letter to you of the 1st of July last will have informed you of my having sent the Frigate *Guerriere* to Leghorn for the purpose of taking the Statue to America, and that it was not then finished, but that I should not be unmindful of it. In March last I sent the *Peacock* sloop to Leghorn in expectation of her finding the Statue there, in which, however, I was disappointed.

Captain Brown then proceeded, agreeably to my orders to Civita Vecchia, and thence to Rome; when the Statue was sent to the former place, put on board the *Peacock*, and brought to this place; where it was removed to this ship, and in her, I trust, it will be safely conveyed to the shores of our beloved country.

I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that it has afforded me much pleasure to attend to the request of the Executive of

¹ L. S.

the patriotic State of North Carolina relative to the Statue of the Great and Good Washington.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of high respect,
Your obedient servant

WM. BAINBRIDGE

To His Excellency the
Governor of North Carolina.

**Commodore William Bainbridge to Governor
Franklin¹**

U. S. SHIP COLUMBUS,
BOSTON HARBOUR, 23 July, 1821.

SIR,

From the inclosed duplicate of my letter of the 19th of May last, your Excellency will perceive that the Statue of Washington, made by Canova for the State of North Carolina, is on board of this Ship; which arrived here yesterday. It will be held subject to your order.²

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

With great respect, yr. obt. servt.

WM. BAINBRIDGE

P. S. I herewith send a letter to you from Mr. Appleton, Consul of the U States at Leghorn.

To His Excellency the Governor
of North Carolina,
Raleigh.

¹ L. S.

² From Boston the statue was conveyed to Wilmington, N. C., by water, thence up the Cape Fear river to Fayetteville, thence overland to Raleigh, where it was set up in the rotunda of the State House and unveiled, December 24, 1821. An account of the ceremonies can be found in *The Raleigh Register*, Dec. 28, 1821.

Resolutions of the General Assembly¹

Resolved that the thanks of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, be given to Commodore William Bainbridge, for his politeness and attention in the transmission of the Statue of Genl. George Washington from Italy to this State.

And be it further Resolved that his Excellency the Governor be requested to send a copy of the foregoing resolution to Commodore Bainbridge.

Governor Holmes to Marquis Canova²

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, NO. CAROLINA.

RALEIGH, July 4, 1822.

MARQUIS CANOVA,

SIR,

In obedience to a Resolution of the Legislature of this State I derive much pleasure in making known to you the high sense and acknowledgments the citizens of North Carolina cherish for the taste and skill with which you have executed that admirable specimen of sculpture, the Statue of General George Washington.

The sublimity and elegance of this composition, combining freedom, grace, and majesty, will long live a sacred memorial of a grateful Republic to his memory, and a proud monument of the divine genius of Canova.

It commands the wonder and applause of the Western Hemisphere, and will prove to the young enthusiastic artist of the New World, what the sublime labours of Praxiteles and Phidias, those favorite sons of Greece, did to their imitative brethren and admiring spectators, chaste models of admiration and perfection.

I likewise, Sir, avail myself of the honor to transmit to you

¹ Journal of the General Assembly, passed December 18, 1821.

² Governor's Letter Book. Gabriel Holmes, Governor of North Carolina 1821-1824.

the unanimous resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, with assurances of my high respect and esteem for the Marquis Antonio Canova.

GABL: HOLMES

Thomas Jefferson to Governor Holmes¹

MONTICELLO, August 3. 23.

SIR,

I take the liberty of transmitting to you the extract of a letter received from Mr. Appleton our Consul at Leghorn bearing date the 2d of April of the present year.² I have thought it a duty to be the channel of this explanation from him, as having, perhaps, been in some degree, the instrument of his being employed in directing the Execution of the Statue of General Washington, which will ever be a distinguishing and unrivalled possession of your State. I pray you to consider me, however, as merely the transmitter of this paper, meaning to take no part in its object, which belongs solely to the justice and liberality of the State; perhaps it is incumbent on me to say, that I have known Mr. Appleton nearly forty years, that during the greater part of that time, I have been in intimate correspondence with him either official or private; that he has been so long in the service of the United-States, faithful, honest, diligent, and honorably poor. Should you think proper, to make the acknowledgments of the State for his services in a pecuniary form, which his circumstances induce him to prefer, I have not the least idea what his expectations may be, perhaps, the sum which has passed thro' his hands may furnish some measure. But

¹ A. L. S.

² This letter refers to the failure of the Legislature to make proper compensation to Appleton for his trouble and for the use of his bust of Washington. This oversight was remedied at the next session by the appropriation of \$500 for Mr. Appleton.

all this rests with your excellency, to whom I tender the assurance of my high respect and consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON.

H[IS] E[XCELLENCY] GABRIEL HOLMES,
Governor of N. C.
Raleigh.

Governor Holmes to Thomas Appleton¹

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, NO. CAROLINA,
RALEIGH, April 5th 1824.

THOMAS APPLETON, ESQR.

American Consul at Leghorn,

SIR,

I have the pleasure to transmit to you through the medium of Mr. Lenox, Merchant of New York, five hundred dollars (\$500) by a Resolution of the Legislature of North Carolina, in Session 1823, as an acknowledgment of your services and Classick taste, in procuring for them and the citizens of the State, that inimitable Statue of Genl. Washington, with the very appropriate and impressive devices of our National history in Bass Relief, on the Pedestal.

This tribute of respect, I beg leave to tender you, with assurances of my great regard for your talents and judgment, in putting us in possession of that truly Patriotic and ornamental specimen of Sculpture, the boast and pride of North America.

I am, Sir,

With great respect

Your obt. hbl. Servt.

GABL: HOLMES

¹ Governor's Letter Book.

Ball Hughes to Thomas Devereux¹

[JUNE] 27th [1831]

TO THOMAS P. DEVEREUX

SIR,

Having the honor of enjoying Mr. Robert Lennox's acquaintance he has suggested to me that I might address you respecting your late loss of your Statue of Genl Washington. I was exceedingly grieved to see by the Public Journals the devastation you have suffered from fire.² Allow me most respectfully to offer my services for the restoration of that invaluable work. Whatever may be the state of it, it might be repaired and those parts entirely destroyed re-carved so as to render the joins imperceptible. The expense of a thing of this kind would be trifling compared to the Actual Value of the Work. Whatever may be its mutilated state it can be repaired and I shall consider my visit to this country most fortunate should I be the means of preserving to the world the Statue of your Immortal Washington and the work of that *great Artist Canova*.

I have been in this country about two years. My object in visiting it was to see the state of the Arts in this New World and endeavor to put up one or two national monuments to bear witness some future day to my having been here. I am employed at this moment on a Colossal Marble Statue of Genl Hamilton; likewise a Marble Monument life size of the late Bishop Hobart.

The following are among the Gentlemen who have done me the honor of sitting to me for their Bust: Chief Justice Marshall, Honbl Charles Vaughan, D. Webster Esq., D. B. Ogden Esq., Chancellor Kent, Philip Hone Esq., E. Tibbits Esq., M. Van Buren Esq., Doctor Hosack, G. Griswold Esq., Charles Wilkes Esq., T. Dixon Esq., S. Skinner Esq., T. Perkins Esq., of Boston, Honble E. R. Livingston of Louis-

¹ A. L. S.² The burning of the State House, and the destruction of Canova's Washington, June 21, 1831.

iana. Should you feel disposed to treat respecting the Statue, I will be happy to visit Raleigh (my expenses for travelling being paid) and give you an estimate of what it would cost or a description of the State of it would be sufficient to enable me to give to you an idea of the expence. I have lately got from England three most clever and experienced marble workers.

I can give you any references respecting capability and shall be most happy to hear from you. Trusting you will pardon the liberty of addressing you without the honor of a personal acquaintance

I remain Sir

Your obent Servant

BALL HUGHES.

62 Franklin St
New York.

Thomas Appleton to Governor Stokes¹

LEGHORN 10 August 1831.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
the Governor of the
State of North Carolina.

SIR,

I have learnt, by the journals of the U. States, with a very sincere sensibility, the loss, the State of No. Carolina has sustained, in the burning of the Senate-house, and the total destruction of the noble Statue of Washington, sculptured by the great Canova, under my inspection. It was at the request of the then Governor of the State, and at the particular desire of Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of the State for the United States, Mr. Canova sculptured the Statue, while the admirable emblematical figures on the four sides of the pedestal, were sculptured by the inimitable hand of Mr. Trentanove, scholar of Canova, at that period, only 23 years of age, and now unquestionably, the first sculptor in Rome,

¹ A. J. S. Montford Stokes, Governor of North Carolina, 1830-1832.

and probably in the world. Mr. Canova, then insisted that Mr. Trentanove should sculpture all the emblems on the pedestal, for as he then assured me, and which has been since verified, that this young artist, was in a few years, to approach, if not to equal, the first remains of grecian Sculpture. Mr. Trentanove in my opinion, now stands unrivalled in his profession. Many of his works are in the U. S.—at Baltimore, Phila., New York and Boston. I presume, not less than a dozen of the busts of Washington, are in those cities, for he has greatly improved the likeness of Washington, from that formed by Canova, in several journies to London and Paris, and which are universally acknowledged to approach so near the original features of the hero, as to remain unrivalled by any European artist. In a word, Sir, a constant habit, in works of ancient and modern Sculpture, for more than thirty years I have resided in Italy, as consul for the U. States, I have no hesitation in pronouncing Mr. Trentanove, as the greatest sculptor of the present time in Europe. Should the State, over which, your Excellency presides, determine to replace the Statue, which has been consumed in the burning of your Senate-house, no Sculptor as I have before said, exists in Europe, who is able to perform the task, equal to Mr. Trentanove, and should my services be useful in overseeing and directing the work, or in receiving and paying the stipulated Sums, I beg your Excellency will command my best services. The usual conditions of payment, of works of Sculpture, at Rome, are, one half on signing of contract, and the other half when compleated. If your archives have not perished in the flames, it will be easy to recur to all my correspondence with the then Governor of the State, and which will shew, that the journals of the U. S. are greatly in error, when they assert, that the Statue cost, 32,000 Dollars. The real truth is, that the Statue, and emblems on the pedestal, together with *every expence*, until shipped by me, on board of one of our public Ships of War at Civita Vecchia, for the U. S.,

was Eleven thousand four hundred and eighty Seven Dollars and fifty cents, say, 11,487 Dollars and 50 cents, as by accounts forwarded by me, to the then Governor of the State. I can not say with absolute precision, what would be the present cost, of a Statue formed from the best models, and which are in the possession of Mr. Trentanove, as he is at this time in London, where he has been called, by several of the most distinguished nobility of England, but I can assure you, it would not exceed this sum. I rather suppose, and believe, it would be somewhat less. Should the Government of the State, determine to replace the Statue, and to confide its execution to Mr. Trentanove, and that my overseeing its accomplishment, should be deemed of utility, I beg in this case, your reply may be explicit, as to Attitude, Size, and Emblems, with every other requisite information, in order, that no time may be lost, in questions and replies, at a distance of 4000 miles. It only remains to reassure you, that your utmost confidence, and reliance may be placed, in the transcendent abilities, fidelity and integrity of Mr. Trentanove, and to beg you will accept the expressions of the great respect, with which I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's very obed Servant

TH: APPLETON
Consul of U. S. A.

Postscriptum.

The emblems on the four sides of the pedestal, were suggested and designated by me, from an established principle in Sculpture, as in architectural works, to wit, that no irrelevant emblem, or figure, should be introduced, on any part, appertaining to it; for this reason I selected, what I judged to be, the four most important epochs in the life of the hero. Should you deem any other events more appropriate, it will be necessary to designate them, in case the Government of No. Carolina should determine to replace the Statue, and that the execution should be confided to Mr. Trentanove. The latter, I well remember, sculptured the



Ruins of Canova's Statue of Washington. Now preserved in the Hall of History, Raleigh

bust of General Harper, while in Rome, and I also think he procured from him, a bust of Washington; but what I know, is, that several busts of Washington, are in the possession of many gentlemen of New York. Genl. Harper assured me in this city, that not any likeness he had ever seen, approached the perfection of those from the hands of Mr. Trentanove.

Your Excellency will please accept the renewed expressions of my high respect.

TH: APPLETON.

Ball Hughes to Governor Stokes¹

RALEIGH December 7th, 1831.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR MONTFORD STOKES

SIR,

In consequence of your kind permission I this morning removed a portion of the boards which surround Canova's great and truly grand Statue of the immortal Washington for the purpose of carefully ascertaining the full extent of its injury, and after therefore a minute survey of many hours into every detail of that beautiful and once highly finished work, I am truly happy in being able to lay before you the following result.

I find it perfectly within the compass of my power to restore it to all its former beauty, to invest it with all its original grandeur, to give it once more its pure unsullied whiteness, its strength durability and form, the latter shall not deviate more than the simple cleaning of any Statue would demand. In fact I wish it to be clearly and simply understood that I would engage to infuse into that work all its former greatness and perfection making it bear so closely the same appearance that it had before the dreadful fire, that the most accustomed eye shall look with wonder on its present and future state.

¹ A. L. S.

Your Excellency will perceive by the letters I had the honor to present you with, that amongst other large works, I have been engaged for many months on the restoration of the marble Statue of the late Earl of Chatham which some fifty years since stood at the intersection of Wall and William Street in New York. This Figure I by accident discovered, then laying a neglected and useless piece of Stone for old cannon rubbish and lumber to rest against. It was considerably more mutilated than the one in question, however I purchased it and after bestowing on it months of arduous exertion I restored it to its former state, solely for the purpose of forwarding my views in relation to the Statue here, believing the success of that work would be the best recommendation I could bring with me. Of the perfection of my labours in regard to it I must leave the many letters I brought here to tell, and the praise the Public Press were pleased to lavish on me. I have every reason to believe it will eventually be placed in the Merchants Exchange in that City together with a full sized Statue of Hamilton which I have nearly completed for the same Building. I have a recommendation from the Committee of that work and about sixteen other letters from the most distinguished, talented, and respectable men in New York besides some from the Right Honble C. Vaughan the British Minister to whom I brought letters on my first arrival here.

I belong to the Royal Academy in London and studied for Eight years under the first Sculptor of the Age, and feel proud to state, that I am the only one of that institution that ever obtained all its medals. I do not state this with any feeling of vanity but only as a further claim on your confidence. My greatest ambition is to be employed to restore the Statue alluded to. Should I be employed for that purpose tis my intention to do it in this City, that all risk of transportation may be done away with. This circumstance however favourable to the Figure would increase the expence attendant on it in consequence of my being compeled for a

time to remove my Family and Workmen from New York; however gain is not my object; fame is a Sculptor's riches. I will therefore undertake that the whole cost of it shall not exceed Five thousand dollars. In its present state the Statue will exist but a few years. Trust me to restore it and thus preserve to posterity Canova's finest work, and to the world a Statue of its greatest Hero.

I have the honor to be Sir

Most Respectfully your Obedient Servant

BALL HUGHES

His Excellency

GOVERNOR MONTFORD STOKES.

Report of the Committee on the Restoration of Canova's Statue of Washington

[Dec. 15, 1831].

The Joint Select Committee, to whom was referred the message of the Governor, communicating the proposition of Mr. Ball Hughes to restore to its former condition the Statue of Washington belonging to North Carolina, have considered the subject, and beg leave respectfully to report:

Among the regrets occasioned by the late destruction of the State House, it is believed by the Committee that none have been more deeply or generally felt by the Citizens of North Carolina than those which were excited by the mutilation of the monument, which the gratitude of the State had caused to be erected to the memory of the Father of his Country. True it is, that while a heart beats amongst us to which Liberty is dear, or which can swell with admiration for Patriotism, the name of Washington must live, embalmed in the affections and consecrated by the reverence of his countrymen. No storied Urn or animated Bust is needed to perpetuate the glories of his achievements, or to rescue from oblivion the recollection of his services. But the people of this State had a right to be proud of the evidence they had exhibited of the intensity with which they delighted to

cherish his memory. Limited in their means, plain in their habits, and economical in their expenditures, on this one subject they had indulged a generous magnificence. At their bidding, the genius of Canova had given to the marble of Carrara the impress of his noble figure, and this last and greatest work of the first sculptor of the age was to be seen in the Capitol of our unpretending State, gratifying the curiosity of our own Citizens, attracting the attention of strangers, and fixing the admiration of the lovers of the arts. A full heart had thus spoken, and was relieved by this expression of its feelings.

The erection of this Statue by the People and their representatives was the result of a generous impulse of nature. But the act was not the less recommended by a sound and sagacious policy. A monument like this was a book which all could read, and which bade the most thoughtless and inattentive to enquire and reflect. To the Legislator, as he passed by to the Council hall of the State, as well as to the ardent and young of every condition, it taught a lesson the most salutary, and not the less impressive because it was communicated without the formalities of instruction. While it refuted the calumny which stigmatizes republics as ungrateful, it taught the [that] true glory is the meed of virtue, and that, though temporary popularity may be gained by courting public favour, permanent renown, the renown which triumphs over the grave, is awarded to him alone who seeks the public good with pure and devoted disinterestedness. Besides, few sentiments are found to be more congenial with Patriotism, or more favourable to public and private virtue, than a rational State pride. As no one can love that of which he is ashamed so it is impossible not to regard with affection the community of which we are proud to be members. The duty of advancing the prosperity, defending the rights, and cherishing, improving and perpetuating the institutions of our country, is performed with ardour when that country stands high in our own estimation and is known to

be respected by others. To serve it becomes a pleasure and ceases to be a task, when we feel that it is worthy of our service; and every, even the humblest, citizen of a free State appropriates to himself a portion of the reputation which belongs to the State itself. As that reputation is raised, his self-respect is increased; and if self-respect be not itself a virtue, it is assuredly one of the best safeguards against the degradation of vice.

Impressed with these sentiments which they entertain in common with the great body of our People, yet unacquainted with operations of the kind proposed by Mr. Hughes, and comparing the present mutilated and defaced Statue with its former well remembered perfect and finished state, the Committee entered upon the proposed enquiry, with strong fears that an entire restoration was impracticable. They rejoice to say that these fears have been dispelled. If confidence can be reposed in the testimony of the most honoured and enlightened men in our land, Mr. Hughes is competent to accomplish all that he promises. If a judgment can be formed from what he has already done, the task which he pledges himself to execute is not beyond his ability. With perfect candour he has laid before the Committee the details of his intended operations and has invited the freest enquiry from every member. Your Committee fully believe that he can not merely repair but restore the Statue, perfect, durable and with all its original grandeur and elegance. He engages to do this for the sum of five thousand dollars, to be paid to him in such equitable instalments as may be arranged between himself and any person whom the Legislature may designate. Mr. Hughes has also entered into a statement of the probable costs and expenses attending the proposed undertaking, which satisfies the Committee that it can not be to him one of much pecuniary emolument. Indeed, gain appears to weigh but little in his estimation. With the enthusiasm of an artist devoted to his profession,

he seems impelled by the ambition of becoming the restorer of the Statue of Washington, and thus to connect his name with that of the great Canova.

One fact, highly honorable to the disinterestedness of Mr. Hughes, your Committee take pleasure in stating. A necessary preliminary step to the restoration of the Statue is the making of a perfect cast in Plaister. It is represented to your Committee that in all such cases it is usual for the artist to retain this model in order that he may be enabled to exhibit it as a specimen of his skill. Upon the intimation of a wish that he would forego this claim, Mr. Hughes readily assented, upon condition that he might be permitted to present the cast to the University of our State.

The Statue is the property of the People of North Carolina. It cost them a large sum, and in the estimation of competent judges its value exceeded the cost. In its present condition it is without use and without value. The inclemencies of our atmosphere, unless its injuries be immediately repaired, must soon destroy it entirely. The duty of attempting its restoration ought to be begun now or abandoned altogether.

In the opinion of your Committee it would be a wasteful parsimony by a refusal of five thousand dollars to permit the destruction of public property worth five times that sum. In their opinion, the abandonment of this once magnificent monument to the fate with which it is threatened, would subject North Carolina to the just reproach of the other States of the Confederacy, of all who venerate the memory of Washington, and of the admirers of genius and art throughout the civilized world. In their opinion, though the People of North Carolina may be poor they are ready to encounter any expenditure which is demanded by a just respect for themselves and your Committee believe that this Legislature would little consult either the character or wishes of those whom it represents if it refused to embrace this opportunity of re-erecting the Statue of him, who living was

always first in the hearts of our fathers, and whose name is now enshrined with the same precedence in the affections of their sons.

The Committee unanimously recommend the following Resolution:

Resolved that the Governor be authorized and requested to make a contract with Mr. Ball Hughes for the restoration of the Statue of Washington upon the basis of the principles set forth in this Report, and that he be authorized to draw warrants on the Treasury from time to time to an amount not exceeding five thousand dollars in order to carry such contract into effect.

Respectfully submitted

WILL: GASTON for the Committee.¹

Governor Stokes to Ball Hughes²

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

RALEIGH, N. CAROLINA, January 18th, 1832

MR. BALL HUGHES,

No 62 Franklin Street N. York.

SIR

I enclose you a copy of the Report on your Representation to the Legislature of North Carolina, together with a copy of the Resolution adopted on the subject of repairing the Statue of Washington. You can therefore commence the Work when you think proper; and it is desirable on many accounts that you should not delay. You will perceive by the tenor of the Resolution that I am not at liberty to enter into the contract precisely on the terms stated in your proposition; but as I have the greatest confidence in your skill and ability I do not apprehend any difficulty with either you or myself in making the contract. I will draw in your

¹ The report is in Gaston's handwriting. The Resolution was adopted by the House of Commons, January 11, 1832, yeas 86, nays 30; and by the Senate, January 13, 1832, yeas 29, nays 21.

² Governor's Letter Book.

favour for One thousand Dollars as soon as you commence the work, and as you progress, will endeavour to comply with your terms as nearly as the Resolution authorises. As you have the Report and Resolution both before you, it remains with you to decide upon the terms of the contract which I am authorised to make, and I think they are such as will justify your immediate removal and that of your hands and materials to this place.

I am, Sir, with respect,
Your obedt. Servant

M: STOKES.

Governor Stokes to the General Assembly¹

[Nov. 19 1832]

A resolution of the General Assembly directed that a "contract should be made with Mr. Ball Hughes for the "restoration of the Statue of Washington upon the basis of "the principles set forth in the report of the joint select "committee on that subject."

In obedience to this Resolution, a written contract was made with Mr. Hughes, and sometime in May last he commenced the undertaking, and so far as I was able to judge, in a manner conformable to the principles laid down in the Report. Being desirous of removing his family and materials to this place, he returned to New York about the first of July, under an express promise to return and prosecute the work in fifteen days. With a confident reliance upon this promise, and to facilitate the speedy removal of his family, his workmen, and materials, a sum of money was advanced, perhaps beyond the portion of the labor done according to the contract—of this, however, I confess myself not a competent judge. The whole sum advanced to Mr. Hughes amounts to two thousand eight hundred Dollars. Mr. Hughes finding (as I understand from him) that sickness prevails to an alarming extent in New York, removed

¹ Extract from his annual message, November 19, 1832.

with his family to New Jersey, and has not returned to North Carolina. He has since requested that the moulds and casts for the repair of the Statue should be forwarded to New York, where he intended to prosecute the work. I thought proper to forbid the removal of anything pertaining to the Statue, as the contract requires that the repairs shall be made in Raleigh.

William Gaston to Governor Swain¹

NEW YORK Novr. 21st 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have availed myself of the opportunity presented by my visit to this place to see Mr. Hughes and converse with him freely in relation to his unexecuted contract for restoring the Statue of Washington. At the same time I have conferred with several gentlemen of great eminence, conversant with the fine arts and well acquainted with Mr. Hughes, with a view of enabling me to form an opinion as to his ability to execute his engagement. It would be tedious and perhaps unprofitable to enter into a detail of the causes which have so long delayed the completion of the work. I believe that the main one has been pecuniary embarrassment proceeding from that inattention to economy too often found among eminent artists, unexpected difficulties to which strangers are always exposed, and the increased expenditures of himself and his family caused by the cholera of last year and the panic which it spread so extensively. Of the man's skill not a reasonable doubt can be entertained. His works, here visible, proclaim it. Nor can I question the sincerity of his determination to accomplish his undertaking. I am not influenced in this opinion by his declaration merely, but by the information of those who know him well, and who assure me that he is deeply, most deeply mortified by what has occurred. I am satisfied that he fully purposes to do all that he has promised, and that he has the skill to effect

¹ A. L. S. David L. Swain, Governor of North Carolina, 1832-1835.

this purpose. My only doubt is whether the same pecuniary embarrassments which have retarded the work may not yet longer delay it.

I complained to him that he did not return to Carolina as soon as the Cholera panic was over and there resume his operations. He stated that then he found himself embarrassed by Waugh leaving him; that another workman whose name I have forgotten, and who had been retained to assist him in the work died just before the time appointed for going on, and that before he could get necessary aid he was obliged to enter on another work for the means of subsistence. I pressed him to go on now. He says he has here workmen, a shop, the material, and the necessary machinery, and that he can here operate as well (were but his models here) as at Raleigh and at one fourth the expense, and he solemnly promises that the instant he receives these, which are daily expected, he will devote his attention to the work and never intermit his labour until he has accomplished it. He asks no further payments until he has restored the Statue, and pledges himself to go on to Raleigh the moment he has done all which can be so much better done here. I asked him within what time we might calculate with confidence upon the business being compleated, and he answered that without some unforeseen calamity the Statue should be finally restored within twelve months after the models came to hand. I am convinced that it would be useless and believe that it might be pernicious to resort to legal measures against him. He has no money to refund, and the fear of being arrested has I believe not a little operated to prevent his return to the State.

This then Sir is the situation of the affair. He is able to do the work, he fully purposes to do it, and he thinks that he can accomplish this purpose within a reasonable time. My only fear is that the necessity of procuring immediate supplies may divert his attention from the business and produce further delays than he dreams of. But as he can not

go on to Raleigh and the moulds are on their way here, no great injury can result from a little longer delay; and I can not but hope that he will ultimately complete the work to the satisfaction of the Citizens of North Carolina.

Very respectfully and affectionately
Your friend and obt. Servt.

WILL: GASTON

His Excellency
GOVERNOR SWAIN.

Louis D. Henry to Governor Swain¹

NEW YORK

July 8th 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received your favor requesting me to act as your agent in ascertaining what progress Ball Hughes the sculptor was making on the work of restoring the statue of Washington, and whether in case he should prove faithless in the execution of his contract with the State of No. Carolina, there was any hope of obtaining pecuniary redress from him by legal coercion.

Knowing the solicitude you have felt in common with our fellow citizens of No. C. on this subject, and the pains you have taken to procure from Mr. Hughes a compliance, with his contract, and the necessity of obtaining *precise and certain* information from a variety of creditable sources to satisfy the doubts which exist in our State with regard to the ability, good faith and pecuniary circumstances of Mr. Hughes, I have taken great pains in seeking out information from various classes of people, whose candor and veracity could not be questioned, some of whom were artists, some amateurs and others practical men of business, and all of them together knowing Mr. Hughes *well*, in his personal, professional and business character. The result of these enquiries is so perfectly satisfactory to me, that you may

¹ A. L. S.

rely upon it with entire confidence, and without the shadow of a doubt. It is this, that Mr. Hughes is a man of genius, in his profession, the *beau ideal* of enthusiasts and perfectly competent to execute the work he has undertaken, but that he is faithless in the performance of his contracts, seemingly insensible of their moral and honourable obligations, always straitened for money and perfectly improvident in the use or management of it, and finally so poor that there is no hope of indemnity from legal coercion.

I called upon Mr. Hughes at his work shop, he received me with great politeness and took great pains to show me all his works, then in different stages of progress. I admired all, but more particularly his Statue of Alexr. Hamilton and bust of our friend Mr. Gaston. The bust of Mr. Gaston is the most admirable likeness, the truest to nature and the original of all the works of painting or statuary I have ever seen. I pointed it out in an instant, although I had upon the first recognition of it but an eskance view and was ignorant that such a work was there or in contemplation. May I venture the passing suggestion that so admirable a likeness of a man who is universally esteemed and who is in fact so great an ornament of our State ought to be set up in the Hall of our State House or in the room of the Supreme Court. If the Legislature will not, I am clear the Bar shall by permission of the Legislature. I believe the work was undertaken by Mr. Hughes of his own accord. Mr. Hughes says that he will complete the Statue of Hamilton (which he executes for the merchants of this City and which is to be set up in the Exchange) in a month or thereabouts, when he will *immediately* proceed to our State and perform his contract with it by restoring the Statue of Washington. This he promises to do in the *warmest and most solemn manner*, alledging that he has been prevented from doing it heretofore from circumstances growing out of his pecuniary difficulties, but as Hamilton's statue was the first undertaking, and so near completion, he must and is compelled to com-

plete it, and swears that our Washington shall be the next. He is not doing any thing upon our Statue of Washington at this time so he informed me, and there was no appearance of it in his shop. I took the liberty of insinuating to him without being offensive, the many considerations that enforced the necessity of his immediately completing the Statue of Washington, which were connected with his fame, the character of Washington, the honour of our State, the popular obliquy that threatened the advocates of the measure in the Legislature of 1831, the general interest that the virtuous in Europe and America felt and manifested in the restoration of this Statute, and finally the undying execrations of the people of No. C. and of all America upon his name and memory should their hopes be disappointed, besides the odium and harrassments of an expensive law suit. He assented to it all, and swore by the immortal Gods and all else that was sacred, the work should be completed and before the completion of the new State House. From all therefore I have seen or heard relative to him I so far incline to believe that he will perform his contract shortly, that I would not as yet advise a suit, but persecute him with epistolary importunities (as I find most every one has had to do here whom he has served in the same way and have succeeded) untill all moral constraints are exhausted.

Truly yours

LOUIS D. HENRY

Robert Donaldson to Governor Swain¹

NEW YORK Sept. 3rd 1834.

DEAR SIR,

I have now the pleasure to acknowledge your Letter of the 22nd Augt. enclosing a Communication for Mr. Hughes, which has been delivered to him.

I am still of the opinion, that it is vain to look for the restoration of the Statue by him. He has not *finished* any

¹ A. L. S. Robert Donaldson, of New York, through whose agency Governor Swain communicated with Hughes.

thing (except a monument with some figures in relief in Trinity Church) since he came to the Country, but goes on taking new orders for Busts etc., receiving *partial payments in advance* and then turning to something else.

The only service that he can render to North Ca. for the money given, which he *will ever* perform, is to visit Raleigh and pack the Statue, so that it may be shipped to Italy.¹

I think Greenough would restore it for three thousand Dollars in the best manner.

Yours truly

ROBERT DONALDSON

Bellamy Storer to R. D. W. Connor²

164 MARLBOROUGH ST., BOSTON.

January 10, 1908.

To R. D. W. CONNOR, ESQ.,

Raleigh, N. C.

MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * *

Within five or six years friends of mine have seen the original plaster model [of the Washington] made by Canova's own hands, which was still in a good state of preservation. It forms, or at least did form within that time, a part of the collection of works finished and unfinished, models, and relics of Canova, collected and preserved in the house in which the sculptor was born at Possagno, not far from Asolo, in the foot hills of the Venetian Alps. I venture to suggest that a replica of the statue might probably be had by the State of North Carolina, at no very great expense, through the friendly intervention of the American Ambassador at Rome with the Italian authorities. * * * * *

Very faithfully yours,

BELLAMY STORER.

¹ Donaldson's prediction proved well founded. Hughes failed completely to perform his contract.

² L. S. In reply to a letter of inquiry relative to certain engravings of the statue in his possession.

Robert M. Winthrop to R. D. W. Connor¹

AMERICAN EMBASSY

ROME.

May 10, 1908.

R. D. W. CONNOR, ESQUIRE,

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission,
Raleigh, N. C.

SIR:

In reply to your letter of the 23rd ultimo, addressed to the Ambassador, I beg to inform you as follows:

The Embassy applied simultaneously to the Consulates at Leghorn and at Venice, as well as to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the information desired by you relative to the plaster cast of the statue of Washington executed by Canova.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Ambassador on April 4th last that the Minister of Public Instruction had directed the Commission who has charge of the historical monuments in the Province of Venice to find out if the cast is in condition to have another cast made from it without injury and His Excellency promised to inform the Ambassador of the result of this inquiry and further whether the Royal Government was prepared to offer to the North Carolina Historical Commission this cast as a present. Nothing further has been heard from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the other hand, the American Consul at Leghorn has informed the Embassy that a careful search of the archives of his Consulate fails to discover any correspondence between Canova and Thomas Appleton. The Consul however, adds as follows:

"There is a memorandum dated June 1st, 1820, made by Consul Appleton in the official records saying that a letter (copy?) to the Governor of North Carolina on the

¹ L. S.

subject of the statue of Washington was 'in file of papers relating to statue.'

"There are also in the official records copies of two letters from Consul Appleton to the Governor of North Carolina regarding the statue; and several references to the Statue in other letters.

"Should transcripts of these letters be desired, the cost of the same would be the fees prescribed for copies,—50 cents for the first 100 words, and 25 cents for every additional hundred words or less."

Furthermore, I beg to transmit copies of a letter from the Mayor of Possagno (Translation) which has been forwarded by the Consul at Venice, in which he courteously agrees to grant permission for the duplication of the cast, together with the Embassy's reply to the Consul. The Embassy has been awaiting an answer with reference to the photos desired of the cast as well as estimates of the cost of the copy of the original cast before communicating the above information to you. The Consul at Venice has been again directed to make renewed efforts to secure this supplementary information, and as soon as it is received by the Embassy, it will be at once transmitted to you.

I am,

Sir,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT M. WINTHROP

Second Secretary of Embassy.

[Enclosure]

Robert M. Winthrop to James V. Long

COPY.

March 13, 1908.

JAMES VERNER LONG, ESQUIRE,
American Consul,
Venice.

Sir:

The Embassy is in receipt of your letters of the 6th and 7th, the second enclosing a communication addressed to you by the Mayor of Possagno, giving permission to have a replica made of the cast in question. The Embassy greatly appreciates the courteous terms used in granting this permission, and will transmit a copy of the letter to the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, which society will be doubtless pleased to avail itself of the Mayor's obliging courtesy.

With reference to the allusion in the letter to photos of the cast and estimates of the cost of a replica, the Embassy will be glad if you will point out to the Mayor of Possagno, that the previous inquiries he alludes to, were regarded by the former Ambassador, Mr. White, as of a purely private nature, and the archives of the Embassy contain nothing with reference to the matter.

On the other hand, the Embassy before communicating with the above named commission is especially desirous of learning the cost of a replica for which the Mayor has given his kind permission; also whether photographs of several views of it may be had and at what price.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(signed) ROBERT M. WINTHROP.

Second Secretary of Embassy.

[Enclosure]

E. Rossi to James V. Long

COPY.

TOWN OF POSSAGNO.

No. 151.

Office of the Mayor.

March 5, 1908.

As a special favor, and making an exception to the rule that forbids the reproduction, the Administration of this town has decided to permit the copy of the statue of George Washington by Canova, of which a very fine original model exists in this museum. Such concession has been made with a view to paying a tribute of homage to the great man who was the first President of the United States, and to increase the admiration for the genius of the celebrated artist who is a glory to our country.

The Director of the Museo Canoviano, Professor Serafini, who studied in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Venice, would be disposed to take charge of the said copy.

In the month of August, 1906, the American Ambassador, Mr. Henry White, visited the museum in this town, and he also asked for a reproduction of this work. A correspondence was begun on this subject, and at his request, large size photos of George Washington's statue were sent, with a preliminary estimate of the expense, but no answer was received.

This I communicate for your information and as an answer to your esteemed note. With kind regards,

The Mayor.

E. ROSSI.

Robert M. Winthrop to R. D. W. Connor¹

AMERICAN EMBASSY

ROME

August 22, 1908.

R. D. W. CONNOR, ESQUIRE,

Secretary to the North Carolina Historical Commission,
Raleigh, N. C.

SIR:

Referring to the Embassy's communication of May 10, last, relative to the plaster cast of the statue of Washington executed by Canova, and especially with reference to the Embassy's statement as to the probability of the Italian Government's desiring to offer the cast as a present, I have now the honor to inform you that the Ambassador is in receipt of a letter from Signore Tittoni, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he states that permission to make a reproduction of the cast having been accorded by the Municipality of Possagno, whose property the cast is, the Italian Government will take pleasure in having a reproduction of the cast made, and is desirous of offering it as a present to the North Carolina Historical Association [Commission].

The Ambassador has accepted this generous offer on your behalf and has hastened to express his best thanks to Signor Tittoni, and through him to the Italian Government for this most graceful act of courtesy, and he feels that it will be most highly appreciated by the State of North Carolina as well as by the Historical Commission, of that State.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT M. WINTHROP
Second Secretary of Embassy.

¹ L. S.

John W. Garrett to R. D. W. Connor¹

AMERICAN EMBASSY

ROME

November 18, 1909.

R. D. W. CONNOR, ESQUIRE,
Secretary, North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

SIR:

With reference to previous correspondence on the subject, I have today received a note from the Foreign Office informing me that the copy of Canova's statue of Washington was forwarded by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction, enclosed in three cases, from Genoa on the steamer "Luisiana" on the 14th of November, 1909.

The three cases were directed to "The North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C."²

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN W. GARRETT

Charge d'Affaires.

¹ L. S.

² The cases were received and the cast was placed, temporarily, in the east corridor, on the second floor of the State Capitol, January, 1910.

Calendar

The following is a calendar of all the letters and other documents in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission, relating to Canova's Statue of Washington, which are not printed in this bulletin.

Turner (James). United States Senator. A. L. S. Washington, Jan. 6, 1816. To William Miller, Gov. of N. C. Promises to make inquiries as to whether the statue can be made in the United States.

Mitchell (Samuel L.) Eminent scientist. A. L. S. New York, Jan. 11, 1816. To Nathaniel Macon, United States Senator. Recommends Messrs. Norris and Kain, of New York, as competent sculptors to make the statue.

Norris and Kain, Sculptors. New York. Jan. 11, 1816. To Samuel L. Mitchell. Offer to make the statue for \$5,000. Enclosed in Mitchell's to Macon.

Williamson (Hugh). Physician and Historian. A. L. S. New York. Jan. 16, 1816. To Nathaniel Macon. Thinks the statue can be made in New York. Also recommends three sculptors in London, etc.

Patterson (Robert). Director of Mint at Philadelphia. A. L. S. Jan. 10, 1816. To William Jones, Secretary of Navy. Recommends Valeperta, an Italian sculptor. Enclosed in Jones's to Macon. P. 20.

Williamson (Hugh). A. L. S. New York. Jan. 22, 1816. To Nathaniel Macon. Recommends a New York sculptor. Discusses the style and costume, and recommends Roman.

Nicholson (Joseph H.) Judge. A. L. S. Baltimore, Jan. 25, 1816. To Nathaniel Macon. Recommends Valaperta, an Italian sculptor then in Washington. "Valaperta worked a long time for the Empress Josephine, in the Palace at Malmaison, and comes out with a great Reputation."

Miller (William). Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book, (26) Executive Office, N. C. Raleigh, May 4th 1816. To William Pinkney, U. S. Minister to Russia. Requesting him to procure the services of Thomas Appleton, American Consul at Leghorn, to make contract with Canova for the statue. Style to be Roman, price \$10,000.

Miller (William). Governor's Letter Book, (29). Executive Office N. C. Raleigh, May 9, 1816. To James Monroe, Secretary of State. Requesting a letter to Appleton, etc.

King (William R.). Secretary to the American Embassy to Russia. A. L. S. Baltimore, May 16, 1816. To Gov. Miller. Will make arrangements in Baltimore with Appleton's nephews for transmitting remittances to Appleton, etc.

King (William R.) A. L. S. Baltimore, May 18, 1816. To Gov. Miller. Has made arrangements for transmitting remittances, etc.

Miller (William). Governor's Letter Book, (37). Petersburg, Va. May 26, 1816. To William R. King. "Upon reflection I have thought it best to postpone the purchase of a statue of Genl Washington," etc. Note in Letter Book: "Never received by Mr. King."

Monroe (James). Secretary of State. Copy. Department of State, May 27, 1816. To Thomas Appleton. ". . . it will be very satisfactory to the President that you should afford him [Mr. King] all the aid in your power" [in making a contract with Canova].

Pinkney (William). U. S. Minister to Russia. A. L. S. Naples, Aug. 1, 1816. To Gov. Miller, ". . . it will give me sincere Pleasure to be of use in the very interesting Subject of your Letter," etc.

King (William R.) A. L. S. Florence, Sept. 29, 1816. To Gov. Miller, Appleton has agreed to superintend the statue, and "Canova, certainly the first Artist in the world, has agreed to undertake it's execution."

Resolution of the General Assembly of North Carolina. Dec. 11, 1816. Requests information from the Governor of steps taken to secure the statue.

Miller (William). Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book. (138). Executive Office. N. C. Raleigh, Dec. 12, 1816. To the General Assembly of North Carolina. Giving account of his course in making contract for statue, etc.

Resolution of the General Assembly of North Carolina. Dec. 28, 1816. Approving the Governor's action etc.

Miller (William). Governor's Letter Book (223). Petersburg, Va., Feb. 1, 1817. To N. & C. Appleton. Requesting the purchase of two bills on Amsterdam or Paris of \$3,500 each, etc.

Dall and Company (William). L. S. Baltimore. Feb. 4, 1817. To Gov. Miller. Have succeeded to business of N. & C. Appleton, and purchased the bills as requested, etc.

Dall and Company (William). L. S. Baltimore March 6, 1817. To Gov. Miller. Requesting remittance for bills, etc. Enclosing copy of letter to Daniel Cromelin and Sons instructing them to place 17,500 guilders to credit of Gov. Miller.

Miller (William). Governor's Letter Book. (257). Executive Office N. C. Raleigh. March 19. 1817. To William Dall & Co. Enclosing letter to Thomas Appleton.

Miller (William). Governor's Letter Book, (256). Executive Office N. C. Raleigh. March 19, 1817. To Daniel Cromelin and Sons. Draft for 17,500 guilders in favor of Thomas Appleton.

Appleton & Dall. L. S. Baltimore, May 13, 1817. To Gov. Miller. Letters to Appleton have been sent to the care of John Quincy Adams at London.

Miller (William). Governor's Letter Book. (307.) Executive Office N. C. Raleigh. May 17, 1817. To Brig. Genl. Joseph G. Swift. Cerrachi's bust and Trumbull's portrait of Washington to be used by Canova as models, etc.

Appleton & Dall. L. S. Baltimore. July 14, 1817. To Gov. Miller. Daniel Cromelin & Sons have acknowledged receipt of bills, etc.

Appleton (Thomas). A. L. S. Leghorn, Jan. 21, 1819. To Gov. Miller. Has drawn on him for \$4,346. Statue fast progressing, etc.

Branch (John). Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book (156). Raleigh, April 6, 1819. To Ex-Gov. Miller. Importuned daily to accept Appleton's draft for \$4000; Miller's warrant book shows that money had been sent; wishes further information, etc.

Miller (William). A. L. S. Louisburg, April 7, 1819. To Gov. Branch. A few days before leaving office drew a warrant for \$3160, to remit to Appleton; entrusted money to Thos. H. Brown, of Baltimore, to be delivered to Appleton & Dall; fears the money has been lost; offers to make it good to the State.

Plummer (William). Private Secretary to the Governor. Governor's Letter Book (157). To William Dall & Co.

Requesting whether Gov. Miller's agent delivered the money, etc.

Dall (William). A. L. S. Baltimore. April 12, 1819. To William Plummer. Giving details of transactions with Gov. Miller; has not received the \$3160 entrusted to Thos. H. Brown.

Plummer (William). Governor's Letter Book, (156). Raleigh. May 8, 1819. To Ex-Gov. Miller. Governor does not wish him to act with precipitation, or to sacrifice any property; will make inquiries about Brown, etc.

Thompson (Smith). Secretary of the Navy. L. S. Navy Department. Jan. 27, 1820. To Nathaniel Macon & Montford Stokes, U. S. Senators. Commodore Bainbridge, commanding the U. S. Mediterranean Squadron, has been instructed to arrange for bringing the Statue to the U. S. in a war vessel.

Macon (Nathaniel) and Stokes (Montford). L. S. Washington. Jan. 31. 1820. To Gov. Branch. Enclosing the above letter from the Secretary of the Navy.

Branch (John). Governor's Letter Book (278). Executive Office, No. Ca. Raleigh. Feb. 15, 1820. To Thomas Appleton. Commodore Bainbridge will transport the Statue to the U. S.

Bainbridge (William) Commodore U. S. N. L. S. U. S. Ship *Columbus*, Leghorn Roads, July 1, 1820. To Gov. Branch. Statue not ready in time to go by U. S. Frigate *Gurriere*.

Appleton, (Thomas). A. L. S. Leghorn. March 30, 1821. To Gov. Branch. Statue shipped by U. S. Ship, *Peacock*.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor of North Carolina. Governor's Letter Book (27). Executive Office No. Carolina. Raleigh. April 4, 1821. To the Secretary of the Navy. Requests advices as to whether the statue will be shipped by U. S. Ship.

Thompson (Smith). Secretary of the Navy. L. S. Navy Department. April 17, 1821. To Gov. Franklin. Repeats assurance that statue will be shipped by U. S. Ship.

Franklin (Jesse) Governor's Letter Book (70). Executive Office. No. Carolina. Raleigh. July [31] 1821. To Commodore Bainbridge. Acknowledges letter informing him that statue had arrived at Boston on the *Columbus*. Requests information relative to shipping to North Carolina.

Franklin (Jesse) Governor's Letter Book (74). Executive Office. No. Carolina. Raleigh July 31, 1821. To Thomas Appleton. Statue in Boston. "Grateful acknowledgements" for his "particular attention" to the business.

Bainbridge (William). A. L. S. Boston, Aug. 12, 1821. To Gov. Franklin. Is making inquiries relative to shipping the statue by coasting vessel to Wilmington.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (81). Executive Office No. Carolina. Raleigh. Sept. 10, 1821. To Commodore Bainbridge. Accepting his offer to superintend shipment of the statue to Wilmington.

Bainbridge (William). L. S. Boston. Sept. 18, 1821. To Gov. Franklin. Enclosing copy of letter from A. Binney. *Enclosure: Amos Binney, U. S. Navy Agent. Boston. Sept. 18, 1821. To Commodore Bainbridge. The statue "cannot be placed under deck of any vessel employed in the coasting trade;" submitting propositions for its transportation to Wilmington or Norfolk.*

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (117). Executive Office No. Carolina. Raleigh. Sept. 28, 1821. To Commodore Bainbridge, leaving manner of shipment to his judgment.

Bainbridge (William). L. S. Boston. Nov. 3, 1821. To Gov. Franklin. Statue "was shipped on board the Schooner, Mary Ann, Stephen Skiff, Master, which vessel sailed on the 26th bound to Wilmington, N. C."

Thaxter (Benj. L.) D. S. for Stephen Skiff, Wilmington, Nov. 22, 1821. Receipt for freight on statue from Boston to Wilmington.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (142). Executive Office No. Carolina, Raleigh. Nov. 10, 1821. To James Owen, Collector of the Port of Wilmington, requesting him to take charge of the statue upon its arrival at Wilmington, in case of the absence of John Hogg, to whom it was consigned.

Hogg (John). A. L. S. Wilmington, N. C. Nov. 12, 1821. To Gov. Franklin, notifying him of the arrival of the statue at Wilmington.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (144). Executive Office, No. Carolina. Raleigh. Nov. 15, 1821. To John Hogg, requesting him to make contract for transporting statue up the Cape Fear to Fayetteville.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (146). Executive Office No. Carolina. Raleigh Nov. 18, 1821. To James Owen, requesting that no contract for transportation of statue to Fayetteville be made.

Bainbridge (William). A. L. S. Boston. Nov. 20, 1821. To Gov. Franklin, enclosing bill of lading etc. *Enclosure: Skiff (Stephen) Master of the Mary Ann. D. S.*

Bill of lading for Statue of Washington. Binney (Amos) Account of expenses incurred in shipment to Wilmington.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (159). Executive Office No. Carolina. Raleigh. Nov. 25, 1821. To William Nichols, State Architect, instructing him to go to Wilmington to superintend the transportation of the Statue to Raleigh.

Nichols (William). State Architect. A. L. S. Raleigh. Nov. 26, 1821. To Gov. Franklin. Will go to Wilmington tomorrow etc.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (160). Executive Office, No. Carolina. Raleigh. Nov. 26, 1821. To the General Assembly. Encloses vouchers etc. from Thomas Appleton, recommends compensation to Appleton, etc.

Franklin (Jesse). Governor's Letter Book (166). Executive Office. No. Carolina. Raleigh. Nov. 28, 1821. To Commodore Bainbridge, informing him of safe arrival of Statue at Wilmington.

Raleigh Register, The, Friday, Dec. 28, 1821. Account of the unveiling of the Statue in the State House.

Appleton (Thomas). A. L. S. Leghorn, July 1, 1822. To Gov. Branch, complaining of not receiving any reply to his letter of April 18, 1821; requests information as to arrival of the statue, etc. etc.

Holmes, (Gabriel). Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book (106). Executive Office, No. Ca. Raleigh, March 4, 1823. To Thomas Appleton, giving reasons for delay in replying to his letter of April 18, 1821; for failure of Legislature to vote a compensation for his services; his services deeply appreciated, and will undoubtedly be rewarded by the next Legislature.

Appleton (Thomas). Extract of letter to Thomas Jefferson, enclosed in Jefferson's to Gov. Holmes, Aug. 3, 1823. Gives history of the Statue and complains of the failure of the Legislature to give credit for his services or compensation for his trouble and use of Cerrachi's bust.

Holmes (Gabriel). Governor's Letter Book (116). Executive Department. Raleigh. Oct. 6, 1823. To Thomas Jefferson. Gives history of the failure to compensate Appleton.

Devereux (T. P.) Governor's Private Secretary. Governor's Letter Book (205). Raleigh. April 7, 1824. To Robert Lenox. Request to remit to Thomas Appleton the sum of \$500.

Lenox (Robert). A. L. S. New York. April 16, 1824. To Gov. Holmes. Will make the remittance to Appleton "with great satisfaction."

Devereux (Thomas). A. L. S. Raleigh, July 6, 1831. To Montford Stokes, Gov. of N. C. Enclosing letter from Ball Hughes. (P. 57.) "It is almost useless to add that I never before heard of Mr. Hughes & that your Excellency has all the knowledge upon the subject which I possess."

Stokes (Montford). Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book. Nov. 22, 1831. To the General Assembly. Extract. Destruction of Canova's Statue of Washington.

Wainwright (Jonathan M.) A. L. S. New York. Nov. 25, 1821. To Gov. Stokes. Introduces Ball Hughes as "an artist of great & acknowledged merit in the department of sculpture."

Trumbull (John). A. L. S. New York. Nov. 27, 1831. To Gov. Stokes. Recommends Ball Hughes as competent

to restore the Statue of Washington; account of his restoration of the Statue of Earl of Chatham in New York.

Livingston (Edward). A. L. S. Washington, Nov. 30, 1831. To Gov. Stokes. Introduces R. B. Hughes as "a gentleman of very great merit as a sculptor."

Hughes, (Ball) A. L. S. Raleigh. Dec. 7. 1831. To Gov. Stokes. The following enclosures:

Van Buren (Martin). President. A. L. S. Washington. June 3, 1829. To Gen. Van Rensselaer. Introduces Ball Hughes "of the British Academy and justly distinguished for his talents as a sculptor."

Wilkes (Charles). A. L. S. New York. Nov. 25, 1831. To Ball Hughes. Testimonial of the "very general approbation" of his work in New York, particularly of his model for a statue of Alexander Hamilton, of Bishop Hobart, and his restoration of the statue of the Earl of Chatham.

Hone (Philip). A. L. S. New York. Nov. 25, 1831. To Andrew Stevenson. Introducing Hughes as "a sculptor of high reputation" whose works in New York "promise to be superior to any thing which has been executed in our country."

Hone (Philip). A. D. S. New York. Nov. 25, 1831. Testimonial of Ball Hughes' "superior talents as a sculptor" as shown by his work in New York.

Browne (Walter). Mayor of New York. D. S. New York. Nov. 26, 1831. Testimonial of Ball Hughes' character and ability.

Wilkes (Charles), and Others. D. S. New York. Dec. 27, 1830. Testimonial of the excellence of Hughes' model of Hamilton.

Stokes (Montford). A. L. S. Executive Office. November [December] 8, 1831. To the General Assembly transmitting a communication from Hughes, Dec. 7, 1831, with his endorsements. "In the present peculiar state of public feeling, I do not feel myself at liberty to recommend any particular course proper to be pursued on this occasion."

Stokes (Montford). Governor's Letter Book. Executive Office. Raleigh, N. C. Feb. 20, 1832. To Ball Hughes, enclosing draft for \$500; "It will readily occur to you that in order to accommodate you and forward the undertaking, I am departing from the usual custom, by making an advance of money previous to making the contract."

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. New York. Feb. 27, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. Acknowledges receipt of an advance of \$500; will begin his work on the Statue "the moment the weather settles a little."

Hughes (Ball). A. L. [New York] April 25, [1832]. To Gov. Stokes. In a fortnight will be on the road to Raleigh; "has been detained in New York owing to Mrs. Hughes' confinement."

Hughes (Robert Ball). A. L. S. Raleigh City. May 28, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. Encloses form of a contract. "I have now commenced the work, have been engaged on it nearly three days, in fact I have moulded most of the fragments." Requests the payment of another \$500.

Stokes (Montford) and Hughes (Robert Ball). D. S. [Raleigh]. May 29, 1832. Contract for the restoration of the statue of Washington by Hughes for the sum of \$5000. William R. Hill, Witness.

Hughes (Robert Ball). A. L. S. Raleigh City. June 30, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. Castings of the head, limbs, body and fragments have been produced "in a most success-

ful and perfect manner. In consequence of the dreadful cholera having visited this happy country, I am anxious beyond measure that my wife should be here with me. . . . [now] waiting for me in Philadelphia. . . . I intend or hope to leave here for that place by the mail of tomorrow." Request for payment of \$800.

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. New York. [Sept.] 17 [1832]. To Gov. Stokes. "You will doubtless attribute my non arrival in your city to the dreadful sickness with which we have been visited. Indeed it is impossible to describe the state of alarm and confusion which it has caused to all classes of society," etc.

Waugh (Alfred S.) Assistant to Ball Hughes. A. L. S. Raleigh. Sept. 26, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. His "very peculiar situation," owing to Hughes's absence, "universal displeasure of the citizens of the State at his absence from his work," "his threats of a prosecution by law, if I do not forward the casts of the Statue now made, to him the said R. B. Hughes in the city of New York," requests Governor's advice "as to the line of conduct I must pursue," etc.

Stokes (Montford). Governor's Letter Book. Executive Office, Raleigh. Sept. 26, 1832. To Alfred S. Waugh. "I would advise you not to send the casts to New York; nor will their removal be permitted."

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. [New York]. Oct. 2, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. Complains of unfaithfulness of Waugh, his refusal to obey instructions, etc. The cholera in New York has "put an end to my thinking of returning to Raleigh."

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. New York. Oct. 10, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. Necessary to have the casts sent to New York. "My going to Raleigh at the present time would not forward but retard the work. . . . I entreat your Excel-

lency to have the Casts and moulds forwarded with all possible speed. Do not have a moment's anxiety respecting the work." Feels "too much pride and honor" etc. "to deceive or disappoint the hopes" etc.

Hughes (Robert Ball). A. L. S. [New York]. Nov. 1, 1832. To Gov. Stokes. Indignant at charge in the Greensborough *Patriot* that he had "run away," etc. a "slandrous libel," "an infamous lie," etc. "'Tis true I have received 2,800 dollars," etc., but no more than entitled to by contract etc.

Stokes (Montford). A. L. S. Raleigh. Nov. 6, 1832. To Robert Ball Hughes. Editor of the Greensborough *Patriot* "a reckless fault finder, and has abused me worse than he has you." Understanding that the work was to be done in Raleigh. No objection to removal of the casts "but you can not expect *me* to superintend their transportation to a seaport," etc. Fears Legislature may rescind appropriation if you do not "shew a disposition to go on with the work"; earnestly recommends "that you come on as soon as convenient" etc.

Hughes (Robert Ball). A. L. S. New York. Dec. 29, 1832. To Daniel W. Courts and Benjamin Sumner, Committee of the Legislature. A defence of his course in regard to the Statue.

Swain (David L.) Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book (23-27). Executive Department. Raleigh. Jan. 23, 1833. To Robert Ball Hughes. Has been authorized by the Legislature to take such steps relative to Hughes' contract as he deems wise. Reviews the controversy, and urges Hughes to take immediate steps to execute his contract.

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. New York. Feb. 5, 1833. To Gov. Swain. Enclosing Gov. Stokes' letter authorizing removal of the casts.

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book. Executive Department. Raleigh. Feb. 12, 1833. To Robert Ball Hughes. "The casts will be delivered to any agent you may designate to receive them."

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book. Executive Department. Raleigh. March 25, 1833. To Robert Ball Hughes. Requests an answer to his letter of Feb. 12. "You will perceive the propriety and necessity of advising me at once of the course which you may determine to pursue in relation to your contract with the state."

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book. Executive Department. Raleigh. March 25, 1833. To James Donaldson. Requests him to deliver the above letter to Hughes.

Donaldson (James). Governor's Letter Book (60). New York. April 8, 1833. To Gov. Swain. Letter to Hughes delivered on the 4th inst.

Hughes (Robert Ball). A. L. S. New York. [April 19, 1832]. To Gov. Swain. Will have casts removed at once, and make "utmost exertions to complete the said work" etc.

Gales (Weston R.) Governor's Letter Book. Raleigh. May 30, 1833. To Gov. Swain. Enclosing letter from Hughes. *Enclosure: Hughes (Ball) Governor's Letter Book (73). New York. May 21, 1833. To Weston R. Gales. Requests his superintendence of the removal of the casts, & gives directions for packing etc.*

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book (119). Executive Department. Raleigh. Oct. 8, 1833. To R. B. Hughes. A request for a report on his work.

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. [New York] Oct. 14 [1833]. To Gov. Swain. "In about three weeks from the present

time, I expect to be at work on the Statue, and shall not leave it for any other order, until it is finished and safe in your State house at Raleigh."

Donaldson (Robert). A. L. S. New York. Oct. 15, 1833. To Gov. Swain. "Hughes has several other things on hand and I fear that it may be some time before he completes his contract."

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book (122). Raleigh. Nov. 8, 1833. To Judge William Gaston. Invests him with full authority, while in New York, to investigate work of Hughes. "If he satisfies you that he can and will perform his contract, urge him by every consideration, connected with his reputation, to its immediate execution. If on the contrary you come to the conclusion, that he is wanting either in ability or disposition, I would thank you to suggest to me the best means of obtaining redress."

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book (180). Executive Department. Raleigh. March 5, 1834. To Robert Ball Hughes. Introduces H. I. Cannon who will call "to ascertain and report to me the state of your operations upon the Statue of Washington."

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. [New York]. April 3, [1834]. To Gov. Swain. "I will now put the entire strength of my study on that Work [the statue], and will have it ready for the State House sometime in September"; cannot go to Raleigh till August.

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book (219). Executive Department. Raleigh. June 17, 1834. To Louis D. Henry. Appoints him agent, while in New York, to examine state of Hughes' work, etc.

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book (238). Executive Department. Raleigh. August 22, 1834. To Rob-

ert Donaldson. Encloses letter for Hughes, "probably for the last time." *Enclosure: Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book (237). Executive Department. Raleigh. August 20, 1834. To Robert Ball Hughes. "I have been much disappointed in receiving no intelligence from you on the subject" [of the statue].*

Swain (David L.) Governor's Letter Book. Executive Department. Dec. 16, 1834. To the General Assembly. Encloses documents bearing on controversy with Hughes. "I consider it only necessary to refer to these papers as affording conclusive evidence that Mr. Hughes possesses the requisite skill to enable him to fulfill his engagement, but that he is, unfortunately for the interests of the State, and his own reputation, entirely beyond the influence of either legal or moral coercion."

Hughes (Ball). Governor's Letter Book (315). [New York]. Jan. 15, 1835. To Gov. Swain. "My Statue of Hamilton is finished. * * * For the next six months I will devote myself to your work," etc., etc.

Everett (Edward). A. L. S. Charleston, Mass. Nov. 21, 1835. To William Gaston. Recommends Mr. L. Persico, "an Italian sculptor of merit," either to restore Canova's Washington, or to replace it with one of his own execution.

Hughes (Ball). A. L. S. New York. Aug. 16 [1837?]. To Edward B. Dudley, Gov. of N. C. Will proceed with his work on the Statue, and devote his "entire time" to it, if the Governor will advance another \$500.

Graham (William A.). Gov. of N. C. Governor's Letter Book. Executive Office. May 24, 1848. To A. H. Shepperd, giving a history of Canova's Statue of Washington.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 9

THIRD
BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

1908-1910

A people who have not the pride to record
their history will not long have the virtue to
make history that is worth recording.

THE THIRD BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

December 1, 1908 to
November 30, 1910

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
1910





Condition of the Executive File before coming into the hands of the State Historical Commission.
This file contains the letters of the Governors since 1777.

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**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION, DECEMBER 1, 1908,
TO NOVEMBER 30, 1910.**

Part I.

MESSRS. J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*; W. J. PEELE, D. H. HILL, THOMAS W. BLOUNT, AND M. C. S. NOBLE—*Members of the North Carolina Historical Commission.*

GENTLEMEN:—In compliance with the requirements of the law and in obedience to your directions, I herewith submit my report as Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, for the biennial period beginning December 1, 1908, and ending November 30, 1910.

Persons Employed by the Commission.

During this period the following persons have been in the regular employment of the Commission: R. D. W. Connor, as Secretary; W. R. Edmonds, as Archivist, and Mrs. W. S. Wilson, as Stenographer. The following have been employed to do special work: Charles L. Coon, as editor of "The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History. 1790-1840"; J. G. deR. Hamilton, as editor of "The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth"; W. H. Hoyt, as editor of the "Letters and Papers of Archibald D. Murphey"; and Miss Emily P. Taylor as special copyist.

Preservation of the Public Archives.

The work of the office force of the Commission has followed substantially the same lines as those discussed in the report for 1906-1908. The preservation and classification of the public archives has taken up much of the time and attention of the office force. Mr. Edmonds has devoted practically his whole time to this work with especial reference to the correspondence of the Governors of North Carolina. This correspondence forms a large part of the collections in the State's public archives.

The Governors are required by law to keep a letter-book into which important letters and other documents must be copied. But all the Governors have not followed the same practice in this respect. Some of them have had copied practically all of their correspondence, some have had copied only such letters as were deemed of especial importance, and some have had copied only such public documents as commissions, resignations, and proclamations. Consequently there are thousands of loose letters and other documents of the Executive Depart-

ment of the greatest historical importance that do not appear in the executive letter-books at all.

Until the organization of the Historical Commission no effort seems to have been made to preserve these manuscripts. They were hauled out of the Governor's office and literally dumped into the leaky and dilapidated attic of the building on Fayetteville street now occupied by the State Insurance Commissioner. There they were left without protection from rain, fire, or pilferers. Indeed, access to them was allowed to anyone who desired to rummage through them. Consequently, many important documents have been lost. But the greater part has been rescued, and they are now preserved among the collections of the Historical Commission, where they are being classified and filed as rapidly as possible. Ultimately a card index will be made so as to make them easily accessible to investigators. Mr. Edmonds has classified and filed the correspondence of the following Governors: Richard Caswell (1777-1780 and 1784-1787); Abner Nash (1780-1781); Thomas Burke (1781-1782); Alexander Martin (1782-1784 and 1789-1792); Samuel Johnston (1787-1789); Richard Dobbs Spaight, Sr. (1792-1795); Samuel Ashe (1795-1798); William R. Davie (1798-1799); Benjamin Williams (1799-1802 and 1807-1808); James Turner (1802-1805); Nathaniel Alexander (1805-1807); David Stone (1808-1810); Benjamin Smith (1810-1811); William Hawkins (1811-1814); William Miller (1814-1817); John Branch (1817-1820); Jesse Franklin (1820-1821); Gabriel Holmes (1821-1824); Hutchings G. Burton (1824-1827); James Iredell (1827-1828); John Owen (1828-1830); Montfort Stokes (1830-1832); David L. Swain (1832-1835); Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jr. (1835-1836); Edward Dudley (1836-1841); John M. Morehead (1841-1845); William A. Graham (1845-1849); David S. Reid (1851-1854); Thomas Bragg (1855-1859); Zebulon B. Vance (1862-1865 and 1877-1879).

Thus far, of this collection, 14,754 letters and other documents have been filed, representing 9,581 correspondents. The work will be continued as rapidly as possible till the classification and filing of the Executive Letters has been completed, and then a card index will be prepared.

Collections of Private Papers.

During the period covered by this report the Commission secured ten collections of manuscripts of more than ordinary value and interest, as follows: the David L. Swain Collection; the Charles E. Johnson Collection; Letters and Papers of Zebulon B. Vance; Letters and Papers of Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer; Letters and Papers of Major-General Bryan Grimes;

Letters and Papers of E. J. Hale, the Elder; Letters of William L. Saunders; Letters of James Murray (transcripts); the Papers of Richard Henderson (transcripts); and Letters from the George C. Thomas Collection.

The total number of documents embraced in these collections, including a portion of the letters of Zebulon B. Vance not yet classified, estimated at 2,000, and exclusive of numerous strictly private and family papers among the letters of General Grimes, is 8,788.

THE DAVID L. SWAIN COLLECTION.

In the report of the Commission for 1906-1908, mention was made of the fact that the North Carolina Historical Commission had received from the North Carolina Historical Society at Chapel Hill a collection of the papers of David L. Swain, for many years that Society's president and chief supporter. Since that report was made the collection has been classified and transcripts have been made. It is one of the most interesting and valuable collections of manuscripts on North Carolina history in existence. Besides much of Governor Swain's own correspondence, it embraces documents collected by him which bear on our colonial and early national history. Governor Swain's own position as publicist, educator, scholar and historian gave him a list of correspondents more varied, perhaps, than that ever enjoyed by any other North Carolinian. As an illustration of this statement a rapid glance through the collection reveals a more or less extensive correspondence with the following:

1. Scholars, Historians, Scientists, and Teachers: Louis Agassiz, George Bancroft, Henry Barnard, E. W. Caruthers, Braxton Craven, Charles F. Deems, Lyman C. Draper, Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Edward Everett, Peter Force, Francis L. Hawks, Francis Lieber, Benson J. Lossing, Griffith J. McRee, Dennison Olmstead, David Paton, William J. Rives, Jared Sparks, Mrs. Cornelia P. Spencer, William Thornton, John H. Wheeler, Calvin H. Wiley, and J. E. Worcester.

2. Governors of North Carolina: Thomas Burke, Thomas Bragg, Tod. R. Caldwell, Henry T. Clark, Edward B. Dudley, John W. Ellis, William A. Graham, W. W. Holden, James Iredell, John M. Morehead, Charles Manly, William Miller, Abner Nash, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jr., David L. Swain, and Zebulon B. Vance.

3. Judges: George E. Badger, William H. Battle, Joseph J. Davis, William Gaston, Francis Xavier Martin, R. M. Pearson, W. B. Rodman, and Thomas Ruffin.

4. United States Senators and Cabinet Officers (in addition to those included in the above lists): Aaron V. Brown, Thomas

L. Clingman, George M. Dallas, George Davis (Attorney-General in Confederate States Cabinet), James C. Dobbin, Albert Gallatin, William H. Haywood, Willie P. Mangum.

5. Miscellaneous: R. R. Bridgers, Paul C. Cameron, Dorothea L. Dix, Weldon N. Edwards, William Barry Grove, E. J. Hale, John Haywood, B. F. Moore, S. F. Patterson, J. J. Pettigrew, Kenneth Rayner, John Steele, and N. W. Woodfin.

A few of the above, it is obvious, are among the manuscripts collected by, but not written to Governor Swain. The total number of manuscripts in the collection is 1,065.

THE CHARLES E. JOHNSON COLLECTION.

This collection was deposited with the Historical Commission by Colonel Charles E. Johnson, of Raleigh. It is one of the largest and most important manuscript collections relating to the history of North Carolina in existence. But it has a much wider interest even than that, for much of it has an important bearing on the history of the United States especially for the period immediately following the close of the Revolution to the close of the eighteenth century. We owe the collection and preservation of these fine manuscripts to the interest and activity of Colonel Johnson, who has spared neither trouble nor expense in getting it together. It is proper, therefore, that it should be known as "The Charles E. Johnson Collection."

Besides various miscellaneous letters and papers, the collection embraces the papers of James Iredell, Sr., Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and James Iredell, Jr., Governor of North Carolina and United States Senator. In it will be found the correspondence between James Iredell, Sr., and Samuel Johnston; between Samuel Johnston and his sister, Mrs. James Iredell, Sr.; between James Iredell, Sr., and his wife; between Mr. and Mrs. James Iredell, Jr., and their children; the letters of Arthur Iredell to his brother, James Iredell, Sr.; of Thomas Iredell to his nephew, James Iredell, Sr.; the correspondence between James Iredell, Sr., and various persons not members of the Iredell family; between James Iredell, Jr., and persons not members of the Iredell family; between James Iredell, Jr., and various members of the Iredell family; between James Iredell, Jr., and his wife; letters of James C. Johnston; and numerous business and legal papers, school essays, notes, memoranda, etc. All told, the collection embraces 2,529 manuscripts.

They have been classified and filed under the following heads: A—Letters to James Iredell, Sr.; B—Letters written by James Iredell, Sr.; C—Letters to Mrs. James Iredell, Sr.; D—Letters to James Iredell, Jr.; E—Letters written by James Iredell, Jr.;

F—Letters to Mrs. James Iredell, Jr.; G—Miscellaneous Letters; H—Miscellaneous Papers; I—Legal Documents.

Letters in this collection date from 1743 to 1869. Among them are 224 letters from Governor Samuel Johnston, 560 letters and original drafts of letters written by Judge Iredell, besides a large number of autograph "legal notes," "memoranda," "miscellaneous documents," etc.; and 127 letters written by Governor Iredell. In addition to these the collection contains letters of Hugh Williamson, Bushrod Washington, William Hooper, John Jay, John Steele, William H. Battle, John Stanly, and the following Governors of North Carolina: William R. Davie, Benjamin Smith, David Stone, John Branch, Gabriel Holmes, Montfort Stokes, David L. Swain, and Hutchings G. Burton.

The collection is particularly strong in letters and other documents bearing on the domestic, social, and industrial life of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

THE ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE COLLECTIONS.

In December, 1909, Mrs. Z. B. Vance presented to the Historical Commission all the letters, manuscripts and other documents of the late Senator Zebulon Baird Vance which were in her possession. Since then additions to the collection have been made by the following: Thomas S. Kenan, of Raleigh; E. C. Beddingfield, of Raleigh; J. A. Bradshaw, of New York City; C. W. Allgood, of Jessama, N. C.; George W. Charlotte, of Greenville, S. C.; N. H. Cohen, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. J. A. Foil, of Newton, N. C.; Samuel H. Heller, of Richmond, Va.; Mrs. W. A. Hart, of Tarboro, N. C.; George D. Green, of Wilson, N. C.; Mrs. Jane L. Fagg, of Washington, D. C.; John M. Davidson, of Kingston, Ga.; W. R. Bond, of Scotland Neck, N. C.; Fred A. Olds, Director of the Hall of History, Raleigh, N. C.; W. Vance Brown, of Asheville, N. C.; J. G. deR. Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; W. K. Boyd, of Trinity College, Durham, N. C.; and Marshall DeLancey Haywood, of Raleigh, N. C.

This collection, which will be known as "The Zebulon Baird Vance Collection," is one of the largest and, it seems scarcely necessary to say, one of the most important and interesting collections of manuscripts relating to the history of North Carolina in existence. It is not possible to state now the exact number of documents which it contains, as the work of classification and filing has not yet been completed. Enough, however, has been done to show that the collection is especially strong on the period from 1859 to 1879. There are a few scattering letters, of considerable interest, prior to the former date; those subse-

quent to the latter date have not yet been classified. They form a large portion of the collection and will probably number about 2,000 documents. The letter bearing the earliest date was written to Senator Vance by his mother, in 1843, while he was attending Washington College, in Tennessee. Between that date and 1879, there are 1,534 letters, besides a numerous collection of printed documents, newspapers and newspaper clippings, notes and memoranda which have not yet been classified.

A very large majority of these letters bear date between 1862 and 1865, and throw a flood of light on the history of North Carolina during the Civil War. They are particularly valuable as showing the internal conditions in the State during those years, the State's relations to the Confederate Government, and her activities in the purchase of military, and other supplies in foreign countries.

To mention a few only as illustrative of the value of the collection, there are letters from the following:

1. President of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis.
2. President of the United States, Andrew Johnson.
3. Confederate States Cabinet Officers: Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State; John C. Breckenridge, Secretary of War; George Davis, Attorney-General; S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy; C. G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. Randolph, Secretary of War; John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General; James A. Seddon, Secretary of War; George W. Smith, Secretary of War; G. A. Trenholm, Secretary of the Treasury.
4. United States and Confederate Senators and Representatives: Bedford Brown, United States Senator from North Carolina; Thomas Corwin, United States Senator from Ohio; W. T. Dortch, Confederate States Senator from North Carolina; William A. Graham, United States and Confederate States Senator from North Carolina; A. S. Merrimon, United States Senator from North Carolina; E. G. Reade, Confederate States Senator from North Carolina; John A. Gilmer, United States Representative from North Carolina; J. M. Harris, United States Representative from Maryland; J. M. Leach, Confederate States Representative from North Carolina; W. N. H. Smith, United States Representative from North Carolina.
5. Governors of States: M. L. Bonham, of South Carolina; Thomas Bragg, of North Carolina; Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia; Tod R. Caldwell, of North Carolina; Thomas M. Holt, of North Carolina; John Letcher, of Virginia; Charles Manly, of North Carolina; William Smith, of Virginia; David L. Swain, of North Carolina; Jonathan Worth, of North Carolina.
6. Confederate Generals: Rufus Barringer, Brigadier-General; C. T. Beauregard, General; Braxton Bragg, General;

Thomas L. Clingman, Brigadier-General; D. H. Hill, Major-General; R. F. Hoke, Lieutenant-General; Bradley T. Johnson, Brigadier-General; Joseph E. Johnston, General; Robert E. Lee, General; C. Leventhorpe, Brigadier-General; James J. Pettigrew, Brigadier-General; W. H. C. Whiting, Major-General.

7. Miscellaneous: K. P. Battle, State Treasurer; R. H. Battle, Jr., Private Secretary to Governor Vance and State Auditor; Coleman-Vance Correspondence, relating to their duel; Alexander Collie, Financial Agent for North Carolina in England; Charles F. Deems, E. J. Hale, Editor of the *Fayetteville Observer*; Richmond M. Pearson, Chief Justice of North Carolina; Samuel F. Phillips; William H. Seward, Secretary of State, U. S. A.; W. T. Sherman, Major-General, U. S. A.; Mrs. Cornelia P. Spencer; Edward Stanly, Provisional Governor of North Carolina (appointed by President Lincoln); Josiah Turner, Jr.; Edward Warren, Surgeon-General of North Carolina; John White, Purchasing Agent for North Carolina in England.

8. Letters written by Governor Vance, to Jefferson Davis, President C. S. A.; William H. Seward, Secretary of State, U. S. A.; Mrs. Z. B. Vance; Edward Stanly, Provisional Governor of North Carolina; the General Assembly of North Carolina (resignation as U. S. Senator, 1872); H. A. Gilliam; Brigadier-General Schofield, U. S. A.; Inaugural Address in Vance's handwriting, 1864; Richmond M. Pearson, Chief Justice of North Carolina; James A. Seddon, Secretary of War, C. S. A.; C. G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury, C. S. A.; Joseph E. Johnston, General, C. S. A.; John C. Breckenridge, Secretary of War, C. S. A.; W. T. Sherman, Major-General, U. S. A.

The above, of course, embraces only a very small portion of the collection. A special copyist has been employed to prepare the collection for the press, and as soon as practicable the manuscripts will be edited and published.

THE CORNELIA PHILLIPS SPENCER COLLECTION.

A small but interesting collection received in July, 1910, is "The Cornelia Phillips Spencer Collection," presented to the Historical Commission by Mrs. James L. Love, of Cambridge, Mass., Mrs. Spencer's daughter. Mrs. Spencer was perhaps the most distinguished woman in the history of North Carolina. As a scholar, historian, and educational leader, she attained high rank. In recognition both of her contributions to the literature of the State and of her work in behalf of the University, the University of North Carolina conferred upon her the degree of LL.D. She is the only woman who has thus been honored by that institution.

The letters and documents in the "Cornelia Phillips Spencer Collection" number 372. Of these, 33 are in a bound volume labeled "Correspondence pertaining to the work done by the ladies of North Carolina, directed by Mrs. Spencer, for making money to pay for apparatus needed by the University at the time of the re-opening in 1875;" and 57 are in a volume labeled "Letters in regard to information about the Alumni of the University of North Carolina." This latter group contains data collected by Mrs. Spencer for the volume on the History of the University and her Alumni, prepared by Mrs. Spencer at the request of the University Alumni Association. The other 282 letters have been classified and filed under the three heads, A—Letters to Mrs. Spencer; B—Letters written by Mrs. Spencer; C—Miscellaneous Letters.

Among them are letters from Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University of North Carolina; Kemp P. Battle, President of the University of North Carolina; William H. Battle, Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina; R. H. Battle, Jr., Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina; Paul C. Cameron; Charles F. Deems; Lyman C. Draper, Historian and Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society; William A. Graham; E. J. Hale; Benson J. Lossing, Historian; David L. Swain, President of the University of North Carolina; Hannis Taylor, U. S. Minister to Spain; Josiah Turner, Jr., Editor; Z. B. Vance, Governor of North Carolina, and George T. Winston, President of the University of North Carolina.

THE BRYAN GRIMES COLLECTION.

In September, 1910, the Historical Commission received from Mrs. Bryan Grimes a large and interesting collection of papers of the late Major-General Bryan Grimes. General Grimes was a member of the Secession Convention of 1861. Immediately upon the secession of North Carolina he offered his services to the State, and was appointed by Governor Ellis a major in the Fourth Regiment of North Carolina State Troops, then commanded by Colonel George B. Anderson. General Grimes served throughout the war and was promoted through the several grades of service until he attained the rank of Major-General in Stonewall Jackson's Corps. He planned the last battle fought by the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox, and commanded the infantry engaged therein, the greater part of whom were North Carolina troops.

The Bryan Grimes Collection includes a large number of personal and private papers which have not been classified except in a very general way. As they relate largely to family affairs

they have not been placed among the general public files of the Commission, but have been placed among the special files where they can be consulted by those who may be interested in them.

In the general files have been placed those letters and documents which bear on the public and military career of General Grimes, and such other documents as bear on the general history of the State. Of these the collection contains 494 manuscripts and printed documents. They have been classified and filed under the following heads: A—Letters to General Grimes; B—Military Papers; C—Letters and Documents written by General Grimes; D—Miscellaneous Letters and Documents; E—Printed documents.

Among the letters to General Grimes may be noted letters from Kemp P. Battle, President of the University of North Carolina; George Davis, Attorney-General, C. S. A.; General Jubal A. Early; Daniel G. Fowle, Governor of North Carolina; Ed Graham Haywood; General John B. Gordon; General D. H. Hill; General J. J. Pettigrew; Kenneth Rayner, Representative in Congress, and William L. Saunders, Secretary of State of North Carolina.

By far the most valuable portion of the collection is that embraced under the head "Military Papers." This comprises letters, orders, commissions, reports, and other similar documents. The total of the documents under this head is 160. Among them are letters and documents bearing the signatures of Brigadier-General George B. Anderson; Secretary of War John C. Breckenridge; Governor Henry T. Clark; Adjutant-General Samuel Cooper; Brigadier-General W. R. Cox; Brigadier-General Junius Daniel; Lieutenant-General J. A. Early; Governor John W. Ellis; Adjutant-General Daniel G. Fowle; Major-General John B. Gordon; Major-General D. H. Hill; General Robert E. Lee; Lieutenant-General James Longstreet; Brigadier-General Stephen B. Ramseur; Major-General R. E. Rhodes; Secretary of War James A. Seddon, and Colonel W. H. Taylor.

THE E. J. HALE COLLECTION.

In August, 1910, Hon. E. J. Hale, formerly Consul of the United States to Manchester, England, presented to the Historical Commission a portion of the extensive correspondence of E. J. Hale (the Elder) and E. J. Hale & Son, editors and owners of the *Fayetteville Observer*.

This collection covers the years from 1832 to 1869, and is especially strong on political affairs in North Carolina immediately preceding and during the Civil War. During the greater part of the administration of Governor Vance, the *Fayetteville Observer* was recognized as the chief organ of the

administration and the spokesman for the old line Union men of North Carolina.

The paper was established in 1817, and is, therefore, the oldest newspaper now published in North Carolina. For more than three-quarters of a century it has been under the control of E. J. Hale and his sons.

At one time the correspondence of the editors of the *Fayetteville Observer* would have formed one of the largest and most important manuscript collections in the South. But four disastrous fires have succeeded in reducing it to that portion now in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. This portion contains 397 letters, most of which bear witness of their narrow escape from flames and water.

The collection embraces letters to E. J. Hale from 88 persons, to E. J. Hale & Son from 104 persons, letters written by E. J. Hale to eight persons, by E. J. Hale & Son to 12 persons, and miscellaneous letters from five persons, making a total of 217. Among them are letters from the following:

1. North Carolina Supreme Court Justices: Thomas S. Ashe, E. G. Reade, William H. Battle, Frederick Nash, Richmond M. Pearson, and Thomas Ruffin.

2. Governors of North Carolina: William A. Graham, William W. Holden, John M. Morehead, David L. Swain, Zebulon B. Vance, Charles Manly, and Jonathan Worth.

3. Miscellaneous: Daniel M. Barringer, United States Minister to Spain; Victor C. Barringer, Judge of the International Court at Alexandria, Egypt; R. H. Battle, Private Secretary to Governor Vance; Paul C. Cameron, President of the North Carolina Railroad; George Davis, Attorney-General, C. S. A.; Francis L. Hawks, Historian; D. H. Hill, Major-General C. S. A.; Mrs. Cornelia P. Spencer, Historian; John A. Gilmer, Representative in Congress.

THE WILLIAM L. SAUNDERS COLLECTION.

While rummaging about the Capitol the Secretary of the Historical Commission accidentally discovered an old letter file containing a small collection of the letters of the late Colonel William L. Saunders, for many years Secretary of State, and the editor of the Colonial Records of North Carolina. Though the collection is small, it contains some letters and manuscripts of considerable interest. The documents of chief interest are those bearing on the affairs of the University of North Carolina (Colonel Saunders was Secretary of the Board of Trustees), and on his work in collecting the Colonial Records.

In the collection are letters from the following: Kemp P. Battle, President of the University; W. H. H. Cowles, Representa-

tive in Congress; R. H. Creecy, Editor; Thomas J. Jarvis, at that time American Ambassador to Brazil; John Manning, for many years professor of law at the University; Samuel F. Phillips, U. S. Solicitor-General; Matt W. Ransom, U. S. Senator; W. Noel Sainsbury, who transcribed the documents in the British Public Records Office for use in the Colonial Records of North Carolina; David Schenck, President Guilford Battle Ground Company; Mrs. Cornelia P. Spencer, Author; A. M. Waddell, Member of Congress; Justin Winsor, Author, and A. M. Scales, Governor of North Carolina.

The collection contains 115 letters and other documents.

THE JAMES MURRAY COLLECTION.

In February, 1910, the North Carolina Historical Commission, through the courtesy of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, received a collection of transcripts of letters of James Murray. Murray was a planter in North Carolina from 1735 to 1763, one of the founders and earliest settlers of Wilmington, the first collector for that port, and for several years a member of the Governor's Council. He had no sympathy with the contests of the colonists against the British Crown and always remained a staunch royalist. In 1763 he removed to Boston.

In the collection are 77 letters which bear date from 1760 to 1796. They were prepared for, but not used in the volume of "Letters of James Murray, Loyalist," edited by Nina M. Tiffany, assisted by Susan I. Lesley. Originally they formed a portion of some papers of the Murray family which were presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. Archibald Murray Howe, of Boston, these transcripts being in duplicate. Writing to the Secretary of the Historical Commission, Mr. Ford said:

"It was his [Mr. Howe's] wish that the set of transcripts, so far as they were in duplicate, should be given to the State of North Carolina. They do not bulk very large, but the material seems to be good as history."

Due acknowledgement of these documents has been made to Mr. Howe.

THE RICHARD HENDERSON PAPERS.

From the Wisconsin Historical Society the Commission secured transcripts of the papers of Richard Henderson, contained in the collections of that Society. Richard Henderson, founder of the North Carolina family of that name, was prominent in the Colonial affairs of North Carolina and was the founder of the "Colony of Transylvania," which has since de-

collected into the *Diary of Henderson*. These papers were collected by the late Thomas C. Berger, founder of the Wisconsin Historical Society; others are many of the sources of early North Carolina history, have been preserved.

They contain the articles of agreement for the Transylvania Company; Henderson's original journal (1774); numerous original letters and other legal documents bearing upon the Transylvanian colony; a brief sketch of the Henderson family; extracts from a series of articles entitled "Scenes of Western History," published in 1800 in the *Lancaster News-Letter*, in which were published several original documents relating to Henderson and the colony; and copies of letters, mostly to Mr. Berger, from F. W. Hilditch, N. L. Sears, A. E. Henderson, Hamilton C. Jones, Nathaniel Hunt, and other North Carolinians.

The total number of manuscripts entered in the collection is 481.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS COLLECTION.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Edmund C. Burnett, of the Geographic Institution, Washington, and Mr. A. Howard Ritter, of Philadelphia, executor of the estate of the late Mr. George C. Thomas, of Philadelphia, permission was obtained from Mrs. Thomas for the North Carolina Historical Commission to have copied letters to or from North Carolinians in Mr. Thomas's collection of the letters of signatures to the Continental Congress and the Convention of 1776. Through this means the Commission has obtained 25 manuscripts of letters and other documents, among which are letters from John Penn, Richard Caswell, William R. Davie, Joseph Hewes, Alexander Martin, and other North Carolina Revolutionary leaders.

OTHER ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

We have also to acknowledge the courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society for permission to have copied four letters of William R. Davie; of the Massachusetts Historical Society for four transcripts of letters of William R. Davie; of the Library of Princeton University for a copy of one letter of William R. Davie; and of Edmund C. Burnett for a copy of a letter of Cornelius Barnett.

THE JOHN H. BATES COLLECTION.

To this collection 100 letters were added, making a total now of 581.



Condition of the Executive File since coming into the hands of the State Historical Commission.

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SUMMARY.

Summarizing the above we find the following results:

The David L. Swain collection.....	1,065
The Charles E. Johnson collection.....	2,529
The Z. B. Vance collection (estimated).....	3,534
The Cornelia Phillips Spencer collection.....	372
The Bryan Grimes collection.....	494
The E. J. Hale collection.....	397
The William L. Saunders collection.....	115
The James Murray collection (transcripts).....	77
The Richard Henderson papers (transcripts).....	61
The George C. Thomas collection (transcripts).....	25
The John H. Bryan collection.....	109
Miscellaneous (transcripts)	10

Total	8,788
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If we add to these the manuscripts received by the Commission during the biennial period, November 30, 1906, to December 1, 1908, which number, as stated in the last report, 3,135, we find that the manuscripts added to the collection of the State by the Historical Commission since its present organization, number 11,824.

Items from the "Virginia Gazette."

From the files of the *Virginia Gazette* in the Virginia State Library, the Commission had copied the North Carolina items beginning with the issue of January 10, 1771, and closing with that of December 20, 1776. In the absence of North Carolina Colonial newspapers these items are of considerable historical interest. The number of such items for each year is as follows:

1771	47
1772	32
1773	33
1774	22
1775	15
1776	39
Total	188

Copying.

Preparatory to publication the Commission has had copied the "Journals of the Board of Internal Improvements from 1821 to 1850," and the "Reports to the Board of Internal Im-

provements for 1822." It is expected that ultimately a publication containing a documentary history of internal improvements in North Carolina will be issued.

A special copyist has been employed to copy the letters and papers in the Vance Collection and considerable progress has been made in that work.

As all the originals in the Swain Collection must ultimately be returned to the North Carolina Historical Society all the documents in that collection have been copied. The same work is being done with the Charles E. Johnson Collection.

Publications.

During the period covered by this report the Historical Commission issued the following publications:

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History. 1790-1840. Compiled and edited by Charles L. Coon. In two volumes.

The first volume contains the Editor's Introduction in two parts: I. Educational and Economic Conditions. 1790-1840; II. Educational Agitation, Measures and Results. This introduction covers 47 pages and is a sketch of the fifty years of agitation which resulted in the enactment of the first public school law of North Carolina. Volume I also contains the original documents covering the period to 1832. Volume II covers the period from 1832 to 1840. The publication contains such documents as wills, Governors' messages, reports of the Literary Board, other public documents, memorials and petitions, extracts from newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, etc. The two volumes contain 238 documents.

CORRESPONDENCE OF JONATHAN WORTH.

The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth. Compiled and edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D., Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. In two volumes.

Volume I contains a Biographical Sketch of Jonathan Worth, by Dr. Hamilton, together with his correspondence from February 25, 1841, to June 29, 1866. Volume II contains the correspondence to February, 1868. The two volumes contain 1,064 letters written by Governor Worth, 204 written to him, and 42 miscellaneous letters, a total of 1,310. The two volumes contain 1,313 pages.

A POCKET MANUAL.

A Pocket Manual of North Carolina for the Use of Members of the General Assembly of 1909. 281 pages.

The Manual contains: (1) An Official Register for the year 1909; (2) Officers and Members of the State Senate; (3) Senatorial Districts; (4) Senate Rules and Standing Committees; (5) Officers and Members of the House of Representatives; (6) House Rules and Standing Committees; (7) Sketches of the Several Departments, Bureaux and Commissions of the State Government; (8) Sketches of the Educational and Charitable Institutions of the State; (9) Election Returns for North Carolina, 1900 to 1908; (10) Constitution of the State of North Carolina; (11) Biographical Sketches of the State Officials, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Supreme Court Justices, and Members of the General Assembly.

BULLETIN NO. 3.

Bulletin No. 3 is "The Second Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1906-1908." 21 pages. Besides the report of the work of the Commission for the years 1906-1908, this Bulletin contains an account of the historical activities of the several patriotic organizations of the State during the same period.

BULLETIN NO. 4.

Bulletin No. 4 is an address on "David Paton, Architect of the North Carolina State Capitol," by Samuel A. Ashe, delivered in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol at Raleigh, March 12, 1909, upon the occasion of the presentation of the portrait of David Paton to the State, by his children and grandchildren, and its Acceptance by Governor W. W. Kitchin. 19 pages.

BULLETIN NO. 5.

Bulletin No. 5 is a history of "The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1666-1909," by J. Byran Grimes, Secretary of State. The Bulletin contains cuts of every seal ever in use in this State, as follows: "Seal of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina" (obverse and reverse); "Seal of the Government of Albemarle and Province of North Carolina, 1666 to 1730"; "Seal of the Province of North Carolina, 1730-1767" (obverse and reverse); "Seal of the Province of Carolina used after 1767" (obverse and reverse); "Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1779-1794" (obverse and reverse); "Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1794-1836"; "Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1836-1883"; "Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1893-1909." All the cuts are the actual size of the Seals. 32 pages.

BULLETIN NO. 6.

Bulletin No. 6 is "The Significance of History in a Democracy," by C. Alphonso Smith, Professor of the English Lan-

guage, University of North Carolina. An address delivered at the unveiling of a monument to the Muse of History on the Guilford Battle Ground near Greensboro, N. C., July 3, 1909. 11 pages.

BULLETIN NO. 7.

Bulletin No. 7 contains the "Addresses at the Unveiling of the Bust of William A. Graham," by the North Carolina Historical Commission, in the Rotunda of the State Capitol, Delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, January 12, 1910. Contents. 1. Introductory Address by J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission. 2. William Alexander Graham, by Frank Nash. 3. The Value of Historical Memorials in a Democratic State, by Thomas W. Mason. 4. Presentation of the Bust on behalf of the North Carolina Historical Commission, by J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman. 5. Acceptance by the Governor of North Carolina. 94 pages.

BULLETIN NO. 8.

Bulletin No. 8, "Canova's Statue of Washington," by R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, is a history of the original Statue and of the presentation of a Replica by the Italian Government to the State of North Carolina, in 1909. The Bulletin contains a short sketch of the Statue, followed by the principal letters and other documents on file in the Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and a calendar of unpublished manuscripts relating to the Statue. Contains half-tones of the Replica presented to the State of North Carolina by the Italian Government, from the original cast in the Canova Museum, at Possagno, Italy; of an Engraving (1840) of the Statue as it appeared on the pedestal, in the State House Rotunda, at Raleigh; and of the Ruins of the Statue, now preserved in the Hall of History at Raleigh. 96 pages.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY LEAFLETS.

Series I. Nos. 1 to 7. Reprints from Hackluyt's Voyages of the original accounts of the Voyages of Amadas and Barlowe, to Roanoke Island, Ralph Lane's Colony, and John White's Colony, for use in the schools of the State.

It has been the policy of the Commission to distribute these publications as widely as possible, with due regard to their proper use, and to place them in the great libraries of the country where they may be available for students of American history. With a copy of Mr. Coon's "Public Education in

North Carolina: A Documentary History. 1790-1840," in the Library of Harvard University there will be no justifiable excuse in the future for a Harvard Professor of History stating in a book on the South intended to be authoritative, that no Southern State before the Civil War made any effort to organize a system of public schools.

Requests for our publications have been received from libraries and individuals in New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Delaware, California, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, South Carolina, Minnesota, Indiana, Washington, North Dakota, and Canada; and whenever a request has seemed to be prompted by a proper interest in our work it has been favorably met.

All told, we have distributed 247 copies of the "Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History. 1790-1840"; and 290 copies of "The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth."

Busts.

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

In the report for 1906-1908 it was stated that an order had been placed with Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, sculptor, for a marble bust of William A. Graham, to be set up in one of the niches in the rotunda of the State Capitol. The bust was completed in November, 1909, and received by the Commission in December. On January 12, 1910, in the presence of the Governor of North Carolina, the Council of State, the Grand Lodge of Masons, and a large audience, it was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies. The ceremonies consisted of addresses by Mr. Frank Nash, Hon. Thomas W. Mason, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the Historical Commission, and His Excellency, Hon. W. W. Kitchin, Governor of North Carolina. These addresses have been published in Bulletin No. 7.

MATT W. RANSOM.

March 4, 1910, Hon. R. W. Winston addressed a communication to the Historical Commission containing information that he had in hand funds sufficient for the erection of a bust of the late Senator Matt W. Ransom and placing the same at the disposal of the Commission, the bust to occupy one of the niches in the rotunda of the State Capitol. The Commission accepted the offer of the fund, and a contract for making the bust was signed with Mr. Ruckstuhl. The bust has been completed and will be unveiled sometime in the early part of January, 1911.

Canova's Statue of Washington.

In 1815, the General Assembly of North Carolina adopted a resolution authorizing the Governor "to purchase on behalf of this State a full length statue of General Washington." In compliance with this resolution Governor Miller signed a contract for the statue with Antonio Canova, of Rome, at that time acknowledged to be the greatest living sculptor in the world. Upon the completion of the statue it was delivered to the State and set up in the rotunda of the State Capitol, December 24, 1821.

On the morning of June 21, 1831, the State House was destroyed by fire and with it Canova's statue of Washington. The next General Assembly appropriated \$5,000 for the restoration of the statue and employed an English sculptor, Robert Ball Hughes, to do the work. But Hughes, after receiving part of the money, proved faithless to his engagement and nothing came of it.

For many years the ruins of the statue stood on exhibition in the Hall of History, a melancholy reminder of the treasure that had brought so much gratification to the people of North Carolina. Nobody dreamed that the statue could be replaced, and the State consoled herself for her loss by the purchase of a bronze replica of Houdon's statue of Washington at Richmond. But in 1908 the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission learned through Hon. Bellamy Storer, former Ambassador of the United States to Austria, that the original model made by Canova himself still existed in the Canova Museum at Possagno, Italy. A request for further information directed to Hon. Lloyd C. Griscom, American Ambassador at Rome, brought a reply in which it was intimated that the Italian Government would present to the State of North Carolina a plaster replica of the statue. This offer was promptly accepted, and in January, 1910, the replica was received and set up in the State Capitol at Raleigh.

The Italian Government probably expected that the State would show her appreciation of this generous gift by having the statue carved into marble; and such expectation has been expressed by hundreds of citizens of the State who have seen the replica. The cost would be small in comparison with the value of the work.

To Diffuse Information About North Carolina.

The law imposes upon the Commission the duty "to diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina." In the performance of this duty a great many let-

ters have been written and Bulletins sent out in reply to queries about our history in general and about specific incidents in our history. It is obviously neither possible nor desirable to give anything like a summary of such requests and replies. A large majority of them, of course, have come from people within the State. But they have been by no means confined to North Carolina. Such requests have been received from Maryland, Texas, Mississippi, Illinois, South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, New York, Alabama, Oregon, Massachusetts, Missouri, Kentucky, Montana, Iowa, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Indiana, Kansas, Vermont, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, and the Argentine Republic. This phase of our work has of course increased considerably since 1908, and may be expected to increase still more in the future.

Use of our Collections by Students.

A very encouraging feature of our work is that students are beginning to find their way to the collections of the Commission and to make use of them in their investigations into North Carolina and American history. Among those who have visited the collections for personal investigations are the following: Mr. S. A. Ashe, in the preparation of his History of North Carolina; Dr. Justin H. Smith, of Boston, in his investigations for his History of the War with Mexico; Mr. J. P. H. Jenkins, of Pennsylvania, made investigations of the election returns for President prior to 1824; Mr. Frank Nash, in the preparation of his biography of William A. Graham; Dr. Archibald Henderson, in the preparation of his biography of Richard Henderson; Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, in his investigations into the history of Reconstruction in North Carolina; Mr. William H. Hoyt, of New York, in his investigations into the career of Judge Archibald D. Murphey; Dr. W. K. Boyd, in his investigations into the history of the Convention of 1835; Mr. Gilmer Korner, of Trinity College, in his investigations in the history of railroads in North Carolina; Mr. J. A. Morgan, of Cornell University, in his investigations into the history of internal improvements in North Carolina; Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, examinations of the letters of the North Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress for a series of delegates' letters to be published by the Carnegie Institution. In addition to the above many persons in all parts of the Union have made use of our collections by correspondence with the Secretary. It would scarcely be practicable or desirable to mention all of these, but the names of a few will help to show in what way the Commission is extending a knowledge of the history of North Carolina. Among those who have

thus made use of our collections are: Mr. W. A. Ellis, of Vermont, in the preparation of his History of Norwich University, at Northfield, which numbers among its alumni several North Carolinians prominent in our history; Hon. H. G. Connor, in the preparation of his Life of William Gaston; Mr. J. O. Carr, in the preparation of his recent address on William R. Davie; Dr. John Spencer Bassett, in the preparation of his Life of Andrew Jackson; and Mr. M. L. Bonham, Jr., of Columbia University, New York, in a study of the relations of the Confederate States Government to the consuls of foreign nations in Confederate ports.

It may be confidently stated that as knowledge of the character and extent of our collections is extended this phase of our work will greatly increase. In order to place this information within reach of investigators who can not make a personal visit to Raleigh, it is proposed at an early date to issue a calendar of the several collections now in our possession.

To Encourage the Study of North Carolina History.

The act creating the North Carolina Historical Commission makes it the duty of the Commission "to encourage the study of the history of North Carolina in the schools of the State." The work of the Commission in accordance with this clause has taken three lines of activity.

(1). NORTH CAROLINA DAY.

At the request of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction the Secretary of the Historical Commission prepared the programs of exercises for the celebration of North Carolina Day in the public schools in 1909 and in 1910. The program in 1909 was devoted to a study of "Western North Carolina"; that of 1910 to "North Carolina Poets and Poetry."

(2). NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY LEAFLETS.

The Commission has published, and distributed to all teachers applying for copies, reprints from Hackluyt's Voyages of the original documents giving accounts of the first English Colony in the New World. This is series 1 of the "North Carolina History Leaflets." It embraces seven leaflets which contain all the original documents which we have relating to the voyage of Amadas and Barlowe to Roanoke Island (1584); the Colony under Ralph Lane on Roanoke Island (1585-1586); the Colony under John White (1587); and White's account of his search for the Colony (1590). This series will be followed by other leaflets bearing upon important events in our history.

(3). SCHOOL ESSAYS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Many requests have been received from pupils, especially from high school pupils, for reference to sources bearing upon a variety of subjects to North Carolina history. Such requests have always been answered as fully as possible.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS.

Most encouraging of all the activities of the year is the increased interest manifested in the history of North Carolina by the schools of the State. Ten years ago probably not a school in North Carolina included the subject in its course of study. Today, no public school in North Carolina can omit North Carolina history from its course of study without disobeying the law of the State. In order to ascertain to what extent and with what results this law is being obeyed, I addressed a letter of inquiry to the superintendents of our city schools, asking: (1) What work was done in North Carolina history during the past year; (2) how it compared in amount, in the time devoted to it, and in the interest manifested by pupils, with the work of previous years; (3) how it compared with the work planned for the present year. The superintendents of twenty-seven towns and cities replied. Their replies are interesting and encouraging. Let me summarize them briefly as follows:¹

Newton reported that interest in North Carolina history among the pupils is "increasing"; Stony Point, that it is "encouraging"; Kenly that "last year's work [was] far more satisfactory than that done any previous year." Waynesville reported "good results." Greenville found the work last year "very much more satisfactory than it has heretofore been." Morganton has a course in North Carolina history extending through three years. Maxton increased the amount of work done over the previous year by the addition of work in local history. Gastonia has entered upon "an era of interest" in our history. At Edenton the "children take a lively interest" in North Carolina history, while those of Ashboro find it both "interesting and profitable." Randleman included North Carolina history in the course of study. At Statesville the subject is studied "more and more from year to year with increasing interest." The pupils of Elizabeth City manifested an "enthusiastic love" of the work, and formed a County Memorial Society for the purpose of marking historic spots in Pasquotank County and of collecting an historical museum. Last year Marion "devoted more time to North Carolina history than formerly," and during the present year has offered a medal for the best work on the subject. Scotland Neck reports: "The interest in North Carolina history has grown from year to year, and we

¹ These reports cover the year 1908-1909.

have secured better results every succeeding year." During the present year, Jonesboro has increased the work over that done last year. Durham has done likewise. Weldon has increased the work every year since the organization of the school, securing increased interest each year. The pupils of Monroe last year "took an extraordinary interest in their North Carolina history work, and appeared really to enjoy the history period." They found the settlement maps, showing in different colors the sections of the State settled by the English, the Scotch, the Germans, and the Scotch-Irish, with small pictures of log cabins pasted on the sites of the oldest towns, exceedingly instructive. Within the past year Roxboro "doubled our [her] efforts to stimulate the practical study of North Carolina history." Hertford confesses that she is by no means doing what she could do, but as an honest confession is said to be good for the soul, we feel encouraged to hope that next year progress may be reported. Such, at least, proved to be the case with High Point, for High Point confessed that last year "practically nothing was done of a serious nature," but this year "a fairly good course in the history of our State has been inaugurated." The children of La Grange like North Carolina history when presented by live, competent teachers. Pilot Mountain found that the pupils were interested, and declared that the prospects for good work during the coming year are encouraging. The work at Belhaven last year was "not satisfactory," but more time will be given to it during the coming year. Hickory last year devoted twice as much time to it as during any previous year, and found that the pupils manifested "much more interest in the history of our State." It is evident, I think, from these reports, that the children of the State have at last taken hold of the subject, so that the future is secure.

General Summary.

Summarizing the foregoing report we find the following results of our work during the biennial period, December 1, 1908-November 30, 1910:

1. We have saved from destruction, classified and filed 14,754 letters and other documents of the Executive Department, beginning with the administration of Governor Caswell, 1777, and closing with that of Governor Vance, 1879.

2. We have added to the collections of the State 8,788 manuscripts of the greatest historical value.

3. We have had a large number of these manuscripts copied preparatory to publication.

4. We have issued ten publications, besides seven leaflets in which were reprinted historical sources for use in teaching North Carolina history in the public schools.

5. We have procured for the State marble busts of two of her most eminent statesmen.

6. We have obtained through the gift of a foreign government a replica of the statue of Washington by Canova.

7. We have assisted a large number of students in their investigations into North Carolina history, have given information about the history of the State wherever it was possible, and have encouraged in many ways the study of our history in the schools of the State.

PART II.**HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA 1909-1910**

Under the impression that one of the most effective ways in which the State Historical Commission can encourage the study of North Carolina history is by keeping a record of the various historical activities in the State, I have carefully kept notes of all such activities as have been brought to my attention; and have asked of the numerous patriotic organizations in the State reports of their work. Most of them have responded cheerfully and most encouragingly. It is taken for granted that those which have not responded have done nothing to report. Those who are interested in the development of an historical interest and sentiment in North Carolina, and who believe that the cultivation of such a sentiment is of the utmost importance in the development of the character of a people, will find much to encourage and stimulate them in the facts set forth in these reports.

I wish to take this opportunity of returning my thanks for and expressing my appreciation of the courtesy of the various officials who have furnished me with the data upon which this review of the historical activities in North Carolina from November 30, 1908, to December 1, 1910, is based.

The New Bern Bicentennial.

One of the most interesting events of the past year was the celebration at New Bern of the bicentennial of the founding of the city. The ceremonies occupied the entire week of July 25-29. Historical addresses of much interest and value were delivered by Mr. C. J. McCarthy, Mayor of New Bern; Hon. F. M. Simmons, United States Senator; Dr. Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois, representing the German-American National Alliance; and by Hon. Hannis Taylor, a native of New Bern.

The other exercises consisted of historical pageants in which the landing of the Colonists, the founding of the city, the struggles with the Indians, and other events in the history of New Bern were skilfully represented; and an industrial pageant in which the industries of the New Bern of today were represented. Invitations to participate in the historical pageants were sent to the other cities of the State, several of which accepted and sent handsome floats.

The ceremonies were witnessed by large crowds and undoubtedly were beneficial in arousing an interest in and extending a knowledge of the early history of the State.

The Daniel Boone Memorial Association.

The General Assembly of 1909 incorporated the Daniel Boone Memorial Association. Since the passage of the act the Association has been actively at work carrying out the purposes of its organization, *i. e.*, "to perpetuate the memory of the life of Daniel Boone in North Carolina." Mr. Phillip Sowers, of Rowan County, has donated to the Association five acres of land in Boone Township, Davidson County, embracing the site of Daniel Boone's cabin. On this site the Association has constructed a replica of the cabin, a double room log house, in which it has begun and will maintain a museum of historic relics. A monument of native granite, fifteen feet in height, has been erected on the grounds by citizens of Rowan County, from which Davidson was cut off in 1822. The upper half of the monument is in the shape of a huge Indian arrow-head. The Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, Salisbury, has erected a tablet to the memory of Boone, upon which is a suitable inscription.

Mr. J. R. McCrary, Secretary of the Association, writes as follows: "The grounds have been put in fine shape for the reception of visitors who will always find some one to gladly show them Boone's Cave of Devil's Den on the banks of the Yadkin River and other points of interest. * * * The Association has only begun its work. It intends to make of this beautiful and picturesque spot a Mecca for pilgrims from everywhere. It is about twelve miles from Lexington in one direction and an equal distance from Salisbury in the other."

North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

The North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America has made an extensive list of historic spots in North Carolina that are unmarked in any way. The Society has erected a handsome marker at one of the most interesting of these places—Russelborough—the Cape Fear home of Governor Arthur Dobbs and of Governor William Tryon, near Brunswick. Russelborough was the scene of the resistance to the Stamp Act on the Cape Fear. It was here that the Minute Men of Brunswick, Wilmington and the surrounding counties, led by Ashe and Waddell and Moore and Harnett, defied the power of the British Government by successfully preventing the enforcement of the Stamp Act in North Carolina. The monument erected by the Colonial Dames on May 5, 1909, is about six feet high and four feet square at the base, tapering from top to bottom about forty degrees. It is composed of stone and brick taken from the Governor's house, which was known in 1766 as Tryon Pal-

ace. The monument stands on a bluff, overlooking the Cape Fear River, with a large white tablet facing the river, making a conspicuous mark which will endure for many generations in commemoration of those who saw the right and fearlessly pursued it. The tablet bears the following inscription:

"RUSSELBOROUGH.

"Erected by Captain John Russell, Commander of His Britannic Majesty's Sloop of War 'Scorpion,' who gave his name to this residence and tract of fifty-five acres of land adjacent to the town of Brunswick.

"Subsequently owned and occupied by the British Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Arthur Dobbs, and later conveyed to His Excellency, William Tryon, Governor.

"On the 10th of February, 1766, this building, known as Tryon's Palace, was surrounded by one hundred and fifty armed men of the Cape Fear, led by George Moore, of Orton, and Cornelius Harnett, who resisted for the first time on this continent the authority of their sovereign lord the King, by demanding from Governor Tryon the person of Captain Lobb, commander of the Sloop of War 'Viper,' and the surrender of the odious emblems of the British Parliament's Stamp Act committed to his care, which had been brought to Brunswick by Captain Phipps in the Sloop of War 'Diligence.'

"Subsequently, on the 31st day of February, 1776, at 10 a. m., a body of four hundred to five hundred Cape Fear men, in arms, under Cornelius Harnett and Colonel James Moore, surrounded this house and demanded the surrender of His Majesty's Comptroller, Mr. Pennington, and required of him an oath that he would never issue any stamped paper in this province of North Carolina.

"This monument, erected May 5, 1909, by the North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America, is composed of stones from the original foundation of Tryon's Palace on this spot."

Alamance Battle Ground Association.

The Alamance Battle Ground Association, incorporated by the General Assembly of 1909, met at Burlington on April 14, 1909, and organized by the election of the proper officers and the appointment of committees to draft by-laws and outline the work to be done.

Liberty Point Monument Association.

On June 21, 1909, at Liberty Point, in Cumberland County, a movement was inaugurated for the erection of a monument to commemorate the signing on June 20, 1775, of what is known as the "Cumberland County Association," or the "Liberty Point Declaration of Independence." This document was a test, orig-

inally drawn up by the Council of Safety of South Carolina, and signed at Charleston, June 3, 1775. Afterwards a copy was sent to Wilmington, N. C., where it was signed June 19, 1775; and another copy to Cross Creek, in Cumberland County, where it was signed by the Whigs of the Cross Creek section, on June 20, 1775. Those sturdy patriots lived in a district dominated by the Scotch-Highlanders, who were Loyalists almost to a man, and their boldness in signing such a test under such circumstances well deserves to be fittingly commemorated by their descendants.

Moore's Creek Battle Ground Association.

In 1857, the Moore's Creek Battle Ground Association erected a monument on the battlefield of Moore's Creek Bridge dedicated to the valor of the victors in that struggle. On the 29th of July, 1909, within the shadow of that monument, a second monument was unveiled and dedicated to the valor of the vanquished. These two monuments commemorate neither the victory of the one, nor the defeat of the other, but rather the courage, the loyalty to their respective causes, and the devotion to their duty, so pre-eminently displayed by both sides on that memorable field.

The monument to the Highlanders bears the following appropriate inscription:

"Here fell
Captain McLeod, Captain Campbell,
and
about fifty Highland Scots, Loyalists,
who, with splendid courage,
assaulted with claymores
the American entrenchments.
They were Heroes who did
their duty as they saw it, and are worthy of
this tribute from the descendants of the
equally brave men whom they fought.
Peace to their ashes!"

"Erected by the
The Moore's Creek Memorial Association.
1909."

King's Mountain Monument.

A notable event of the year 1909, was the erection by the United States Government of an imposing monument on the site of the battle of King's Mountain. Though this monument stands on the soil of South Carolina, the battle which it com-

memorates and the erection of the monument itself were, to a very large extent, achievements of North Carolinians. The monument, erected at a cost of \$30,000, is made of North Carolina granite, and rises to a height of eighty-three and one-half feet above the ground. It rests on a foundation of solid rock beneath the earth. The north or front face bears the following inscription:

"Erected by the
Government of the United States of America,
to the establishment of which
the heroism and patriotism of those
who participated in this battle so
largely contributed."

On the west front is inscribed:

"To commemorate the victory of
King's Mountain, October 7, 1780."

The east front perpetuates the names of the killed and wounded.

The monument was unveiled on the anniversary of the battle, October 7, 1909, in the presence of the Governors of North Carolina and South Carolina, and of a vast assemblage of interested spectators.

Guilford Battle Ground Company.

The Guilford Battle Ground Company continues to hold its place among the foremost patriotic societies of the State. Since December 1, 1908, the Company has erected on the battlefield of Guilford Court House a monument to Clio, the Muse of History, a monument to David Caldwell, has completed the tablet to the memory of Peter Francisco, a Revolutionary patriot who distinguished himself for his courage and daring on numerous battlefields, and in particular at Guilford Court House.

CLIO.

The statue of Clio is a Greek figure in bronze, resting on a massive block of granite which bears on one side a bronze tablet inscribed with the following lines, written by Major Joseph M. Morehead, President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company:

"As sinking silently to night,
Noon fades insensibly,
So truth's fair phase assumes the haze
And hush of history.

"But lesser lights relieve the dark,
Dumb dreariness of night,
And o'er the past historians cast
At least a stellar light."

DAVID CALDWELL.

The statue to Reverend Doctor David Caldwell bears the following inscription:

"Dr. David Caldwell.
Born 1724—Died 1824."

On the four sides of the base are the following words:

"Preacher," "Teacher," "Physician," "Patriot."

Hon. Joseph M. Morehead, President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, after enumerating the above mentioned activities, adds: "Our main attention, however, has been directed to the passage of a bill by Mr. John M. Morehead in the Lower House of Congress for a donation to the Battle Ground of \$25,000 for a monument to General Greene. We are happy to say that long continued efforts in this line have at last secured the attention of the proper committee and of their favorable report to the House. This bill, we hope and expect, will be passed at the next session of Congress."

Daughters of the Revolution.

SITE OF FIRST COLONIAL ASSEMBLY.

On June 11, 1910, the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, Elizabeth City, N. C., unveiled a bronze tablet at Nixonton, N. C., to mark the site upon which stood the house in which met the first Assembly held in North Carolina. On the tablet is the following inscription:

"Here was held the First Albemarle Assembly, February 6, 1665.
Erected by the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, June 11, 1910."

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON.

The Penelope Barker Chapter, Edenton, has placed in St. Paul's Church, Edenton, a slate tablet, 3x4 feet, on which is the following inscription:

"This building, begun A. D. 1736 and first used A. D. 1760, is the third Church of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan Precinct, Edenton.

"The first, A. D. 1701-02, stood a mile hence on the Sound side. It was the first church building in North Carolina.

"The second was built in 1708.

"D. R., 1910."

CHOWAN COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

The same chapter has placed a similar tablet in the court house of Chowan County, on which is the following inscription:

"First settlement here, called Chuwon Precinct, 1658.

"First Court House built 1719. This Court House built 1767. Commissioners: Thomas Pollock, Joseph Hewes, Thomas Nash, Edward Vail, Wm. Lowther.

"Patriotic meeting of Freeholders and other Citizens of Chowan County and Edenton at the Court House, Presided over by Reverend Daniel Earle, August 22, 1774.

"Edenton was seat of Government of North Carolina 1722-1766."

"D. R. 1910."

These two tablets will be formally unveiled and presented in December.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

The continued publication of the North Carolina Booklet is the most noteworthy achievement of the Daughters of the Revolution. It is the only publication issued in North Carolina devoted exclusively to North Carolina history, and has contributed largely to the revival of interest in historical studies which I have already mentioned. It well deserves the support of all who are interested in the history of North Carolina and that large share of American history contributed by North Carolina and her people.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

The North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution have celebrated various anniversaries of the Revolution, given medals to the pupils of a number of schools for the best essays in North Carolina history, and erected several markers at historic sites.

SUGAR CREEK BURYING GROUND.

The Mecklenburg Chapter placed a granite marker on the wall of the old Sugar Creek Burying Ground, where many of the early pioneers of Mecklenburg are buried. The tablet bears this inscription:

"Sugar Creek Burying Ground.

1750—1825.

Erected by the Mecklenburg Chapter
Daughters of the American Revolution, 1909."

FORT DOBBS.

On November 2, 1910, the Fort Dobbs Chapter, at Statesville, dedicated a marker on the site of Fort Dobbs, about two miles from Statesville. Fort Dobbs was built by Colonel Hugh Waddell, in 1755, during the French and Indian War and was at that time the farthest outpost on the frontier. It played an important part in the war and in the settlement of Western North Carolina.

The marker is a granite boulder, 3 1-2 feet in length, 2 feet in thickness, and 2 1-2 feet in height. On the face is a polished panel upon which is the following inscription:

"Site of Fort Dobbs
1755
Erected by the Fort Dobbs Chapter, D. A. R.
1910."

BIRTHPLACE OF ANDREW JACKSON.

The Society has also placed a marker on the site of the birthplace of Andrew Jackson, seven miles from the village of Waxhaw, in Union (in 1767 part of Mecklenburg) County.

The base of the marker is eight feet square and two feet high. It is built of rough boulders laid in the foundation of the chimney of the Jackson Cabin. On this base is a tablet which shows the insignia of the Daughters of the American Revolution above which is the following inscription:

"Erected by
North Carolina
D. A. R. 1910."

Below the insignia is the following line:

"These stones were
part of the original house."

On this base is a granite slab, rough-hewn, on which stands a granite boulder, also rough-hewn, four feet high and two feet thick. On it is a bronze tablet showing the Jackson Cabin in bas-relief and bearing the following inscription:

"Here was born
March 15th, 1767
Andrew Jackson
Seventh President of the
United States."

MONUMENT TO JUNALUSKA.

On November 5, 1910, the Joseph Winston Chapter, D. A. R., of Winston-Salem, unveiled at Robbinsville a monument marking the grave of Junaluska, or as he was known in early life, Gulkalaski, the famous Cherokee Chief who contributed so materially to the victory of Andrew Jackson over the Creek Indians at Horse-Shoe Bend, on that occasion saving the life of the General. As a reward for his services the State of North Carolina by special act of the Legislature conferred citizenship upon him and donated a tract of land in what is now Graham County. The monument bears the following inscription:

"Here lie the bodies of Junaluska, the noble Cherokee Chief, and Nicie, his squaw. Together with his warriors he saved the life of General Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horse-Shoe Bend, Alabama, March 27th, 1814, and for his bravery and faithfulness North Carolina made him a citizen and gave him land in this the County of Graham. He died Nov. 20, 1858, aged almost 100 years. The monument was erected to his memory by the General Joseph Winston Chapter, D. A. R., November 5, 1910."

The Sons of the Revolution.

ABNER NASH.

On November 15, 1909, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Sons of the Revolution presented to the State a portrait of Abner Nash, Governor of North Carolina 1780-1781. The address of presentation was delivered by Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, Professor of History in the University of North Carolina, and accepted by Hon. W. W. Kitchin, Governor of North Carolina.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

On November 15, 1910, in the Senate Chamber, the same society presented to the State a portrait of William Richardson Davie, Governor of North Carolina 1798-1799. The portrait was presented on behalf of the society by Mr. James O. Carr, of Wilmington, and accepted on behalf of the State by Hon. Thomas W. Bickett, Attorney-General of North Carolina.

Captain Otway Burns.

The War of 1812 was commemorated during the year 1909 by the erection at Burnsville of a statue to the memory of Captain Otway Burns, of the privateer "Snapdragon." The statue was unveiled on July 5, 1909, in the presence of five thousand people, the address of the occasion being delivered by the Chief Justice of North Carolina. It represents Captain Burns in full

uniform, is of bronze, life-size, and mounted on a granite base of four sections. On a bronze tablet is the following inscription:

"Otway Burns.

Born in Onslow County, N. C., 1775.

Died in Portsmouth, N. C., 1850.

Sailor—Soldier—Statesman.

North Carolina's foremost son in the War of 1812-15.

For him, this town was named.

He guarded well our seas.

Let the mountains honor him."

The statue was erected by Captain Burns's grandson, Mr. Walter Francis Burns, of the city of New York.

United Daughters of the Confederacy.

The activities of the United Daughters of the Confederacy have followed five distinct lines:

1. The celebration of anniversaries.
2. The presentation of Crosses of Honor to veterans.
3. The marking of soldiers' graves.
4. The presentation of portraits to schools and libraries.
5. The erection of monuments.

ANNIVERSARIES.

The several chapters report that the following anniversaries were observed with suitable exercises: Memorial Day, and the birthdays of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston, Admiral Semmes, and William D. Pender.

I call attention to this list for the purpose of making a single observation. It is this: The list includes the name of but one North Carolinian, William D. Pender, and the only chapter that observed his birthday was the one which bears his name. It naturally occurs, therefore, to one to ask if there were no North Carolinians either in the civil or military service of the Confederacy worthy of being thus remembered? If there were, would it not be as well for us to keep their services as fresh in our memories as it is to keep fresh the memories of the great Virginians in that struggle?

PORTRAITS.

Several of the chapters have presented to public schools and libraries portraits of Lee and Jackson.

MONUMENTS.

During the period covered by this report ten Confederate monuments or other similar memorials were erected in the State, the cornerstones of three were laid, and fourteen were projected. The monuments that were completed are as follows:

CHOWAN COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

Seven years ago the Bell Battery Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, of Chowan County, began a movement for the erection of a Confederate monument at Edenton. The first contribution was made by W. D. Pruden, Jr., aged nine years, who contributed two cents to the enterprise. His pennies grew rapidly until by July, 1904, they had grown into a sum sufficient to erect a granite shaft nineteen feet high. Later this shaft was surmounted by a bronze figure of a Confederate soldier seven feet in height. The completed monument was unveiled May 10, 1909. It bears the following inscription:

"To Our Confederate Dead.
1861—1865."

[Reverse:]

"Gashed with innumerable scars,
Low in Glory's lap they lie,
Though they fell, they fell like stars,
Streaming splendor through the sky."

MACON COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

September 30, 1909, a Confederate Monument was unveiled at the town of Franklin to the Confederate soldiers of Macon County. The monument is built on a concrete foundation, is composed of twenty-seven stones, twenty-five feet in height, and is surmounted by the marble figure of a Confederate soldier six feet in height. The inscriptions are as follows:

[North side:]

Co. N.
16th Regiment, N. C. T.
Infantry.

In Memory of
The Sons of Macon County
Who served in the
War Period
1861-1865.

[West side:]

Co. B.
39th Regiment, N. C. T.
Infantry.

Co. C.
65th Regiment N. C. T.
6th Cavalry.

[South side:]

Co. D.
62nd Regiment N. C. T.
Infantry.

Co. K.
9th Regiment, N. C. T.
1st Cavalry.

[East side:]

Co. I.
39th Regiment N. C. T.
Infantry.

Co. E.
65th Regiment N. C. T.
6th Cavalry.

ROWAN COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

The most notable event of the year 1909, indeed the most notable event in the entire history of Confederate monument building in North Carolina, was the completion and unveiling at Salisbury, on May 10, 1909, of the monument to the Confederate soldiers of Rowan County. This monument deserves something more than a mere passing notice. The movement for its erection was inaugurated by the Robert F. Hoke Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, of Rowan County, January 19, 1901. When sufficient progress had been made to consider the question of what design should be selected, the Chapter decided that it would "erect a memorial which should have an artistic value, as well as a patriotic significance." Such a monument was found in the magnificent group of Mr. Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, of New York, the original of which is in the city of Baltimore. This group Mrs. Francis F. Tiernan describes as "the finest expression in plastic art of the valor, endurance, and heroic qualities of the Confederate soldier." Ascertaining that one replica, and only one, of this beautiful monument could be made, the Chapter at once opened negotiations with the sculptor, who offered the replica to the Rowan Daughters for the sum of \$10,000. At first thought this seemed

hopeless, but, as Mrs. Tiernan says: "Knowing that such an opportunity once lost could never be regained, the Chapter, gathering up its courage, rather than listening to the dictates of its fears, closed with the offer, and the contract with him was signed in April, 1903." Then began the long, hard struggle to raise the necessary money, and though at times the outlook was dark enough, the Chapter's enthusiasm never abated for one moment. Its splendid faith was finally justified, when, on May 10, 1909, it had the proud distinction of unveiling what is certainly the most beautiful and significant monument to the soldiers of the Confederacy that has been erected on Confederate soil.

A group of bronze surmounts a pedestal of pink Rowan granite, which is not only beautiful in itself, but harmonizes admirably with the bronze. The pedestal bears the following inscriptions:

[Southeast side:]

"In Memory
of
Rowan's Confederate Soldiers,
that
Their Heroic Deeds, Sublime Self-Sacrifice
and
Undying Devotion to Duty and Country
May Never be Forgotten.
1861-1865."

[Northeast side:]

"They Gave
Their Lives and Fortunes
For Constitutional Liberty
and
State Sovereignty in
Obedience to the Teachings of the Fathers
Who Framed the Constitution and Established the
Union of These States."

[Southwest side:]

"Soldiers of the Confederacy:
Fame has Given You
An Imperishable Crown.
History Will Record Your Daring Valor
Noble Sufferings
and
Matchless Achievements
To the Honor and Glory of Our Land."

[Northwest side:]

"Deo Vindice.
R. I. P."

The bronze group "expresses in the noblest possible form the splendid valor of the Confederate soldier, his heroic endurance of suffering and privation and his steadfast devotion to duty even unto death. He is exhibited as falling mortally wounded, after his long and desperate fight against overwhelming odds, when Fame, descending from the skies, supports his sinking form, while she holds aloft the crown of glory which History will place upon his brow."

The erection of this statue is the most notable event in the history of monument-building in North Carolina. The statues which have been heretofore erected are expressions of the love of his people for the Confederate soldier, and of their loyalty to his memory, but one can hardly call them artistic or graceful, or find in them interpretations of the spirit of the Confederacy. Indeed most of them are cut from a pattern that may be purchased by the gross. But the Rowan monument expresses all the love and all the loyalty to the memory of the Confederate soldier that the others do, and expresses infinitely more. It is the embodiment of the spirit of the Confederacy, and in it may be read the tragedy of the Lost Cause. It is neither stilted, nor stereotyped. It is art, real, enduring, inspiring art; for the genius of a true artist has caught in a remarkable degree the spirit of the Confederacy and has given it expression in a work of art as inspiring as the valor that it commemorates.

GRANVILLE COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

In September, 1904, the Granville Grays Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, was organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to the soldiers of the Confederacy of Granville County. The movement was inaugurated in 1904; the cornerstone was laid May 10, 1909, and the monument was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies October 30, 1909. The monument is of gray granite, twenty-six feet in height, and is surmounted by a bronze statue of the Confederate soldier. The following are the inscriptions on the monument:

[North side:] "Granville Grays
Chapter
U. D. C."

[South side:] "C. S. A.
To our Confederate Dead
1861—1865."

RUTHERFORD COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

The Davis-Dickerson-Mills Chapter, U. D. C., of Rutherfordton, on November 12, 1910, unveiled in that town a monument

to the Confederate soldiers of Rutherford County. It is 28 feet in height and is surmounted by the figure of a Confederate soldier in bronze. The inscriptions are as follows:

[East side:]

"To the Memory of the Men and Women of the
Confederacy."

[West side:]

"Erected by the Davis-Dickerson-Mills Chapter,
United Daughters of the Confederacy,
October, 1910."

CALDWELL COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

The Z. B. Vance Chapter, at Lenoir, on June 3, 1910, unveiled a monument to the Confederate soldiers of Caldwell County. The monument is a simple shaft, 30 feet in height. On the southeast and northwest sides are pedestals on which now rest cannon balls, which, however, will ultimately be displaced for bronze figures of Confederate soldiers. The inscriptions are as follows:

[Northeast side:]

"From Caldwell County.
Co. A. 23rd N. C. Reg't Inf.
Co. F. 26th N. C. Reg't Inf.
Co. I. 26th N. C. Reg't Inf.
Co. E. 58th N. C. Reg't Inf.
Co. H. 58th N. C. Reg't Inf.
And many of her Sons
in other commands."

"Erected by
The Vance Chapter of the
United Daughters of the Confederacy
of Caldwell County, N. C.
May, 1910."

[Southeast side:]

"Nor shall your glory be forgot
While Fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where Valor proudly sleeps."

"In Honor of
The Men who wore the Gray."

VANCE COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

May 10, 1910, the Vance County Chapter laid at Henderson the cornerstone of a monument to the Confederate soldiers of

Vance County, and on November 10, 1910, the monument was unveiled. The monument is thirty-five feet high, and is surmounted by the bronze figure of a Confederate soldier. The following inscriptions appear on it:

"Our Confederate Dead.
Peace to their Ashes.
Honor to their Memory.
Glory to their Cause."

"1861-1865."

"Vance County Chapter
U. D. C.
Nov. 10, 1910."

"C. S. A."

A bronze tablet bears the names of the Monument Committee.

MEMORIAL ARCH IN OAKWOOD CEMETERY.

At Raleigh, May 10, 1910, the James Johnston Pettigrew Chapter unveiled as a gateway to the Confederate Plot in Oakwood Cemetery a memorial arch of granite. On the capstone is a bronze tablet on which is the following inscription:

"Confederate Cemetery."

On the east column is a bronze tablet upon which is the following inscription:

"Erected in Memory of our Confederate Dead, by the James Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, U. D. C., 1910."

MEMORIAL ARCH AT TARBORO.

Another memorial arch was erected as a gateway to the Confederate Cemetery at Tarboro, by the William Dorsey Pender Chapter. It is of concrete with a capstone of tinted marble upon which is the following inscription:

"1861-1865.
They wore the gray.
C. S. A."

On one of the pillars is the following:

"Erected by the William Dorsey Pender Chapter, U. D. C., 1910."

HENRY L. WYATT MEMORIAL AT TARBORO.

On August 13, 1910, the Dixie-Lee Chapter, U. D. C. (the children's branch of the William Dorsey Pender Chapter, U. D. C.), at Tarboro, presented to the town a public drinking fountain, in memory of Henry L. Wyatt, of the Edgecombe Guards, who was the first Confederate soldier killed in battle. The fountain bears the following inscription:

"In memory of Private Henry L. Wyatt, Edgecombe Guards.

Killed June 10th, 1861. First at Bethel.

Erected by the Dixie-Lee Chapter, Children of the Confederacy,

August 13, 1910."

CONFEDERATE NAVY YARD AT CHARLOTTE.

After the battle of the Monitor and the Merrimac in Hampton Roads, March 8, 1862, the Confederate States Government recognized the necessity of removing the Confederate navy yard from Norfolk, Va., to some point unexposed to danger of attack by water. The place selected was Charlotte, N. C. In the factory established there guns, gun carriages, and other instruments of war, were cast both for the navy and for the land forces. The site is now occupied by the freight warehouses of the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company. On one of these warehouses, June 3, 1910, the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., of Charlotte, unveiled a tablet which bears the following inscription:

"Confederate States Navy Yard,

Charlotte, North Carolina.

1862-1865."

CORNERSTONES OF CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS.

Cornerstones of Confederate monuments have been laid as follows:

DURHAM COUNTY MONUMENT.

The J. S. Carr Chapter, U. D. C., at Durham, laid the cornerstone of a monument to the soldiers of Durham County, May 10, 1910.

HERTFORD COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

On August 23, 1910, the cornerstone of a monument to the Confederate soldiers of Hertford County was laid with suitable ceremonies at Winton. The monument will bear the following inscription:

"C. S. A.

1861—1865."

—
"Hertford County Chapter, U. D. C."

SCOTLAND COUNTY CONFEDERATE MONUMENT.

The Scotland County Chapter has laid the cornerstone of a monument to the Confederate soldiers of Scotland County, on which will appear the following inscriptions:

[Second base:]

"Our Confederate Heroes."

[North die:]

"To the Confederate soldiers of Scotland County, the record of whose sublime self-sacrifice and undying devotion to duty in the service of their country, is the fond heritage of a loyal posterity."

[South die:]

"We care not whence they came,
Dear in their lifeless clay;
Their cause and country still the same,
They died and wore the gray."

[East die:]

"'Lest we forget.'
1861-1865."

[West die:]

"First at Bethel.
Farthest at Gettysburg.
Last at Appomattox."

PROJECTED CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS.

The following is a list of the Confederate monuments that have been projected and for which money is now being raised:

The W. A. Allen Chapter, U. D. C., at Kenansville, the James Kenan Chapter, U. D. C., at Warsaw, and the Faison-Hicks Chapter, U. D. C., at Faison, to the soldiers of Duplin County.

The Person County Chapter, U. D. C., at Roxboro, to the soldiers of Person County.

The Graham Chapter, U. D. C., at Graham, to the soldiers of Alamance County.

The Ashford-Sillers Chapter, U. D. C., at Clinton, to the soldiers of Sampson County.

The Perquimans Chapter, U. D. C., at Hertford, to the soldiers of Perquimans County.

The Mt. Airy Chapter, U. D. C., at Mt. Airy, to the soldiers of Surry County.

The D. H. Hill Chapter, U. D. C., at Elizabeth City, to the soldiers of Pasquotank County.

The Randolph County Chapter, U. D. C., at Ashboro, to the soldiers of Randolph County.

The Joseph J. Davis Chapter, U. D. C., at Louisburg, to the soldiers of Franklin County.

The Confederate Monument Association, at Gatesville, to the soldiers of Gates County.

The Albemarle Chapter, U. D. C., at Albemarle, to the soldiers of Stanly County.

The Mary Lee Chapter, U. D. C., at Painter, to the soldiers of Jackson County.

The Henry L. Wyatt Memorial Association, assisted by the U. D. C., and an appropriation from the State Treasury, will erect in 1911, at Raleigh, a statue of Henry L. Wyatt, the first Confederate soldier killed in battle.

The following monuments in commemoration of persons and events of the Civil War should be added to the above list:

The Cape Fear Chapter, U. D. C., at Wilmington, will soon unveil a monument to George Davis, Attorney-General of the Confederate States.

The newspapers report that the Woodmen of the World at Durham will place a marker on the site of the Bennet house in which General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to General W. T. Sherman.

The State organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy will place a monument at Chapel Hill in honor of the students of the University of North Carolina who were Confederate soldiers.

LINCOLN COUNTY MEMORIAL HALL.

In 1908, the Southern Stars Chapter, U. D. C., acquired possession of the building of the old "Pleasant Retreat Academy," at Lincolnton, founded in 1813, in which General Stephen D. Ramseur, General Robert F. Hoke, and Confederate States Senator William A. Graham, as well as other soldiers and civilians of the Confederacy, were educated. In memory of Lincoln County's Confederate soldiers the building has been dedicated as the "Lincoln County Memorial Hall." During the past two years many improvements have been made in the building in which the chapter supports a public library and Confederate Museum.

Monuments to Union Soldiers.

The following monuments to Union soldiers were erected and unveiled in the State during the period of this report:

RHODE ISLAND SOLDIERS.

In the Federal Cemetery at New Bern, the State of Rhode Island, unveiled a monument, October 7, 1909, to the Rhode Island soldiers buried there.

PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIERS.

On November 16, 1910, in the Federal Cemetery at Salisbury, in the presence of the Governors of Pennsylvania and North Carolina and their staffs, the State of Pennsylvania unveiled a monument erected in honor of the Pennsylvania soldiers who died while in prison at Salisbury. The monument is described as follows:

"The monument, which rests upon a high base of granite, supported by large, black marble pillars, carries a dome upon which is a bronze figure in a tattered uniform of a prisoner of war. Inside the arches of the shaft are three tablets, one representing the Salisbury Military Prison, and bearing an inscription in honor of the Pennsylvania soldiers, and another displaying the special act of the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1907 under which the commission was appointed and the monument erected."

Memorial Tablets at the University.

At the University of North Carolina, memorial tablets to Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, and to the late Thomas N. Hill were erected in Memorial Hall.

William L. Saunders.

During the year 1909 a large headstone was placed over the hitherto unmarked grave of Colonel William Lawrence Saunders at Tarboro. The stone bears the following inscription:

"William Lawrence Saunders,
1835-1891.

Soldier—Editor—Historian—Statesman—Patriot.

Colonel 46th N. C. Troops.

Secretary of State 1879-1891.

Distinguished for Wisdom and Courage.

For twenty years he exerted more power in
North Carolina than any other man."

"I decline to answer."

Portraits.¹

DAVID PATON.

On March 12, 1909, on behalf of David Paton's granddaughters, Mr. Samuel A. Ashe presented to the State a portrait of David Paton, architect of the State Capitol. If David Paton

¹None but oil portraits are included in this list.

had done no other work in his profession, the designing and construction of this building alone would have entitled him to rank as a genuine artist, and his portrait well deserves to hang on the walls of the beautiful structure which his genius created.

SAMUEL L. PATTERSON.

On October 25, 1910, the State Board of Agriculture placed in the office of the Commissioner of Agriculture a portrait of the late Samuel L. Patterson, for fifteen years Commissioner of Agriculture of this State.

CORNELIA PHILLIPS SPENCER.

On October 12, 1910, at the State Normal and Industrial College, a portrait of Cornelia Phillips Spencer, distinguished for her work in literature and in behalf of education in North Carolina, was presented to the College by Hon. Hannis Taylor, on behalf of the donors (the alumni and friends of the College).

JOHN D. TOOMER.

A portrait of John D. Toomer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 1829, was presented to the Court, March 9, 1909, by Hon. E. J. Hale, on behalf of Judge Toomer's granddaughters.

LEONARD HENDERSON.

On April 30, 1909, Hon. Robert W. Winston, on behalf of Judge Henderson's family, presented to the Supreme Court a portrait of Leonard Henderson, Associate Justice, 1819-1829, and Chief Justice, 1829-1833.

DAVID M. FURCHES.

A portrait of David M. Furches, Associate Justice of North Carolina, 1894-1901, and Chief Justice, 1901-1902, was presented to the Supreme Court on behalf of Judge Furches's family, by Hon. William P. Bynum.

Trinity College Historical Society.

The following lines of activity have characterized the work of the Trinity College Historical Society during the past two years:

1. Collection of manuscripts and other sources on North Carolina history. The Society now possesses a collection of 2,061 books and pamphlets and 4,196 manuscripts, and a large number of relics. It is collecting relics illustrative of the hand-made and domestic articles which have been displaced by the

advance of machinery and the factory system; and in co-operation with the North Carolina Conferences of the Methodist Church is collecting the official records of that Church in North Carolina, which include the manuscript journals of the Annual Conferences from 1838 to 1900, and records of several individual churches. Other important documents recently collected by the Society are the following: Letters of Nathaniel Macon; the Autobiography of Dr. Brantly York (founder of Trinity College); the History of Front Street Church, Wilmington; Personal Memoirs of Governor W. W. Holden; letters and other manuscripts relating to Reconstruction; copies of unpublished letters of Sidney Lanier and James Fennimore Cooper; and many deeds and other documents containing valuable autographs.

2. Publications. The Society has raised an endowment fund of \$1,000 for publication purposes. It has issued two publications:

(1). Trinity College Historical Papers. Series VIII. Published in January, 1910. Pp. 118.

(2). The Autobiography of Brantly York. This is No. 1 of "The John Lawson Monographs." Edited by W. K. Boyd.

3. The usual historical exercises of the Society have been regularly held at which a number of interesting and valuable papers were read.

Wachovia Historical Society.

The Wachovia Historical Society assisted the Daughters of the American Revolution in placing two tablets in the old Salem Tavern in commemoration of Washington's visit in 1791. Members of the Society read interesting papers relative to that event. The Society has added to its splendid collections a number of valuable articles. It also reports that during the year 1909 the Moravian town of Bethania, six miles north of Winston-Salem, celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding.

Hall of History.

The Director of the Hall of History reports that during the biennial period just closed 2,300 relics were added to the collection in the Hall of History, making the total number of relics, documents, and other objects now in the Hall of History 8,500. Among the most interesting of the articles recently added are portraits of Sir Walter Raleigh and of Queen Elizabeth, the gift of Mr. James Sprunt, of Wilmington; photographs of St. Philip's Church, Brunswick, and of Orton, the

finest type of Colonial mansion now standing in the State; portraits of Penelope Barker, and the tea caddy used at the Edenton Tea Party; the Lafayette coach, used by Lafayette upon his visit to Fayetteville in 1825, and the badge worn by him on the same occasion; photographs of old Fort Macon and Fort Caswell; photographs of two North Carolina Presidents, Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson; a life-size photograph of the late Edward VII, King of England (this photograph was specially presented through the British Ambassador, the Honorable James Bryce, who stated that the King in this particular case departed from precedent which forbade his presenting his photograph to public collections on account of the fact that the first English Colony founded in America was on North Carolina soil); the original design of the North Carolina State Flag, adopted by the State Convention, May 28, 1861; relics of the commanding officers of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, Colonels Vance, Burgwyn, and Lane; a number of arms and wearing apparel of the Civil War period; photographs illustrating the great fisheries and wild ponies on the coast; panoramic views of the city of Raleigh; flags used by the United States Cruiser North Carolina at the Battle of Manila Bay; objects and photographs illustrative of Cherokee Indian life in North Carolina of present day; an Indian god of stone taken from Cherokee burial ground; whiskey still, captured in Scotland by Robert Burns, the poet, while a government gauger, and later brought to Fayetteville; and a fine collection of pictures of the seals of North Carolina. Besides these, numerous autographs and early prints were secured; the collection of photographs of State institutions has grown considerably and important additions were made to the collections of wearing apparel. Owing to the fact that the available space in the Hall of History is now practically all occupied, and that the addition of other objects merely means storage, the work of collection has not been pressed during the past year. Arrangements have been made to install the figureheads of the cruisers *North Carolina* and *Raleigh*, and to fill two cases with objects illustrating the old ante-bellum plantation life of the South.

Year after year there is an increase in the number of visitors to the Hall of History. Estimates of the number of persons who visit the Hall during the year, made by the officials of the Hall of History, vary from 50,000 to 100,000. These visitors come from many of the States of the Union, and are practically unanimous in their opinions that few if any of the States have a larger, more varied or more valuable collection of historical relics than North Carolina.

Fires.

I have next to report several "historical activities" of an entirely different character from any of the preceding, but which at this particular time are, perhaps, the most important of all. All of these "activities" did not occur within the period covered by this report, but as knowledge of them was obtained within this period, they are properly included.

FIRE NO. 1.

Sometime ago a distinguished son of one of North Carolina's eminent men, learning that there was quite a collection of his father's papers in possession of a certain family, immediately made application for the privilege of using them in the preparation of a biography of his father on which he was then engaged. He received the astounding reply that only a few days before his request was received, the papers of this legislator, Governor, United States Senator, Confederate States Senator, and United States Cabinet officer, had been thrown on a trash heap and burned as rubbish.

FIRE NO. 2.

During the early part of the year 1909, the newspapers announced the complete destruction by fire of the house of Major James H. Foote, of Wilkes County. Major Foote was not only a brave Confederate soldier; he was much more than that, for he was Custodian of the Roll of Honor of the Confederate troops of North Carolina. The fire which destroyed his house completely consumed his library and all his papers.

FIRE NO. 3.

The third historical activity of this nature is told by the papers of the State in the following dispatch, dated at Fayetteville, September 4, 1909:

"Three very mysterious fires occurred today at the home on Haymount, this city, of Major E. J. Hale, editor of the *Fayetteville Observer*. All three of the fires, which were of distinct origin, being among valuable papers and files. The first blaze was discovered by servants, in a storage room containing, besides other records, files of the *Fayetteville Observer* from 1825. This fire was extinguished after the loss of many valuable records, and considerable injury to the building. Some hours later two fires were discovered, one in a closet on the second floor, and the other among papers in the study. The files of the *Observer* have passed through several fires, including the burning of the *Observer* office by General Sherman during the Civil War."

FIRE NO. 4.

In a letter dated at Greenville, S. C., March 19, 1910, and addressed to Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, Mr. George W. Charlotte, enclosed a letter written to him by the late Senator Zebulon B. Vance to be added to the Vance Collection of the State Historical Commission. In his letter Mr. Charlotte added this significant sentence:

"I had more letters from him [Senator Vance] but they were destroyed when my dwelling was consumed by fire some years ago."

FIRE NO. 5.

Sometime during the summer of 1910 the Pettigrew residence at Tryon, N. C., caught fire and narrowly escaped destruction. Among other valuable property in the house was a large collection of the letters and papers of the Pettigrew family, embracing those of General James Johnston Pettigrew, Bishop Charles Pettigrew, Reverend William S. Pettigrew and others. These papers were in the immediate vicinity of the flames and many of them were scorched but, fortunately, not destroyed.

FIRE NO. 6.

The next "activity" of this character occurred in one of the State's public buildings at Raleigh. I take the following account from the *News and Observer*, of August 11, 1910:

"This morning between one and two o'clock the State of North Carolina was in some danger of losing the agricultural building in which are located the Hall of History, the State Museum, the Corporation Commission's offices, the State Chemist's offices, the Commissioner of Agriculture's offices, and various other offices. General Walter Greene, the night watchman, was on his rounds, which included stations throughout the whole building from cellar to the third floor. He had almost finished his rounds when he heard a sound like a pistol shot and rushing to the office he ran into the chemical laboratory, where four or five feet of blaze met his gaze. He rushed to one of the fire extinguishers nearest the blaze, and after some time endeavoring to make the extinguisher do its duty, found that it was out of shape and would not work. He then seized upon some vessel and filled it with water, which he used in putting out the fire.

"The cause of the fire is attributed to the electric light wiring, which in some way caused a combustion and the wire for several yards was on fire, some of it dropping to the floor and burning for some minutes.

"It is true that the fire did not amount to anything, as it was more or less a false alarm, but still there are thousands of dol-

lars worth of valuable property in this building and it should not be put in jeopardy by being kept in an old fire trap, that should a fire once start in, would go up in collapse.

"In the chemical laboratory, where the small fire originated, there are many gases and chemicals at all times. If the ever-alert watchman, General Greene, should have been on his rounds in the cellars and the fire have gotten a start there is no telling where it would have ended.

"In the State Museum there are so many priceless treasures that could not be replaced, the same applies to the Hall of History, to say nothing of the valuable records of the Corporation Commission and other offices. The present agricultural building is one of the capital city's oldest buildings, having once been Raleigh's hotel, and the valuable relics and treasures contained in this fire trap deserve a better home. It is to be hoped that at some early date the Legislature may make some provision for erecting a suitable building in place of this menace to safety of that which can not be replaced."

The inference to be drawn from these forms of "activity" is so plain that I shall not offer any comment.

Legislation.

The General Assembly of 1909 was generous towards the historical activities of the State.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS.

Acts were passed authorizing Jackson, Macon and Rutherford counties to donate land for the sites of Confederate monuments. The city of Henderson and the county of Vance were authorized to appropriate \$1,000 each towards the Confederate monument to be erected in Henderson to the soldiers of Vance County. The town of Rockingham was authorized to appropriate \$250, and the county of Richmond to appropriate \$500, and a site, for a monument to the soldiers of Richmond County. From the State Treasury \$2,500 were appropriated toward the proposed monument to Henry L. Wyatt.

ALAMANCE BATTLE GROUND COMPANY.

The Alamance Battle Ground Company was incorporated for the purpose of erecting suitable memorials on the battlefields of Alamance and Pyle's Hacking Match, and for caring for the grounds, and \$200 were appropriated by the State as an aid in the work.

STATE LIBRARY COMMISSION.

An act of especial importance was one creating the State Library Commission, for the purpose of encouraging the estab-

lishment of libraries in North Carolina, of giving aid and advice to those already in existence, and of collecting data bearing on the work of libraries. An annual appropriation of \$1,500 was made for the support of the Commission.

INDEX TO LAND GRANTS.

Another act which will be welcomed by students of our history authorized the Secretary of State to have the warrants, plats and surveys on file in his office, on which the lands in North Carolina and much of that of Tennessee were granted, classified, filed and indexed. A perfect mine of information of the early history of the State will thus be opened. For this work, \$3,000 were appropriated.

JOHN CHARLES McNEILL MEMORIAL SOCIETY.

An act of especial interest was the incorporation of the John Charles McNeill Memorial Society "for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the late John Charles McNeill, and for the moral, intellectual and social improvement of the community which gave him birth."

DANIEL BOONE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

The preamble of Chapter 496, of the Public Laws of 1909, recites the fact that:

"Whereas, it is a well known historical fact that the noted pioneer, Daniel Boone, lived for many years in the State of North Carolina, and that his infancy and young manhood were spent in what was at the time Rowan County and is at present the County of Davidson; and whereas, it is desirous that his memory should be perpetuated among us."

Therefore, the "Daniel Boone Association" was incorporated for that purpose, with authority to erect memorials, to collect historical material, and to do such other things as may tend "to perpetuate the memory of the life of Daniel Boone in North Carolina."

NEW BERN BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Another act (Chapter 263, Public Laws 1909), looking to the celebration of one of the really great events in the history of North Carolina, recites that:

"Whereas, the people of the town of New Bern desire to commemorate the bicentennial of the founding and incorporation of the ancient Colonial capital of this great State by holding a 'home-coming week' in the year one thousand nine hundred and ten, upon which occasion fitting and appropriate ceremonies

will be had in celebration of the founding and incorporation of the town; and whereas, the town of New Bern, founded in March, one thousand seven hundred and ten, has contributed no small part to the history of this State, and her great sons, William Gaston, George E. Badger, John Stanly and others have held high place in the State and nation, always worthily and in honor to the State and to their native town, whose people desire to do honor to their memory on this occasion; and whereas, it is necessary, in order to appropriately commemorate the event and to receive, welcome and entertain the home-coming of her sons and the descendants of her sons now living in this State and other States," therefore,

The city of New Bern and the county of Craven were authorized to appropriate the sum of \$2,500 each, to be used for that purpose.

APRIL 12TH MADE A LEGAL HOLIDAY.

Chapter 888, Public Laws of 1909, is entitled: "An act to make the twelfth day of April of each year a legal holiday in commemoration of the 'Halifax Resolutions.'"

"Whereas, the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax, in this State, in April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, after providing for the military organization of the State, did on the twelfth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, adopt the following resolution, generally known as the Halifax Resolution, to-wit:

"Resolved, That the delegates from this Colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates from the other Colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this Colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this Colony."

"And, whereas, said resolution is the first declaration in favor of independence by the people of the whole State, through their duly authorized representatives, and was adopted more than two months before the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress; and whereas, an occurrence so momentous in the history of our State and nation, and so illustrative of the patriotism and wisdom of the whole people of North Carolina, should be commemorated; therefore,

"The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

"Section 1. That the twelfth day of April in each and every year be and the same hereby is made a legal holiday in North Carolina.

"Sec. 2. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

"Ratified this the 9th day of March, A. D., 1909."

Summary.

A summary of the foregoing report reveals the following results of the historical activities in North Carolina during the biennial period, December 1, 1908-November 30, 1910:

1. Sixteen monuments were erected.
2. Twelve tablets and markers were erected in commemoration of historic events, or to mark the scene of historic occurrences.
3. Five other memorials (two arches, one drinking fountain, and two memorial buildings) were erected.
4. The cornerstones of three monuments were laid.
5. Movements were organized for the erection of sixteen other monuments.
6. Eight portraits of persons eminent in the history of the State were presented to the State.
7. The Hall of History added 2,300 relics, documents, portraits, etc., to its collections.
8. Three patriotic associations were organized.
9. The city of New Bern celebrated on an elaborate scale the two hundredth anniversary of its founding.
10. Legislation was enacted authorizing five counties to aid in the building of monuments, appropriating from the State Treasury for a like purpose \$2,500, creating a State Library Commission, authorizing the indexing of the land grants in the office of the Secretary of State, incorporating three patriotic societies, authorizing the county of Craven and the city of New Bern to appropriate funds for the bi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city, and making the anniversary of the most significant event in our Revolutionary history a legal holiday.

Respectfully submitted,

R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary.

Raleigh, N. C.,
December 13, 1910.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 10

ADDRESSES

AT

THE UNVEILING OF THE BUST

OF

MATT W. RANSOM

JANUARY 11, 1911

A people who have not the pride to record
their history will not long have the virtue to
make history that is worth recording.



ADDRESSES

AT

THE UNVEILING OF THE BUST

OF

MATT W. RANSOM

BY THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

IN

THE ROTUNDA OF THE STATE CAPITOL AT RALEIGH

Delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives

JANUARY 11, 1911

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
1911

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*,
Raleigh.

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh.

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

D. H. HILL, Raleigh.

THOMAS W. BLOUNT, Roper.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*,
Raleigh.

The Ransom Bust.

On March 5, 1910, the North Carolina Historical Commission received the following communication from Hon. R. W. Winston, of the Raleigh Bar:

March 4, 1910.

The North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

GENTLEMEN:—I am pleased to announce that I have in hand, or definitely promised, at least \$900.00, and possibly \$1,000.00, for the Ransom bust. You are, therefore, at liberty to contract for the same at this time.

For the guidance of the artist, I wish to say that General Ransom's hat measure was $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches on the inside. He was 6 feet tall, and weighed 180 pounds. The marked characteristic of General Ransom was dignity and courtliness. He dressed in an exquisite fashion. He studied the life and character of the old Roman senators. He was a classic scholar. He was as brave as a lion and yet as tender as a woman. Indeed, with women and children he was always a prime favorite. While he was a Confederate General, and a fighting one at that, he laid down his arms at Appomattox forever. After that time, he became a citizen of the entire Union. I think that the artist will be interested in knowing that General Ransom was a Union Whig before the war, and opposed to the war, but that when hostilities began, he was an active participant on behalf of the South. General Ransom was perhaps as handsome a man as ever sat in the Senate. There was an atmosphere about him which all people felt. He was the center of every group. He was chary of his presence. He stayed away from the multitude except when in action. His friends were the great men of the Union, and included Republicans as well as Democrats. He voted to pension General Grant's widow. He was an intimate friend of President Cleveland, and Mrs. Cleveland was exceedingly fond of him. On the whole, if I as an artist had the power to reproduce Senator Ransom in marble, I should select the grandest Roman senator that ever adorned the Forum, and would place Ransom's head on his body. Dignity, serenity, majesty and courtliness were his attributes.

Trusting that the above sketch may serve the artist,

Yours truly,

R. W. WINSTON.

At a meeting of the Historical Commission, held in the office of the Secretary of State at Raleigh, N. C., March 10, 1910, the above letter was read, and the fund offered for the erection of a bust to Senator Ransom was accepted. The contract for

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U.C. Hist. Comm. 3-18-11g

the erection of the bust was accordingly made with Mr. Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl, at that time in Paris. The bust was delivered, and set up in its niche in December, 1910, and formally unveiled and presented to the State January 11, 1911, in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Raleigh, in the presence of the General Assembly of North Carolina, the members of Senator Ransom's family, and a large audience. The ceremonies of the occasion consisted of the addresses printed in this bulletin.

R. D. W. CONNOR,

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Introductory Address.

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES

Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The State Historical Commission has invited you to join in celebrating an important event in the historical activities of the State.

It has long been a reproach to North Carolinians that we have been careless of the memories of our great men. As a State, we have always been poor, but we have been rich in men—high-minded men, who knew how to do and die if necessary, in the crises that confronted them.

We have been proud of our State, proud of her achievements and her traditions. We have gloried in hearth-stone tales of former generations, only to forget them in the busy struggles of life. We have written little and preserved even less, largely because we had no depositories for the safe keeping of our records. We are the beneficiaries of the constructive statesmanship of the past, but in many cases the bodies of those devoted spirits whose deeds should be a glorious heritage to our people lie in unknown graves, their fame consigned to oblivion, their services unrecorded.

We, in our generation, have been following the example of past generations who have forgotten, to be in turn forgotten. But a change is now coming over the spirit of our people.

The State is beginning to realize that conserving the fair renown of her own great sons is her sacred duty.

The North Carolina Historical Commission was created in 1903, and its duties and powers greatly enlarged in 1907. The work of the Historical Commission has not been confined to the duties required of it by the law creating it, but in the last two years its activities have been varied. It has classified,

arranged and filed the executive letters of thirty governors, beginning with Governor Caswell in 1777, and ending with Governor Vance in 1879. There are 14,754 of these letters and documents, and now, for the first time, these manuscripts are available to students of North Carolina history.

The Historical Commission has also secured in the past two years ten fine private collections of valuable manuscripts, embracing nearly 12,000 documents of the highest value and importance.

It has had many items concerning North Carolina's colonial history copied from newspapers of other States.

It has issued ten publications, which have been in great demand in many of the States of the Union.

It has, through the enterprise of its Secretary, secured as a gift to the State from the Italian Government, a fine plaster replica of Canova's famous statue of Washington, made from the original model in the Canova Museum at Possagno, Italy. It will be remembered that the original was made by Canova for the State in 1820 and was destroyed when the capitol was burned in 1831. The replica can be seen in the rotunda. It is hoped that the General Assembly will soon have this statue reproduced in marble.

A notable feature of the work of the Historical Commission has been the information about North Carolina furnished to visiting historians, students and original investigators from nearly half the States of the Union and some foreign countries.

The growth of interest in North Carolina historical matters by the people of the State, even in the past two years, has been remarkable and probably the greatest work of the Historical Commission has been done in the thousands of letters of correspondence with our own people about the history of the State.

The Secretary of the Historical Commission has prepared three publications for the aid of teachers of North Carolina history in the annual celebration of North Carolina Day in

the public schools, and thousands of these have been used in the schools of the State.

The State is now not only preserving the records of her great deeds, but is, though tardily, following the example of other States and great peoples, by placing in our capitol marble busts that posterity may become familiar with the features of our great men. We have been slow, proverbially slow to move, but the movement has begun, and there is now no uncertainty as to results.

One year ago we gathered here to inaugurate a new movement in North Carolina, and invited you to witness the unveiling of a marble bust to that great Carolinian, William A. Graham. Since that time the Historical Commission has been assured of the presentation to the State in the near future of busts of Governor Samuel Johnston, Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, Calvin H. Wiley, and another which we are yet unauthorized to announce.

This evening we have met to unveil a bust of Matt W. Ransom, carved by that talented artist, F. W. Ruckstuhl.

Among those most responsible for the erection of this bust is Robert W. Winston. Judge Winston is himself an able jurist, scholar and orator, and his subject is an inspiration to all ambitious, patriotic North Carolinians. He will speak to you of the "Life and Character of Matt W. Ransom." He brings to his task an ability and scholarship worthy of his theme. Let us hear him.

Matt Whitaker Ransom

BY ROBERT W. WINSTON.

Cicero, consulting the god at Delphi how he should attain the most glory, the Pythoness answered, "By making your own genius and not the opinion of the people the guide of your life."

These words of Plutarch made an abiding impression upon Ransom when he was but a youth, and they found abundant fruitage in his subsequent life and conduct. In 1892 when a committee from that all-powerful organization, the Farmers' Alliance, waited upon the Senator with a request to sign the "Alliance Demands," embracing Free Silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 and warehouse receipts for cotton, corn and tobacco as a medium of exchange, his reply took this form: said he, "Once upon a time, a dispute arose in Warren County as to which was the most desirable of all virtues, and the disputants, being unable to agree, decided to submit the question to my grandfather, and his answer was this: 'The most desirable of all virtues is courage, courage without which no other virtue can be fully exercised, and with which every other virtue can be fostered.'" This courageous refusal of Senator Ransom to yield to the demands of the Farmers' Alliance may or may not have been one cause of the downfall of his party and the consequent loss of his seat in the Senate, but it assuredly gave Senator Ransom a secure place among civil heroes.

The people of North Carolina are fond of associating together the names of her great contemporary Senators, Vance and Ransom, and yet no two men were more dissimilar. Vance was a democrat. Ransom was an aristocrat. The name of Vance brings before our mind's eye a War Governor—a Moses, if you please, leading his people through the horrors of war and the wilderness of reconstruc-

tion, with vast crowds of people applauding his homely anecdote and his ridicule—Vance foremost in the hearts of his people. With the name of Ransom we associate senatorial dignity and the very best exponent of a reunited country. Ransom was without doubt the most truly national Democrat that has crossed the Potomac since 1860 to occupy a seat in the United States Senate. With him love of the Union was a consuming passion. When not yet thirty years of age, delivering the literary address at the University of North Carolina, and choosing as his theme “Dismemberment of the Union,” he poured out his heart for the cause of the Union and in denunciation of Secession in these burning words: “Dismemberment would overthrow the Union and leave nothing but shame above its ruins; it would draw a ruthless line across the Republic, although it passed over the grave of Washington and divided the ashes of the great Father of our country. With what plea can disunion appear before the bar of this world, or the throne of another? It proposes as a remedy for evils, an evil before which all others sink into insignificance; it suggests as a measure of honor an act which would cover the American name with dishonor as long as the earth remains—it holds up before us the bloody mantle of liberty, pierced with a thousand deadly wounds, and tells us that is the way to preserve freedom—it shows us the temple of self-government wrapped in flames, and all that is valuable burning in the conflagration, and does not, and can not, point to one benefit conferred, one grievance redressed, one right restored by the awful sacrifice; it is that spirit which would have the beautiful heavens with their rolling worlds of light, and the great central sun, around which all in harmony revolve, hurled into chaos and darkness because the little planet of Vesta, or some straggling comet happened to wander from its sphere. * * * Disunion will be the tomb in which all, all are buried, a tomb of ashes and infamy, ‘in which dismal vaults in black

succession open' on 'sights of woe, regions of horror, doleful shades—without end.' ”

These are brave words, and they accurately expressed the sentiment of a great majority of the people of North Carolina till Mr. Lincoln made his call for troops. What course such men as Ransom would have pursued had President Lincoln not made this call one can but conjecture. Union men in the South have ever been of the opinion that this action of the President was a great blunder, and that it solidified the entire South, driving Virginia and North Carolina into the new Confederacy. No doubt it did, but what other course could President Lincoln have pursued and preserved the Union? Had he waited for the minds of men to grow calm, his waiting would have been in vain and the Southern Confederacy unmolested—and grown into a *de facto* government and an accomplished fact—England, no doubt, would have recognized the new nation. Be this as it may, the fall of Fort Sumter and the call for North Carolina to furnish her quota of troops to invade South Carolina totally changed the aspect of affairs. All over the State courageous and patriotic men had been loudly pleading the cause of the Union. At that very time a union and peace assemblage had gathered in Wilkesboro and earnest men were making stirring appeals for the old flag. Vance, now fast growing to be the popular idol, was in the very act of imploring the God of Nations to avert the awful catastrophe of civil war, and had both hands uplifted to High Heaven, when suddenly some one in the crowd read the telegram announcing the capture of Fort Sumter and Mr. Lincoln's call for troops. In describing the scene thereafter, Governor Vance said, “When these hands of mine were lowered, they fell by the side of a secessionist.”

Matt Whitaker Ransom was born in Warren County, North Carolina, October 6, 1826, and lived to be seventy-eight years of age to the very day, dying October 6, 1904. On his father's side he came of good English stock, and on

his mother's side he was connected with the leaders of thought and with the strong men of Eastern Carolina. His grand-uncle, Nathaniel Macon, as was the custom with aspiring young men of that day, had been educated at Princeton, but our own University, under the wise management of Caldwell and Swain, was now beginning to take its place securely among the first colleges of the country, and so in January, 1844, young Matt Ransom, an impecunious youth of eighteen years, with no fortune save a brave heart and a noble ambition, entered our University at Chapel Hill. His college career was highly distinguished, indeed most honorable to him. He was not only a leader among the students, but he deserved to lead them, for he was temperate in his habits, diligent in his studies, and the most prompt and faithful young man in the institution. One incident in his college life emphasizes his faithfulness to duty. In 1844 Henry Clay, that idol of the Whig party, made his famous address in Raleigh, and people from far and near, especially loyal and enthusiastic Whigs, gathered to do him homage. Young Ransom, a student at Chapel Hill, and himself a dashing young Whig, remained away because he could not afford to neglect a single duty. Dr. Battle informs us that Ransom was the only member of his class who, during the entire college course, punctually attended the required five thousand exercises, consisting of prayers in the chapel, church on Sunday, and recitations during the week.

Mr. Ransom had as his rival in college a man whose splendid presence, noble ancestry, cultured mind, lofty and well-trained ambition, and whose early and tragic death has incarnated him in the minds and hearts of true Carolinians as one of our heroes and martyrs—General James Johnston Pettigrew, who gave up his life at Falling Waters. Pettigrew excelled Ransom in mathematics. In all other studies Ransom was his equal. When these young rivals graduated, James K. Polk, President of the United States, and himself a graduate of the University, honored the occasion with his

presence. Reporters of the *New York Herald* and other papers, after hearing the various addresses delivered from the rostrum, accorded the honors of the commencement occasion to young Matt Ransom, whose salutatory address is said to have been one of the best ever heard from a college student. A few years afterwards when Ransom, then Attorney-General of North Carolina, and the youngest man who has filled the position, returned to his University to make the commencement address, he expressed his sense of gratitude to one of the literary societies which had made his education possible, furnishing him the means of defraying his college expenses.

After graduating, young Ransom returned to Warren County and began the practice of the law. His success as a lawyer was almost instantaneous, and as an advocate, especially when the issue was one of life or death, he was quite without a peer. Of him B. F. Moore, the Nestor of the North Carolina Bar, remarked that he had an intellect of great strength and clearness, and that if he would but apply himself to the study of the law, no man would be his fellow. As a college student he had appreciated the Greek and Roman classics, and had sought to model his style after the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, enriching his discourses by referring to the deeds and the sayings of the early philosophers and statesmen. Among modern orators, Mr. Webster was his model. There is a dignity, a majesty, an irresistible sweep about Webster's style that must always impress the true artist. Its influence upon Senator Ransom's oratory may be seen in every line he spoke or wrote.

It is little wonder that such a man as this soon grew in the confidence of the people, and that when little more than a boy he was named as a Scott and Graham Presidential elector and made a canvass of his district and of other parts of the State, which added to his already growing fame. As a lawyer, Ransom would go whenever duty called. Danger did not deter him. Fear was unknown to him. When the great English advocate, defending Queen Caroline against

the unjust attacks of King George, was admonished by friends that his line of defense might overthrow the kingdom, he replied that he would continue to do his duty by his client, and his full duty, even if thereby the kingdom of Great Britain was destroyed. This is the type of lawyer and of man that young Matt Ransom was growing to be. Men may differ as to his place in history, but all will agree that he was ever loyal to his friends, his clients and his country, and that he did not spare himself or count the cost when their interests were at stake.

Soon after his canvass as a Whig elector, he was chosen by a Democratic Legislature, although he himself was a Whig, Attorney-General of the State of North Carolina. No doubt his record as a student and his recent brilliant canvass were the causes of this early promotion. But the law was irksome to him, and far too technical and exacting. He loved to till the soil and commune with nature. Like Washington and Jefferson and Nathaniel Macon, he took a larger view of things than the life of a lawyer afforded, and dealt with mankind as a whole, mankind struggling upward towards liberty and light. Like many another leader of thought, he studied law for the training of his mind, but practically abandoned it as a web of tangled precedents. Whatever his views, he shortly resigned the office of Attorney-General of North Carolina and removed to his wife's estate in Northampton County.

Loving the Union, hating secession, and favoring internal improvements, Ransom naturally allied himself with the Whig party, the party of his ancestors. But this militant old party was fast nearing its end. What with espousing Know-nothingism and Anti-Catholicism it had fallen from its high estate, and was now becoming local and sectional. A man of the type of Matt Ransom could follow it no longer. He was himself the most catholic of mortals. He ever saw things in the large. With him a State was a small affair. It was the nation, the united, indissoluble nation, the nation

from Maine to Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Pacific—the hope of the oppressed of the entire universe, the country which was working out the problem of self-government and making an abiding place for liberty, this it was that engaged his best thought and animated his soul. Thousands of other true men remained loyal to the Whig party until it was crushed to death between the upper and nether millstones of fiery and unyielding Democracy—secession, on the one side, if you will, and the persistent and fanatical Abolition party on the other. Such men as Graham, and Badger, and Morehead, and Vance were of this number, and they voted till the very last for Bell and Everett, dreading and sincerely dreading that the Democratic party under Toombs and Yancey and Rhett would join hands with the Abolitionists of the North and precipitate war. With such as these, whether Roderigo killed Cassio or Cassio killed Roderigo, 'twas their gain. In 1852, for the reasons above assigned, Mr. Ransom severed his connection with the Whig party and became a Democrat, but not a War Democrat. Far from it. We delight to contemplate this young Carolinian during the period from 1850 to 1860. On January 19, 1853, he was happily married to Martha E. Exum, and an interesting family of children was growing up about him. He was honored and respected by the people of North Carolina. Twice he served Northampton County in the General Assembly. He was pulsating with high ambition and an earnest desire to serve his country and keep her in the paths of peace, and withal, he was as contented a man as one of his temperament could be. But Mr. Ransom was never a social man, nor a jovial man. He did not keep open house, and his Northampton home was modest almost to plainness. He had few friends. When in Washington he lived alone, his family remaining in North Carolina, his apartments at the old Metropolitan being simple yet dignified. He rather tolerated than loved the populace, and he knew that they

did not love him. He cracked no jokes with them. When in a crowd he was manifestly restless and nervous and did all the talking himself. To mingle with the people was an effort to him, but he was cordial, polite, majestic in manner; Chesterfield surely not more so. Ransom indeed had the same characteristic with Jefferson, seriousness of purpose. "Great minds," says Aristotle, "are always of a nature originally melancholy." Ransom was in a sense a solitary man. A few strong friends in each town in North Carolina he grappled to his heart with hoops of steel. These men he loved and trusted, and called affectionately by their Christian names. All night long he would talk with them, and advise them, and encourage them. But as for the average man, he counted but little in Ransom's affections.

Vast problems confronted the Southern man in the 50's—slavery, secession, the compromise measures, war. It was said on one side, "This republic can not endure half slave and half free," and on the other side it was said, "I will call the roll of my slaves from Bunker Hill monument." Mr. Clay thought that he had settled the question of slavery for all time by his Missouri Compromise, and if Mr. Clay had never sought the Presidency, it is within the range of reason that he would in his fertile brain have found a way out, but when Mr. Clay stood for the Presidency he must trim his sails to meet the requirements of the campaign, and it was dangerous for him to advocate even gradual abolition; and so the slavery question was one which would not stay fixed. The escape of fugitive slaves to free territory, their capture and return, the admission of new States into the Union and whether their constitution should be "free" or "slave," wordy conflicts in Congress and personal encounters between the champions of these contending forces, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and other excitable fiction, the Dred Scott Decision and fire-eating speeches and editorials *pro* and *con*, were constant and increasing sources of irritation. At his home near the banks of the Roanoke, these stirring events were passing in

panoramic review before Mr. Ransom's eye. In his heart he despised the extremists of both sides. The appeal to a higher law than the Constitution to abolish slavery smote on his ear like a fire bell in the night. The assertion that the Constitution of our country was a league with the devil and a covenant with hell he resented with all the bitterness of his nature, but he likewise knew that you could not repeal the great compromise measures affecting slavery and open up the new States to the admission of slaves without a great struggle, ending perhaps in civil war and running counter to the moral sense of the world, and above all Ransom and other old line Whigs, and some Democrats as well, knew that sooner or later slavery had to go. The civilized world was against it. England had gotten rid of her last slave territory, and no civilized nation sanctioned slavery in its constitution.

One of the finest spectacles this world has seen, or will see, is the conduct of Robert E. Lee, Matt W. Ransom, and other men who loved the Union with all the intensity of their nature, when the time for fighting was at hand. It was not their war. They were against it. Governor Graham had raised his all-powerful voice throughout this State for the Union and the old flag. "Let's fight out our rights within the Union" was their plea. But not so with the extremists. I make little doubt that Chandler, Wendell Phillips and Garrison were as much pleased when war was upon us as were Toombs, Yancey and Rhett. The former would have dissolved the Union to rid the northern half of this dismembered country of slavery; the latter would have dissolved the Union to retain slavery in the southern half. But when war actually came, Ransom and other peace men went to the front, fought bravely and made no complaints. "If we must fight," said they, "we will fight strangers. We will not fight our brothers and neighbors." Such conduct is an attribute of very high virtue, and it is the foundation stone upon which the men of the South are this day laying broad

and deep a civilization most attractive and enduring. Ransom was opposed to slavery and favored its gradual abolition. Our Constitution might have guaranteed slavery in its every line, but this would not have prevented its downfall. It was never meant that one human being should have, hold, own and possess another human being, and when you grant that the negro is a human being, the case against slavery is made out.

The attitude of Matt W. Ransom towards slavery and his conduct in the war which followed, mark him as a distinct type of the Southern man of his day. Disinterested, unselfish, brave, true to his convictions, and yet truer to his neighbors, his friends and his people—with men of this sort blood is ever thicker than water. He thought that the war was useless and a crime. He thought that it could be averted, and like other men whose reasons were not dethroned by their hates and passions, he knew that the South, brave and courageous though she was, could not stand up and fight the North, backed by the moral and financial support of the entire world. Vainly he hoped to avert civil war and its horrors. A student of Roman history, he knew what it meant for brother to contend against brother in mortal combat. He knew the unhappy condition of every country afflicted with civil war. He knew the story of Marius and Sulla, of Pompey and Cæsar, of Charles I and Cromwell, and therefore, as a member of the Legislature from Northampton County in 1861, he was most active in securing the passage of a bill creating a Peace Commission, with instructions to repair to the capital of the new Confederacy and to restore the relations of the seceding States to the Union. Three distinguished North Carolinians constituted the Montgomery Peace Commission. The Chairman of the Commission was David L. Swain, President of our University, the other members being Matt W. Ransom, of Northampton, and John L. Bridgers, of Edgecombe. Governor Swain was a pronounced Union man, while Colonel Bridgers

was a War Democrat. These men at once repaired to Montgomery in pursuance of the resolution of the General Assembly, but their task was a vain one. The war spirit was all-pervading. Abram W. Venable was going to wipe up all the blood spilt in the war with his silk handkerchief. One infatuated Southern man was thoroughly convinced that he could whip a dozen Yankees, and in the early battles of the war some of our boys actually cautioned their comrades to "walk easy" or they would "scare the Yankees away before they could get a shot." Our North Carolina Peace Commission found the new capital of the Confederacy aflame with martial music, with marching troops, with officers in gorgeous uniforms, bearing new epaulettes, and with the flashing eyes of thoughtless but beautiful women, and the whole scene dominated by that high, unconquerable spirit of the man of the South who counts not the odds. What could withstand these? But their glitter little moved Matt W. Ransom. He was a peace man in Raleigh and he was a peace man in Montgomery. Sadly he wrote his wife from this latter city that the war spirit was running high, that men had lost their reason, and, he added, that his own associates were doing little to assist him to check the rapid march to destruction. The mission proved a failure, and on the 11th of February, 1861, the Commission made its report to the Legislature of North Carolina, declaring that nothing could be accomplished. Events followed each other with great rapidity. On the 14th of April, 1861, Fort Sumter fell. On the 15th of April, 1861, President Lincoln made his call for troops. Governor Ellis firmly and disdainfully replied that North Carolina would furnish no troops to coerce her Southern brethren, and at once called the General Assembly to meet in extraordinary session in the city of Raleigh on May 1, 1861. Pursuant to the call, the Legislature convened upon the appointed day and issued a call for a convention of the people and for the assembling of 20,000 volunteers.

This call for volunteers had scarcely been made when Matt W. Ransom, the member from Northampton County, resigned his seat, volunteered as a private soldier in the ranks, bade farewell to these historic halls and went forth to defend his native State. On the 8th of May, 1861, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Regiment of Infantry, and from this date until April 9, 1865, when Appomattox put an end to Southern hopes, wherever duty called, or danger was the thickest, this brave man could always be found.

Of General Ransom as a soldier I shall say but little. His record is too well known to require any extended comment. Suffice it to say that he rose by merit from Lieutenant-Colonel to Major-General in Lee's army; that he participated in the battles of Seven Pines, Malvern Hill, Sharpsburg, Boone's Mill, Suffolk, Plymouth, Drewry's Bluff, Fort Steadman, Five Forks, and other battles around Petersburg; that he was wounded at Malvern Hill, and desperately wounded at Drewry's Bluff; that when he was promoted to be Colonel of the Thirty-fifth Regiment, the officers of his old command presented him with a handsome sword as a token of their love and admiration; that his brigade was often commended for bravery in the reports of his ranking officers; that the Legislature of North Carolina and the Confederate Congress each passed votes of thanks to Commander Cook, of the Ram "Albemarle," and to General Hoke and General Ransom and the officers and men of their respective commands for the brilliant victory at Plymouth, and that more precious than all else, Ransom's brigades so conducted themselves in battle and under the eye of Robert E. Lee, a man greater in defeat than the greatest of his victors, as to secure his coveted meed of praise—"Ransom's two brigades behaved most handsomely," Lee reported—and that when the curtain fell on this four years' drama of carnage, at Appomattox Ransom surrendered 41 officers and 391 enlisted men. General Ransom could never have made such a soldier as Stonewall Jackson. To attain supreme excel-

lence in any department of human endeavor, one must know and love every detail of his work. To be a great soldier one must appreciate the value of the drill. Indeed, it is an absolute necessity. He must understand that an army must be trained until it moves with one will, with one purpose, and almost as one man. Stonewall Jackson knew this. In the cold winter of 1862, in the bleak mountains of Northern Virginia, at Romney, Jackson trained and drilled his men till they all but froze and mutinied, when the stern Puritan, sore and hurt by their conduct, promptly tendered his resignation.

At Aquia Creek, in 1891, General Ransom wrote to his wife that "the stupid drill was very irksome, and that such things engaged small minds very anxiously, and that he did not take the field for this." The strength and the weakness of the average Southern army consisted in the individual valor and initiative of each officer and each private, while little attention was paid to the training and military manœuvres of companies, regiments and brigades. Colonel Henderson, of the English Army, in his life of Stonewall Jackson, often refers to this fact. The result was practically an army of "stars"—a Mettus Curtius and an Horatius without number could be found enlisted under the "Stars and Bars," and Ransom was one of them. Observe him at Five Forks. We can see him now, superb of figure, six feet tall, handsome as a prince, proud as Lucifer, picturesque as J. E. B. Stuart, brave as Jubal Early, splendidly attired, astride his thoroughbred stallion—his favorite charger, "Ion." The battle is on. Philip H. Sheridan is commanding 25,000 well-equipped men and stands for the cause of the North. George Pickett is commanding 7,000 half-ragged and half-starved Confederates, and he, together with his division commanders, Fitz. Lee and Matt W. Ransom, stand for the cause of the South. General Sheridan executes a flank movement to cut off the Confederates from their army at Petersburg. It is between four and five

o'clock before the Union forces advance under Warren. General Sheridan complains of the delay of his subordinate and relieves him of his command. Warren's corps finally advances through the undefended lines on the left of the Confederates, getting completely in their rear. Sheridan begins his attack with Ayers' Division on Ransom's extreme left, held by the Twenty-fourth Regiment. At first the enemy are resisted and several distinct charges are repulsed, but finally Griffin's Federal Division appears on the scene and it is followed by Crawford's. The thin gray line of the Confederacy is swept away, and the Fifty-sixth, Twenty-fifth, Forty-ninth and Thirty-fifth Regiments are driven from their works. They form from time to time new lines of battle, entirely ignorant that the enemy have flanked them and are attacking Pickett in the rear with an overwhelming force. General Ransom conceives it his duty to make one final charge to break through the enveloping lines. One horse has been killed under him. Calling on his brigade to follow him, bareheaded, Ransom leads his brigade for the last time in a charge against the enemy. He emerges from the woods and is in front of his advancing line; the enemy open fire. The smoke clears away and rider and horse are discovered prone upon the ground. The cry runs down the line that the General is shot and men rush to save him from capture. It is even repeated in the Federal Army that Ransom has been killed, and a message to this effect is wired to Major-General Thomas, a kinsman of General Ransom. Suddenly Captain Johnson, of the Thirty-fifth, and Captain Sherrill, of the Twenty-ninth Regiments, rush forward and find General Ransom pinioned under his horse and in danger of being crushed in the dying struggles of the noble animal. The enemy has now closed in on both flanks and on the front, and there is no hope of assistance, and yet there is no thought of surrender. Under the darkness of the approaching night, General Ransom and the remnant of his men fall back through the small loop-hole left, emptying into the enemy's

face their last cartridge. During the night, General Ransom with his remaining troops unites with General Anderson's corps, and together with Fitzhugh Lee and Barringer's brigade, heroically oppose the enemy's advance and slowly fall back within their own lines.*

When General Ransom surrendered at Appomattox it was a complete surrender with no mental reservations. He had made a good fight and had not won, but he could at least deserve success. Noble were our Southern boys on the field of battle, but how much nobler in defeat! Lee showed us our duty, and Ransom followed the leadership of the great chieftain. Our duty was to remain quietly at home, obey the laws of the United States Government, and preserve an Anglo-Saxon civilization. After Appomattox came poverty, desolated farms, and decimated families, the Freedman's Bureau, carpet-baggers, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, many of our wise leaders disfranchised, and the ballot in the hands of our late slaves. To these great changes we of the South had to conform our civilization. How well we have done let even our former enemies now attest. During these exciting scenes, during the process of readjustment and rehabilitation, of becoming a portion of the Union once more, it is not invidious to say of General Ransom that North Carolina turned to him with as much confidence as to any of her noble sons, and she turned not in vain. What was accomplished by the conservative advisers and leaders after the Civil War has made possible the almost uniform reign of law, order and good feeling which has since prevailed in North Carolina, giving her the deserved reputation of being perhaps the most law-abiding State south of the Potomac.

After the close of the war, General Ransom again took up the thread of life, engaging both in the practice of the law and the tilling of the soil. During the next few years he mingled but little in politics, but he was not leading a use-

*Description of Battle of Five Forks, taken largely from Col. W. H. S. Burgwyn's Address on Gen. Ransom.

less or self-sufficient life. Eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, sixty-nine and seventy were dark days for North Carolina. This was the embryo state of her existence under the new order of things. What should North Carolina be and what could she do? Unwise schoolma'ms from the North, over-zealous Abolitionists, and carpet-baggers were putting strange and wrong notions in the heads of our late slaves. The Legislature was dominated by the worst element of both whites and blacks, and bankrupted the State. Many of our best men, who had participated in the late war, were not allowed to vote. Petty stealings and burnings were frequent; the courts, now presided over for the most part by incompetent judges, either in sympathy with negro criminals or hostile to the old-time white man, refused to punish crime at all or punished it inadequately. In the Eastern counties the polls were literally surrounded by negroes, so that often many decent white men who could vote were unwilling to make the effort, women were in terror, and chaos was imminent. The white people organized to regulate matters, and the Ku-Klux Klan came into existence.

Governor Holden retaliated by proclaiming martial law in the counties of Alamance and Caswell. Adolphus G. Moore, Esq., was arrested by Colonel George W. Kirk upon the charge of belonging to the Ku-Klux Klan and for complicity in the murder of J. W. Stevens, of Yanceyville. The prisoner's attorneys, A. S. Merrimon and E. S. Parker, sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* before Chief Justice Pearson. To the demand of the officer of the law for the delivery of the prisoner under the great writ of the State, Colonel Kirk made this reply, "Tell your judge that such things have played out. My orders come from the Governor, and I will obey none others." Upon reading the return of the officer, Judge Pearson directs the Marshal of the Supreme Court to exhibit the writ to Governor Holden and to say to him that he had no power to disobey the writ of *habeas corpus*. The pity of it is that our great Chief Justice further added that if the

Executive does disobey the writ, the power of the Judiciary is exhausted and the responsibility must rest with the Governor. Holden refuses to honor the writ, and sets forth his reasons for so doing at great length. Nothing now remains but the trial of Mr. Moore by a drum-head court martial; but not so. Graham, Badger, B. F. Moore and Judge Battle, and his two sons, Kemp P. and Richard H., hold a conference in the city of Raleigh to consider this weighty matter. The minds of all of them instinctively turn to General Ransom on his Northampton farm. They telegraph him to come to Raleigh. A conference is held, and Ransom suggests that the rights of the prisoner are protected by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which had but lately been ratified. Armed with the petition for the writ of *habeas corpus*, signed by Josiah Turner, and also with a copy of this new amendment to the Constitution, which assuredly had not been intentionally passed for the purposes to which it was now to be put, Ransom hastens to Elizabeth City, the home of George W. Brooks, District Judge of the United States. For several days and nights General Ransom and Judge Brooks discuss the matter and construe the new amendment. The writ is finally granted and is made returnable at Salisbury. The court convenes. The prisoner is brought into court by military escort under the command of Colonel Kirk. The brave judge looks up from the bench, and observing these minions of a tyrannical and self-sufficient government in his court of justice, indignantly orders them out, discharges the prisoner, and taxes the costs of the entire proceeding against George W. Kirk. This brave act of Judge Brooks will be handed down in story and in song till the latest syllable of recorded time. He was not a profound judge, but he was an incorruptible one, and he was as firm as he was honest.

In 1870 Z. B. Vance was elected to the United States Senate. He was refused his seat by that body. Ransom was chosen by the succeeding Legislature to fill the position,

and took his seat on April 23, 1872. When Senator Ransom had taken the oath of office, Senator Thurman, from his place in the Senate, arose and said: "I take the liberty of expressing the satisfaction that I am sure all of you feel that now, for the first time since 1861, every seat in this body is filled, every State is represented. I think it is a matter that the country and the Senate may congratulate itself upon."

We have considered Matt W. Ransom as a lawyer and soldier, and somewhat as an orator, but we have not yet considered him in that forum which he graced and adorned for so great a length of time, and where he did his best work, as a Senator of the United States. During a quarter of a century, save two years, he was North Carolina's senior Senator, and no State ever had a more faithful or efficient public servant. The first words spoken by him in a set speech in that august assemblage furnished the key to his after life and conduct. It was February 17, 1875, and the South and its attitude to and treatment of the negro was under consideration. Feeling was running high in the Senate when General Ransom arose and said: "For nearly three years I have sat silently in this chamber, with the hope that by pursuing a course, as I thought, of impartial and patriotic duty toward all and every part of the country, I might have some influence in satisfying Northern Senators that the South desired peace with the North and a restored and fraternal Union of all the States of the Republic." He had sat in the Senate three years silent. He had heard his State and his section of our country abused unjustly. He could remain silent no longer, and his great speech made its impress upon our distracted nation and enriched the literature of the times.

He continued to pursue the course which he had adopted—one of silence—on all occasions, except now and then to pay a tribute to some dead Senator, or to utter a few sentences in a running debate. He knew full well that an acrimonious debate defeated its very purpose. It rekindled

fires of sectional hate. It convinced no one, and it proved nothing. Even when the great Ben Hill made his famous reply to Mr. Blaine's attack, can any one declare that at the time more good than harm was thereby accomplished? And so Senator Ransom continued in his quiet way to do his full duty, upon the committees and around the conference table. When it was proposed that Mrs. Grant, widow of General Grant, receive a pension, Ransom voted for the measure and against his party associates. When General Burnside passed away, General Ransom paid a handsome tribute to his memory. His relations with the great Senators of our entire country, of both political parties, were always kind, and with many of them cordial and affectionate. Edmunds and Thurman, Conkling and Gorman, and Lamar and Bayard were his close friends and admirers. These Senators had heard his earnest appeal for the South, and his devout prayer that all sections of our common country should bury their anger, that speech of so much sincerity, worth and earnestness from which I have just quoted. They had seen him at the conclusion of that great speech of eight hours duration, carried bodily from the Senate chamber, exhausted by the exertions which he had undergone, and each and all knew that there was not a Senator in that chamber who would risk more or go further to give peace and quiet once more to our distracted country.

And the supreme test often came to Ransom. It came in 1876. Tilden had been elected President of the United States. Nearly all candid men conceded it. The South demanded that he be seated at all hazards, even at the price of another fratricidal strife if need be. But Senator Ransom saw it otherwise. He rarely made mistakes upon great questions. He had a cool head, a great fund of common sense, and an intuitive knowledge of the right and wrong of weighty matters. He and other conservative men of the South determined, therefore, to settle this vexed question by arbitration and not by force. And Senator Ransom concluded to do this

though, doubtless, it would cost him his seat in the Senate. None knew better than Senator Ransom that North Carolina would never forgive the man who ran up the white flag in the face of the enemy, no matter how imminent the danger. Under a resolution of Proctor Knott, a committee of five was appointed, who, in conjunction with seven from the Senate, should consider the whole question of the presidential election and of the disputed votes in the Electoral College, and who should recommend to Congress a course to be followed. The Senate committee consisted of Edmunds of Vermont, Morton of Indiana, Conkling of New York, Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Thurman of Ohio, Bayard of Delaware, and Ransom of North Carolina.

The labors of this commission were very great, but the ridicule heaped upon the entire scheme by the extremists of both sections was even greater. Their labors extended over many weeks and they were called upon to consider every conceivable device for choosing the commission to whom this matter should finally be left for arbitrament. At one time it was suggested that the Supreme Court of the United States be requested to pass upon the matter. The great question at issue was who should constitute the fifteenth man and cast the deciding vote. It was seriously considered that he be chosen by lot. It was at one time suggested that the fifteenth arbitrator be called from some other country. Lord Dufferin, who then happened to be in Canada, was humorously suggested. The bravery of this thing consisted in this, that Ransom and his Democratic colleagues from the South, even after they feared that they were not going to get a square deal in selecting the board of arbitrators, turned not back, but continued until the very end. Only a brave man is willing to lose when in losing he destroys himself and thereby saves his country. Such men were Ransom and Bayard and Thurman. And well they were; for a second civil war, following hard on the heels of the last one, would have been one too many. As finally constituted, the Elec-

toral Commission consisted of five on the part of the Senate, five on the part of the House, and five Judges from the Supreme Court. Judge David Davis was to have been the fifteenth man, but he was unfortunately called from the Supreme Court Bench to the United States Senate and was thereby rendered ineligible. As a last resort, Justice Bradley, of New York, was chosen to fill the unenviable position of the fifteenth man; he whose vote always made eight count one more than seven. Senator Ransom lost his President, but he helped to save his country.

In the life of Washington City, Senator Ransom was a prime factor; not that he went into Washington society, but the wives and daughters and families of Senators who spent their winters at the capital, and such women as Mrs. Cleveland, and others, were quite overcome by the elegance of his manner and the graciousness of his demeanor. It was said indeed that Mrs. Cleveland could not believe her ears when she heard that Senator Ransom was not supporting her husband, in 1892, for the Presidency. She little knew the violent opposition to him in North Carolina at that time, and how good men were actually charging that President Cleveland had been purchased, literally bought, by the gold syndicate. Mrs. Cleveland doubtless thought better of our State when in June, 1908, she received from that greatest of Democratic State Conventions in Charlotte a telegram of love and confidence on the death of her great husband. The next time Ransom met President Cleveland after the convention of 1892, at which North Carolina had deserted the "Old Man" for David B. Hill, and his likes, he remarked, "Mr. President, I made two mistakes last fall. My first mistake was in holding my cotton too long, and my second mistake was in voting against you."

In keeping with his duty to the whole nation, Senator Ransom early conceived the idea that the capital of our country ought to be greatly improved, that the Potomac flats should be reclaimed and new parks provided, and he determined

that Washington City should have further assistance at the hands of the national government in its beautification and adornment. To this end, on the 13th day of December, 1881, he offered a resolution raising a select committee on the condition of the Potomac River front. Senator Ransom was appointed chairman of this committee, a duty which he was well qualified to discharge. In the first place, he had spent most of his life near the Roanoke River, and he knew something about the Roanoke bottoms, and it may safely be said that any man who is capable of handling the Roanoke bottoms will find the Potomac flats an easy problem. In the next place, Senator Ransom fully appreciated the value of a great and magnificent capital, either to State or Nation. He knew what Paris had done for France, what London had done for England, what Berlin had done for Germany, and he knew that a people who would grow and prosper and command the respect and admiration of the world should not begrudge the money which is expended in the beautifying and adornment of their first political city, of their seat of government; in a word, Senator Ransom knew the value of a great and all-pervading national pride. The appreciation which the citizens of Washington City showed to our senior Senator for this action of his was most gratifying to him. In a familiar letter written July 17, 1882, to his life-long friend, Colonel Wm. L. Saunders, he referred to his work on this select committee. "In Washington," he wrote, "I have made a big thing on the Potomac flats. I have captured all Washington beyond question. I can not well tell you how I have taken the city."

Senator Ransom was never deflected from his course in the Senate as a messenger of peace and reconciliation. It was his influence and his vote in the Senate that confirmed Stanley Matthews as a Justice of the Supreme Court. But this action of the Senator brought down on his head the maledictions of many good men at home. Was it not Stanley Matthews who had been sent by Hayes in 1876 as a visiting

statesman to New Orleans, and was he not responsible in part for the defeat of Mr. Tilden in the memorable contest of 1876? Did he not devise ways and means whereby the returns from Louisiana were lost to the Democrats? Ransom examined into these matters and found the appointment to be a good one, and again defied public sentiment at home by his vote to confirm. The next year after Justice Matthews took his seat on the bench, the great case of *United States v. Lee* came up for decision. The question involved was the title to "Arlington," the home of General R. E. Lee. The Court was badly divided. Four Justices, including the Chief Justice, were against the claim of General Lee's children, but five of the Court were with them, and Stanley Matthews' vote restored "Arlington," or its value, to the Lee heirs. We may well imagine that even Senator Ransom's critics now recognized the work of a master.

For a great many years Senator Ransom was Democratic National Committeeman from North Carolina. He was also Chairman of the important Senate Committee on Commerce. Perhaps the most useful services that he rendered his State, along commercial lines, were by virtue of this position. He secured large appropriations for our rivers and harbors, and he contributed very greatly to the commercial supremacy of our chief seaport, Wilmington, by deepening the channel of the Cape Fear River. Step by step he rose in the council chambers of the nation, until finally the greatest honor in the gift of the Senate—an honor attained by no other Southern man since 1861—was accorded to him; he was chosen President *pro tempore* of the Senate and acting Vice-President. Another vote of Senator Ransom showed his character and his independence. In 1893 a fierce panic was raging in the United States. Two remedies for the evil were suggested. They were diametrically opposed. One remedy looked to the free coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1, irrespective of the act and conduct of any other nation on this subject. The other remedy looked to the placing of our

country upon the gold standard, along with England, Germany and France. Something must be done at once. The credit of the country was imperiled. An acute panic of enormous proportions was prevailing. Expert financiers declared that the Silver Purchase Clause of the Sherman Act must be repealed at once or the result to our country would be most disastrous and the United States would become Mexicanized. Senator Ransom took his political life in his hand and voted to repeal the Silver Purchase Clause of the Sherman Act, and thereby estranged thousands of friends in his native State. Doubtless this intrepid conduct of our senior Senator again ingratiated him with the Sphinx of the White House, Grover Cleveland.

It is said that Senator Ransom proposed to Senator Vance about this time that they should each take the stump against the Farmers' Alliance, stand boldly by the policy of Mr. Cleveland, and patiently await the result at the ballot box. It is said that Senator Vance, being a consistent believer in the white metal, declined so to do. We know that Walthall and George pursued this course in Mississippi, and that they remained in the Senate until they died. It is interesting to speculate upon the probable result if Vance and Ransom had pursued the course above indicated.

In all the great councils of his party, Ransom took a high place. In the naming of its candidates for President and Vice-President, and in formulating the party creed, he might always be found on the side of conservatism and material progress. The great property interests of the country came to look upon him as one of the safest men at Washington. His friendship for Mr. Bayard, and his earnest desire to see him President of the United States, is well known. After the adjournment of the Senate each election year, Ransom would return to North Carolina and participate actively in the canvass, speaking from every stump assigned him by the chairman of his party, not selecting the large towns, but going into the remote sections and sometimes addressing

small audiences. The length of his speeches was usually about three hours, but no man ever quit the meeting while Ransom was speaking. He was so earnest and dignified, so courteous withal, that men were irresistibly drawn to him; and as for the old soldiers who had fought under him, they came too, to a man, and grasped his hand and brushed away the unbidden tear. In his speeches, even on the stump, he was never known to indulge in personalities. He spoke courteously of his opponents, even those residing in remote States, but in fierce and burning words he would arraign the conduct of the opposing party, and he would bring to bear upon the matters in dispute so many classic references, such praise of the deeds of our ancestors, such hope for his State and his country if his countrymen would but continue to follow in the paths of virtue and of truth, that even his political opponents were dazed by his utterances, captivated by his loftiness and flattered by his attentions. Biennially the great Senator would lay by 100 bales of good middling cotton and send the proceeds to the accredited officials for campaign purposes.

Senator Ransom was the most temperate of men. He absolutely eschewed whiskey and tobacco in every form, and his daily life at Washington was one round of service and of self-abnegation; an orange, a cereal, and a cup of coffee for breakfast; a slight lunch at noon, milk toast and a soft egg at supper sufficed for him, and yet his appearance was so rich, his demeanor so elegant and luxurious, and his views so liberal, that many North Carolinians adjudged him over-indulgent in these things.

Senator Ransom's course in the Senate on more than one occasion had its influence on legislation hostile to the South. Senators and Congressmen of extreme political views had concluded that the new amendments were in the South a nullity and that they must be given effect by means of Federal troops or marshals to guard the polls and enable the freedmen to vote as they chose. When General Hayes was inaugurated President, United States troops had been finally

withdrawn from the South, but bitter and acrimonious debates in Congress continued, and it was openly charged that colored men were cheated of their rights or intimidated and had no voice in public matters. Among other remedies suggested was one to reduce representation in Congress to the basis of the votes actually cast and announced. To all charges of fraud and force Southern Senators and Congressmen had replied that the colored man was ignorant and was not qualified to vote, but that as soon as he was educated and fit for citizenship he should be allowed to vote, and that the white people of the South were then engaged in the duty of educating the colored man for citizenship, and that the whole question was one for adjustment in each individual community. This statement of Southern Senators and Congressmen was, for a long time, taken at its par value and seemed to put the question somewhat at rest, at least so long as the Republicans continued to hold the Presidency. But finally two things occurred which changed the aspect of affairs. In 1884, largely by means of a solid South, the Democrats for the first time since the war elected a Democratic President of the United States, and thereupon Southern men of partisan and extreme views grew bolder in their utterances, declaring that the negro should never vote even if he were educated and qualified, and that the issue was one of race and not of fitness. In 1888 General Harrison defeated Mr. Cleveland for the Presidency, and the Republican party came into power again, and now under the leadership of Senator Hoar, it would make sure that the Democrats would not again elect their president by fraudulent electoral votes from the South! They would remove the handicap of nearly 150 electoral votes from the South going solidly in every election against the Grand Old Party, and this they would accomplish under the guidance of Senator Hoar by means of a Force Bill. I quote from Senator Hoar's Autobiography of Seventy Years: "In December, 1889, the Republican party succeeded to the legislative power in the country for the first

time in fourteen years. Since 1873 there had been a Democratic President for four years, and a Democratic House or Senate or both for the rest of the time. There was a general belief on the part of the Republicans that the House of Representatives, as constituted for fourteen years of that time, and that the Presidency itself when occupied by Mr. Cleveland, represented nothing but usurpation, by which, in large districts of the country, the will of the people had been defeated. There were some faint denials at the time when these claims were made in either House of Congress as to elections in the Southern States. But nobody seems to deny now, that the charges were true. Mr. Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, stated in my hearing in the Senate: 'We took the Government away. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it. The Senator from Wisconsin would have done the same thing. I see it in his eye right now. He would have done it. With that system—force, tissue ballots, etc.,—we got tired ourselves. So we called a Constitutional Convention, and we eliminated, as I said, all of the colored people whom we could under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. I want to call your attention to the remarkable change that has come over the spirit of the dream of the Republicans; to remind you, gentlemen of the North, that your slogans of the past—brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God—have gone glimmering down the ages. The brotherhood of man exists no longer, because you shoot negroes in Illinois, when they come in competition with your labor, and we shoot them in South Carolina when they come in competition with us in the matter of elections. You do not love them any better than we do. You used to pretend that you did; but you no longer pretend except to get their votes. You deal with the Filipinos just as you deal with the negroes, only you treat them a heap worse.' No Democrat rose to deny his statement, and, as far as I know, no Democratic paper contradicted it. The Republicans, who had elected President Harrison and

a Republican House in 1888, were agreed, with very few exceptions, as to the duty of providing a remedy for this great wrong."

Senator Hoar actively set about to purge and purify the Southern ballot box! In true New England fashion he consulted not only his associates in the Senate, taking special counsel of Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, but also conferred freely with friends in the other House. Meantime, the House of Representatives had appointed a select committee to consider and report a bill on this subject. The work of the committee was speedily accomplished. The bill was rapidly put through the House and was sent over to the Senate. It had passed the House. It had the active support of a militant and great party, and it must now become a law. Senator Hoar declared that "it was a very simple measure," and Senator Hoar would make no slip, no mistake this time. He would go himself and see every Republican Senator, and obtain his opinion upon this question in advance. And go he did. And got their opinion, and it was favorable to his simple little bill. And the agreement which they all with one accord—this majority of the entire Senate—did sign with their hands and the original of which Senator Hoar had in his possession up to the day of his death, provided that Mr. Hoar's Federal election law should be taken up the very first day of the next session, and be pressed to the exclusion of all other business. Pursuant to this agreement, Senator Hoar's bill had the right of way at the December session. Day after day, and night after night it was debated. Parliamentary tactics were resorted to. The hope of the South rose and fell. It seemed almost certain that this measure would become a law, and in its train would follow bloodshed, disorder, and demoralization at the South. A motion was finally made to lay it aside for other business, and, strange to relate, the motion prevailed by a bare majority. Senator Hoar could not understand how it all came about. How those Republican Senators who had promised him in writing

to vote for the bill, should have finally voted against it. "I never have known by what process of reasoning they reconciled their action with their word," Senator Hoar sadly remarks on page 156 of his book.

I think I can enlighten Senator Hoar upon this question. This bill was defeated by Matt W. Ransom, and other conservative men in the Senate. He had waited years and years for just such an occasion to serve his people. His votes had often been censured. He had often been misunderstood at home. Often-times he had been accused of truckling to the North, and not standing by the South. He had voted for pensioning the Northern soldiers. He had praised the great Northern dead, as they had passed away. He had mingled in social intercourse freely with the great Senators and their families of the opposite political party. He had declared on Memorial Day, in Raleigh, in May, 1870, "I thank God there are flowers enough in this beautiful land of the South to strew upon the graves of those who fell alike in the Gray and the Blue, and there are hearts pure and large enough and hands gentle and generous enough to perform the kindly duty." And men of the North and men of the West knew that Ransom meant every word that he had said on this subject. And so when the critical time had arrived, and Ransom made his appeal to these men not to pass this iniquitous bill, not to strike down the people of the South, but to leave this matter to them for final settlement, trusting to their honor and trusting to their fairness, his appeal was not made in vain, and the Senators rallied around him, and the bill was defeated. Gorman, of Maryland, was the Democratic leader in the great fight against the enactment of the Force Bill. A few years after all danger had passed, Senator Gorman was at a banquet in New York, when the question of the Force Bill was being discussed in a friendly fashion. It was then that Senator Gorman said that more credit for the defeat of the Force Bill was due to Senator Ransom than to himself and all the other Senators combined. He declared that Senator Ran-

som could not be induced to leave the Senate Chamber either night or day during the pendency of the bill, that he was unwilling to relax his watchfulness for one minute, that he exercised all his powers of argument, persuasion, defiance and threats, to secure votes in opposition to the bill, and prevent the support of it, that he was most resourceful and tactful in arguments, appeals, and parliamentary expedients to prevent the passage of the bill. "Often times during these days," said Senator Gorman, "myself and others felt depressed—almost hopeless—but Ransom never lost faith or courage. At every suggestion of friend or foe of amendment, or amelioration of the provisions of the bill, Senator Ransom refused to listen, insisting that the bill was eternally and intrinsically wrong in principle, and cruel and unjust to his people, and that it must be defeated at all hazards." Senator Gorman likewise declared that but for Ransom, he verily believed that the Force Bill could not have been defeated, that he was the most popular man at the time in the Senate, and that he secured in opposition to the bill some Senators whom none other, perhaps, could have influenced, and induced other Senators to remain neutral who, but for him would have espoused the passage of the bill; when urged to take some rest and admonished that the nervous strain was too great for him, Senator Ransom turned a deaf ear to all appeals, and declared that he would die at his post in opposition to this bill rather than to permit such an infamous measure to be fastened upon his people."

"Hic labor, hoc opus est."

One shudders as he thinks of the results that would have followed in the train of such a Force Bill. If Federal troops had taken part in Southern elections, violence and bloodshed would have ensued. Southern folk are much too hot-blooded for such restraints. So thoroughly did Senator Ransom and his colleagues do the work of opposition, that the Force Bill, and all like bills are, we trust, dead and buried forever.

Of Senator Ransom as a statesman, Goldwin Smith de-

clared that his value to the Southern States was beyond computation, and even Mr. Blaine saw in Ransom such moderation of views and agreeableness of manner, as to give him great influence in the United States Senate.

The fall elections of 1894 were disastrous to the Democratic party. This result was accomplished by a combination of the Republicans and Populists, and Senator Ransom was retired from the Senate in March, 1895. Shortly thereafter he was appointed by President Cleveland Ambassador to Mexico, which position he filled for about two years, resigning on account of the unfavorable climate and of a longing for the Old North State. Returning to the simple pleasures of his country life, he brought with him not only the large salary, which the position of Ambassador to Mexico carries, but also a handsome stipend, greater than his entire salary, as arbitrator in a matter of much consequence. With these large sums of money, and with the proceeds of the sale of several abundant crops, and of timber cut from his bottom lands, he paid his debts, added to his estates, and placed himself in a position of comfort and affluence for the remainder of his days.

Perhaps no citizen of the State was ever more highly esteemed, almost venerated, than was Senator Ransom, from the time he returned from Mexico to the day of his death. Wherever he went admiring throngs followed him, and he was ever spoken of as the Grand Old Roman. Senator Ransom was devotedly attached to his wife and children. He did not connect himself with any church, though he had a sustaining faith in God, and wrote earnest and frequent letters to Mrs. Ransom from the fields of battle, manifesting a desire and intent to enter the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Senator Ransom was a man of superb figure. He was full six feet tall, his weight was about two hundred pounds, his hair and beard, when he was a young man, were very dark. He had a prominent nose, his countenance was noble, and

his eye betokened the worth of the man. His head was much above the average in size. His conversation was clean and chaste. His speeches were lofty and elevated. His illustrations and anecdotes were classic, and truly may it be said of him that his canvass of our State elevated and ennobled her citizenship. Senator Ransom was no such trained lawyer as Senator Badger. He was not a student and a scholar like Senator Graham. He had not the technical knowledge of Senator Haywood, nor was he a popular idol like Senator Vance. But in his influence with the President of the United States, with the Departments, and with his colleagues in the Senate, and in the services which his peculiar talents enabled him to render to the South, he was superior to them all. In fine, Ransom was the Senator—every inch of him. When he took his seat in that august body, he made a fixed resolve, so to conduct himself in his high office that the best thought of the world would approve his conduct, and that no critic could point to North Carolina as a narrow or provincial State.

Senator Ransom was no less fortunate in his death than in his long and brilliant career as orator, soldier, statesman. When Sir Walter Scott had gazed for the last time upon the beautiful Tweed and the hills beyond he turned to his son-in-law, Lockhart, and said: "Be a good man, Lockhart, be a good man," and instantly passed away. Ransom's death was not unlike Scott's. For some months the venerable Senator had not appeared to be in robust health. But it was the way with those heroic men not to complain. So his friends were not apprehensive. His devoted wife and daughter had not returned from their accustomed summer trip to Blowing Rock. Three of his sons were about the quiet country home. A beautiful October day was drawing to its close. The noble Senator had remained indoors during the day, and was sitting on the side of the bed, conversing with his sons when, suddenly, the swift messenger came to him, and the fearless old man, with a bright eye and sus-

taining courage, turned to his boys and said, "Do right, boys, always do right. God bless your mother. I am going." And in an instant, he was indeed gone to his reward.

The day after his death, Joseph P. Caldwell, the Senator's friend and champion, under the editorial caption, "Dead, My Lords and Gentlemen," declared in broken accents that the greatest of North Carolinians had answered the final summons. And Josephus Daniels, who had not always agreed with the Senator, said, editorially, that in many respects, he attained greater reputation than any other citizen who has represented this State in the Federal Congress. Can we, men of Carolina, measure up to this national standard? Shall we, as Ransom did, stand for large and great things? Can we catch the lesson of his life: No man shall advocate principles simply because they are popular. No man shall resort to the cheap tricks of the demagogue to ingratiate himself with the people. No public servant shall vote for a measure, simply because it is popular, but he shall, in accordance with his best judgment, espouse only those equal measures which the mature thought of the world approves, and he shall do all these things quietly, deliberately and unafraid.

"For him, who in a hundred battles stood
Scorning the cannon's mouth,
Grimy with flame and red with foeman's blood,
For thy sweet sake, O South;
Who, wise as brave, yielded his conquered sword
At a vain war's surcease,
And spoke, thy champion still, the statesman's word
In the calm halls of peace;
Who pressed the ruddy wine to thy faint lips,
Where thy torn body lay,
And saw afar time's white in-sailing ships
Bringing a happier day.
Oh, mourn for him, dear land that gave him birth!
Bow low thy sorrowing head!
Let thy seared leaves fall silent on the earth
Whereunder he lies dead!
In field and hall, in valor and in grace,
In wisdom's livery,
Gentle and brave, he moved with knightly pace
A worthy son of thee!"¹

¹Matt W. Ransom. By John Charles McNeill. In "Poems, Merry and Sad."

A Personal Tribute

BY A. H. BOYDEN

State Senator from the Twenty-sixth District.

Mr. Chairman:

Matt W. Ransom was a patriot, an orator, a soldier and a statesman. He was all that, and he was also a God-fearing, Christian gentleman. I am proud to say that he was my warm personal friend, and I am glad this opportunity is afforded me to pay an humble tribute to his honored memory.

I have seen him amid the shock of battle as undaunted, cool and intrepid he sat upon his horse while amid the storm of bullets and plunging iron from the fiery cannon's mouth he led his cheering men to a glorious victory.

I have seen his magnificent presence upon the hustings when for hours he held the listening multitude entranced with his matchless oratory, as with his eloquent tongue he pleaded with his people for the integrity of his State and for Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

I have seen him upon the floor of the United States Senate where for twenty-four years he served his State and country with such conspicuous ability, and where he was recognized as one of the great leaders in that greatest deliberative body on earth. There I have heard his voice in eloquent tones pleading for his stricken Southland, which he loved so much.

His place in history is among the State's immortals, and his friends, and the people of the State honor themselves and honor the State in placing this splendid bust of him in the Capitol among the State's dead statesmen, where it will be an inspiration to the youth of our land to stimulate their ambition to serve their State with love and fidelity as he did.

General Ransom loved his friends, and no man had truer,

more loyal and devoted friends. His soldiers loved him and followed him wherever he led. The people loved him, and honored him with the highest position within the gift of the State. His devotion to North Carolina was unbounded, and there never was a time when he was not ready to make any sacrifice for her honor.

He was an honest man, and his integrity and uprightness in both public and private life, his splendid manners, but simple life, are a glorious heritage to his family and his friends.

Whether in war or in peace, in adversity or prosperity, for nearly half a century he was a leader, a defender and deliverer of our people. He had been with them on the march, at the campfire, in the lurid flames of battle, in famine and pestilence. He suffered with them amid the pangs of cold and hunger.

As he led and guided them then, so when the terrible conflict was over, amid the cruel, sorrowful days of reconstruction, he guided and led them through a wilderness of woes back to freedom and peace, to a government of the people by the people and for the people.

While he may have had deep and powerful impulses and resentments at times, his great heart always beat in tender sympathy and charity for the poor, the downtrodden and oppressed.

His magnanimity and sense of justice were deep and strong, and his kindly nature as sweet and tender as a woman's.

If I could only do this great, good man, my friend, justice; if I could only portray, as his eloquent tongue could, his life and character and his virtues, it would give me supreme joy.

But his great deeds, his life and his virtues are enshrined in the hearts of a brave and affectionate people.

"When he died he left a lofty name,
A light, a landmark on the cliffs of fame."

Senator Ransom as a Private Citizen

BY B. S. GAY

Representative from Northampton County.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the representative here of the good people of Northampton County, the home of General Ransom, and as a member of the House of Representatives, I thank the Historical Commission for the splendid bust of the soldier, statesman, and devoted patriot, which is an expression of your own public spirited patriotism, your appreciation of his great qualities of mind and soul, and of his noble deeds in war and in peace, and of your love of the "True, the Beautiful and the Good." I shall ever remember with pride that I was so honored as to participate, although so feebly, with the statesmen and orators who have met here to do honor to him, who, while living, "crowned himself with living bays."

You have been told in eloquent words, as only the scholar and orator could tell, of his heroic deeds in times that tried men's souls; of his bravery and moral courage in times of peace no less than in times of war; and of his devotion to duty, which nerved him to advocate the interests of his people, as he saw them, against their opinions sometimes, unawed by impending political and financial ruin. It has been recited to you how he concentrated all his powers of mind and soul, while United States Senator, to the bringing about of a reconciliation between the lately hostile sections for the salvation of his own loved Southland, and the glory of the whole country. You have been told how, by his wisdom, his tact, and his magnetic influence he, as no other man could have done, prevented the enactment of the Force Bill, which would probably have precipitated another war between the States, and would certainly have prolonged the horrors of sectional discord for generations. You

have been told how, when the best men of the State were incarcerated, and were to be convicted without law, by the infamous Kirk, and the writ of *habeas corpus* was powerless, and the State "Judiciary was exhausted" in fact, the wisest and best lawyers and statesmen looked to Ransom as the only Moses who could solve the seemingly insolvable problem, and how he, as ever, measured up to the great occasion, and with the persuasive powers, the persistency, and the magnetism which he only possessed, influenced Judge Brooks, of the Federal Court, to have the writ enforced, and thereby established the authority of law and civil government in North Carolina, and drove the gamblers and money changers out of the temple of government. Neither is it in my province to relate to you that, on another occasion, in 1902, when the revenues of the State were inadequate to the appropriations made for the public schools, and when there was no authority from the Legislature to supply the deficiency, and it seemed that the public schools must be closed, how that most unselfish of patriots, the superb Aycock, then governor of the State, whose magnificent powers of soul and mind were consecrated to the uplift of his people, called together the wise men of the State to see if some way could not be devised whereby the honor of the State might be preserved, and the doors of the public schools might be kept open to the children of the State. I say it is not my part to tell you that the noble Ransom came then again to the rescue of the State, and proposed to be one of fifty to give \$250,000 to keep the schools open; and when that could not be, how he authorized the Governor to draw on him for \$5,000 for that purpose, declaring that the schools *should not close*,—yet these are facts! These themes were for stronger men, and you know how well they have done their part in your hearing to-night.

It becomes me to tell you of General Ransom as the people at his home knew him, and as I knew him. In the few minutes which have been kindly allotted to me, I can but

touch upon some few of his acts, but I hope these will show you the underlying principles which guided and controlled his life.

While he yet resided in his native county of Warren, he had wooed and won Miss Pattie Exum, one of the most famous belles of Northampton, a county still noted for her beautiful and splendid women. She was cultured, modest, pure—a model Southern young woman—and no other civilization has produced such. They were married in 1853, while he was living in Warren, his native county. In 1856 they moved to Northampton County, and lived on her magnificent Roanoke farm "Verona," five miles from Jackson. Mrs. Ransom was the owner of broad acres of Roanoke lands, and a large number of negroes, and of teams, etc., which she had inherited. Besides the staple crops of cotton and corn, to which these fertile lands were so well adapted, they had great pastures of clover and grasses on which roamed brood mares and colts, Jersey cows and calves, and sheep and frisking lambs. Mrs. Ransom had a drove of one hundred turkeys, and was a model housekeeper. Is it strange that they loved this spot so well? It is now hallowed ground, for in it was buried General Ransom, beside his brilliant and noble son, Thomas R. Ransom, who was only permitted to view the Canaan of Fame, and who died a few years before his father, between whom was a most beautiful attachment. Here too, was buried their first born, a beautiful little girl, about whom he used to write so sweetly from the camp in the tender letters to Mrs. Ransom. These letters are models, breathing tenderest love, noblest ambition, and deepest gratitude and strongest trust in God.

Mrs. Ransom was in entire sympathy with her noble husband, and throughout their married life there was a mutual devotion and unity of purpose. General Ransom was always gallant, gentle, and devoted to her, even up to his death. Dr. H. W. Lewis, of Jackson, their family physician, who was frequently in their home, and others, have often told me

of this beautiful relationship. They both loved the country, and the home life. They were both devoted to their children, and desired them educated at the home schools and at Horner's, and at the State University. For these reasons (and for a long time their financial condition would have prevented it) Mrs. Ransom never lived in Washington.

In 1867 he was farming very largely. While labor at that time was cheap, all the other expenses were very great. Corn sold for \$7 or \$8 per barrel; flour for \$15, and Western meat for 20 cents per pound; and Peruvian guano, the only kind used then, sold for \$80 per ton. Horses were also proportionately high. General Ransom expected to make 500 bales of lint cotton; on account of the extremely wet June and July and August, and the unusually early frosts, he did not make 50 bales. His was the experience of many other Roanoke farmers. The result was that he lost nearly everything but Mrs. Ransom's land. Mrs. Ransom told me a few days ago that they had to deny themselves sugar and coffee the whole winter of 1867. Nothing daunted, he rented a home in Garysburg, moved his family there, and opened a law office across the Roanoke River at Weldon, where he established a lucrative practice which he retained so long as he could attend to it, for two or three years. But the home on the farm, and farm life were irresistibly attractive to him, and he could not but divide his time there. Born and reared on his father's farm, near the famous Shocco Springs, in Warren County, where the sweetest waters gushed from shaded springs at the foot of the rich, red clay hills, overflowing into the murmuring brooklets, where man and beast were refreshed; where the hillsides were carpeted with blossoming clover and green pastures, on which horses and cows and sheep grazed and colts and calves and lambs gamboled; where the gentle breezes rolled the golden wheat fields into graceful ocean-like waves; where giant oaks bravely stood guard over the yet unconquered forests; where the air was fragrant with the perfume of wild honeysuckle, and yellow

jessamine and apple blossoms; where the mocking bird sang so sweetly, and the "cock's shrill clarion," and deep bass of the big bullfrog, and the bob-white's tenor, and merry whistle and song of the happy plowboy made a grand chorus of melody; and where, later on, the lovely blossoms developed into blushing peaches, golden apples, luscious grapes and the fleecy cotton and "the full corn in the ear," as the reward of labor and skill, and the barns were filled with corn and wheat—it was amid such scenes and surroundings as these, where surely the "land flowed with milk and honey" that Matt W. Ransom grew up from infancy to manhood. Is it any wonder that he always thereafter so loved the simple home-life on the farm? Is it any wonder that the teeming ground, the generous Roanoke lands, were so attractive to him? These memories never faded, and, as in all cases,

"Time but the impression deeper makes,
As streams their channel deeper wear."

Here he communed with nature and imbibed that deep reference for nature's God. Amid such scenes, drinking the health-giving waters and inhaling the pure air was developed that kingly form, that masterful intellect and breadth of soul which sympathized with all creatures that could love and suffer. Here he learned from the majestic and silent oaks to brave all assaults, whether, as he believed, from mistaken friends or bitter foes, and keep silent, awaiting vindication by time and cooler reason, having supreme faith in the justice of his cause.

Like the noble old Roman, Nathaniel Macon, his grand-uncle, he loved the soil, the simple life of the farm, and he loved fine cattle and had a great weakness for splendid horses. When he did not have one cent to spare, he could not resist the purchase of the famous stallion "Red Dick," for \$1,200. And Mrs. Ransom, with clearer judgment on such matters, uncomplainingly yielded to the gratification of this weakness.

You have been told about his having been elected to the United States Senate to fill the term for which Governor Vance had been elected, but which his unremoved disabilities prevented him from serving, but you have not been told that General Ransom equally divided with Governor Vance the salary of \$5,000 allowed and paid him the first year of this term. Yet such was the fact, and Governor Vance, soon after his inauguration as Governor, when it was suggested that influence would be exerted to have him elected United States Senator by the Legislature, to succeed General Ransom, answered that he would not oppose Ransom, that he was his friend; that Ransom had been paid the salary for the first year of the term, and equally divided it with him at a time when it amounted to something to him, and that Ransom did this without solicitation. They were both poor men then. Very few people ever knew of this generous act. His sympathies were broad as his thoughts were lofty. An incident, related by his friend and kinsman, Dr. L. J. Picot, (and incorporated in the valuable and splendid memorial address of Colonel W. H. S. Burgwyn), illustrates this phase:

He rode upon a file of soldiers taking a prisoner to be shot. He inquired the cause, and finding that, upon being refused a furlough to spend one night with his wife and children, only a short distance from the camp, the soldier had determined to see them once more, and return in time for duty; but his absence was detected, and he was forthwith captured, convicted of desertion and sentenced to be shot therefor. General Ransom's sympathies were enlisted. He told the escort not to execute the order until his return. Spurring his horse, in a few minutes he had returned from General Lee's headquarters, his horse in full gallop, waving the pardon which he had obtained. As Colonel Burgwyn remarks, "it is of pathetic interest to know that, on the next day that soldier was killed in the forefront of battle by a bullet piercing his heart." Is it any wonder that his soldiers loved and

almost worshipped him? I have met many of his soldiers at home and in the far western part of the State, but I have never seen one of them that was not devoted to him. He shared with them all the hardships of war and camp life, and took a personal interest in each of them. He opened his bosom to his soldiers and bared his breast to the enemy. He exposed himself and led them in the thickest of the fight.

In the battle of Plymouth, pontoon bridges had been arranged for the crossing of Conley Creek by his infantry, in the attack, and he was riding horse-back. His horse got stuck in the mud in the creek while he was leading the charge. He immediately jumped over the horse's head, pulled himself across the creek—he couldn't swim—and led the charge on foot, and carried the position. The great victory did not cause him to forget his faithful but unfortunate steed, and, so soon as he could he had a squad of men to prize him out of the mud alive, and afterwards returned him to the friend who had loaned him to him, Mr. Day, of Halifax, the father of the brilliant Captain W. H. Day. This incident was also told me by Dr. Picot. General Ransom was a true North Carolinian of the old school—he did not parade his gallant or generous acts, and only those very near him ever learned of them from him.

'Twas the same in times of peace. On one occasion, about 1868, in Weldon, seven hundred men, many of them clad in second-hand Federal uniforms, and with banners and some sabers, led by negroes who had served in the Union army, were parading the streets, over-awing the people, and inflaming the negroes generally. The situation was serious and the white people dreaded the outcome. When the negroes were at the height of their orgies, General Ransom came up and the white men crowded around him for counsel and leadership. He soon took matters in charge, and with only two men went up to the leader, some considerable distance off. His commanding figure and utter disregard of

their arms, organization and numbers carried consternation and in a few minutes they had disbanded and scattered and felt relieved that he was so lenient to them.

I do not believe, after reviewing his record in the United States Senate and on all occasions, seeing how he had, in the most trying crises and against obstacles insurmountable to all others, he achieved his object by ways impossible to any but himself, that the world has ever produced a greater diplomat. He knew and respected himself—that gave him poise and made him a leader. He knew and respected and sympathized with others—that made him a democrat.

But I have digressed. Let us come back to Northampton and to his life as a private citizen and farmer, the largest and most successful farmer—cotton raiser, at least, in North Carolina.

I am sure he loaned or gave a hundred horses and mules to poor deserving farmers in Northampton County at different times during many years, even when he himself had not much else but horses. I have learned of scores of such cases—but not ever directly or indirectly from him. He never denied a worthy Confederate soldier or poor neighbor. I have learned from others that he would give from \$10 to \$50 to relieve the sufferings of old, dependent friends, or to promote the worthy children of friends. His heart and his purse were in quick sympathy with worthy objects of charity, and institutions devoted to the elevation of the youth of the land.

On the Roanoke farms there were from 500 to 1,000 souls, mostly negroes, but he knew them all, and in their sickness he would send or carry to them comforts, and provided his own family physician to attend them, with directions to call upon him for such things as they might need for comfort or cure. He was as truly a patriarch as was Abraham. His magnetism and tact were displayed here and were as effective in controlling his overseers and laborers and tenants as in leading men in the higher walks of life. They knew that if

they did reasonably well their part that "Mars General" would provide the physician in sickness and the lawyer when necessary to defend them in the courts. He made from 1,000 to 1,500 bales of cotton each year, and made great profits from his farming. He borrowed money and invested in Roanoke farms, whenever they were sold, and those lands greatly enhanced in value, and when he died he owned, perhaps, more than 25,000 acres of magnificent Roanoke lands.

It required a genius for affairs to profitably manage these lands with such laborers and tenants as were available; yet, with the aid of his sons, who inherited many of his fine qualities, he made a great success.

I was at his funeral at his home where he had lived for half a century. There were gathered there scores of distinguished men from all parts of the State, and from other States, and hundreds of his neighbors and friends and admirers, and hundreds of the negroes from his plantations—all subdued by the solemnity of the occasion, sorrow expressed in every countenance. It was hard for many to realize that he could be taken off and still the world go on its normal way. They had lost a friend who never failed them, a leader whom they could always trust. The sight was pathetic. The end had come. His kingly form will never more be seen—that wonderful voice which so often called the people to duty, that unsurpassed art of the diplomat and that magnetism will nevermore be heard or seen or felt. A grand equestrian statue of him, clad in his Confederate uniform and mounted on his magnificent stallion, Ion, and placed on these Capitol grounds, and a life size statue, carved by the most cunning sculptor and placed in Statuary Hall in the group with the immortal Lee and the great educator and statesman, J. L. M. Curry, with whom he wrought and whose admiration he had won, and beside that other grandest of men, Zebulon B. Vance, would be a fitting expression of a grateful people for his brave deeds and unselfish sacrifices for his loved State and Southland, and would do honor to

the State, and would perpetuate the memory of the superb form and manly features of him who was a king among men. North Carolina can not do too much for him who did so much for her. But the marble will crumble into dust before the influence of his brave life shall have ended.

Before closing, let me call your attention to his last words. When he knew that his mission had ended, and he had received a sudden dispatch to report to the Heavenly Father, his lips were forever closed after uttering, "Do right, boys, always do right!" And then his prayer for the partner in all his ambitions, sorrows and triumphs—"God bless your mother. I am going." It was so natural. In all supreme moments he forgot himself, and lived for those he loved so well—his State and his people.

Address of Presentation

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES

Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Your Excellency:

This evening we lift the veil and look upon the face of him whom all Carolinians knew and loved. It is the image of the scholar, the orator, the soldier, the statesman, the patriot who loved the South as he loved his life, and loved North Carolina even more than the South—the peerless Ransom!

Ransom, a name written by fame's crimsoned pen upon many a field made sacred to us by Carolina valor and laved in Carolina blood.

Ransom, a name that towered as the Gibraltar of courage and right when weaklings cowered and hope had fled, when the "Old Mother State" lay prostrate, violated by the alien and betrayed by degenerate sons.

Ransom, a name made great as the defender of the South when the raging seas of hate, sectionalism, destruction and reconstruction, beating with relentless fury, threatened to engulf and destroy our civilization.

Ransom, a name that for twenty-five years was acclaimed by all the people of all this country as that of the great American who stood for the Constitution and for the inalienable rights of a stricken people.

Ransom, a name that brings to mind the best traditions of the scholarship and chivalry of the old South.

In his early manhood, Matt W. Ransom consecrated himself to the welfare of his people, and for half a century the virtues, talents and abilities of this great man shone, conspicuous and resplendent, in the service of his State and the Southland.

It is peculiarly fitting that his admiring fellow-countrymen should attest their love for him by erecting this beautiful and

grateful tribute to his worth, and representing them and the North Carolina Historical Commission, I have the honor to tender to you for the State of North Carolina this heroic bust of that heroic man.

Address of Acceptance

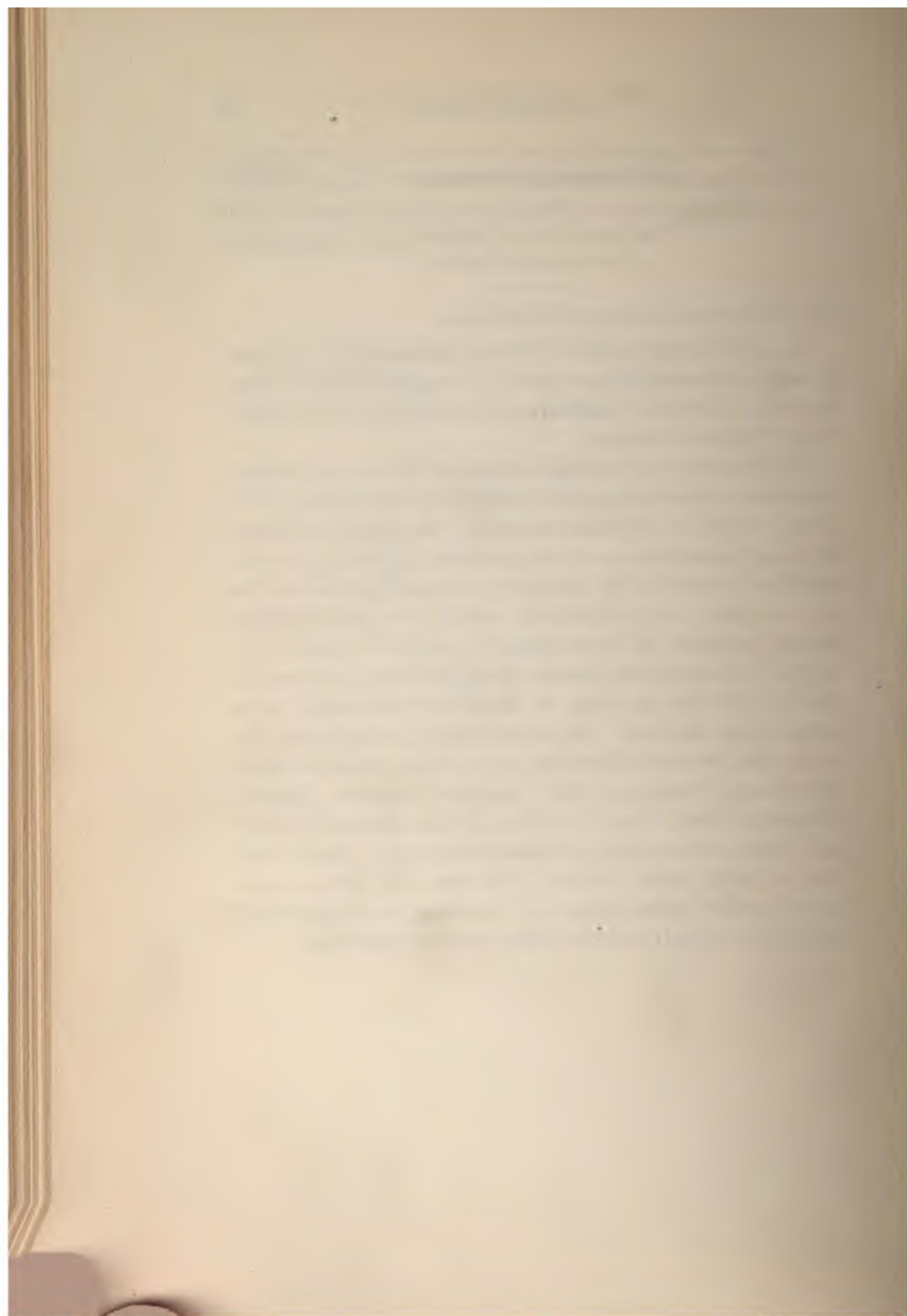
BY HON. W. W. KITCHIN

Governor of North Carolina.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In behalf of the people of North Carolina who loved him so well and honored him so greatly, I am glad to accept from the State Historical Commission this marble bust of the late Matt Whitaker Ransom.

Of his services in war and in peace, at the bar, on the field of battle, on the hustings, in the United States Senate, of his great ability, his wise statesmanship, his intrepid courage, his unsurpassed eloquence, his excellent diplomacy, his far-reaching patriotism, his handsome personality, it is not for me to speak, for well-selected orators have with striking ability portrayed all these splendid qualities to you. The lawyer, the soldier, the planter, the public official, the patriot, find in his life the type of American citizenship to be revered and emulated. He added dignity, wisdom and luster to the greatest deliberative body of the world, in which sat Blaine, Conkling, Hoar, Ingalls, Carpenter, Bayard, Thurman, Vest, Vance, Voorhees, Lamar, Garland, Daniel, and others of that galaxy of senatorial giants. North Carolina is justly proud of him. His bust will adorn the rotunda of this Capitol, where his admiring countrymen shall be forever reminded of his virtues and his triumphs.



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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

BULLETIN No. 11

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Sessions

OF THE

STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

JANUARY 12, 1911
NOVEMBER 27-28, 1911







PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ELEVENTH *and* TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETINGS
OF THE
STATE LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
RALEIGH, N. C.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION

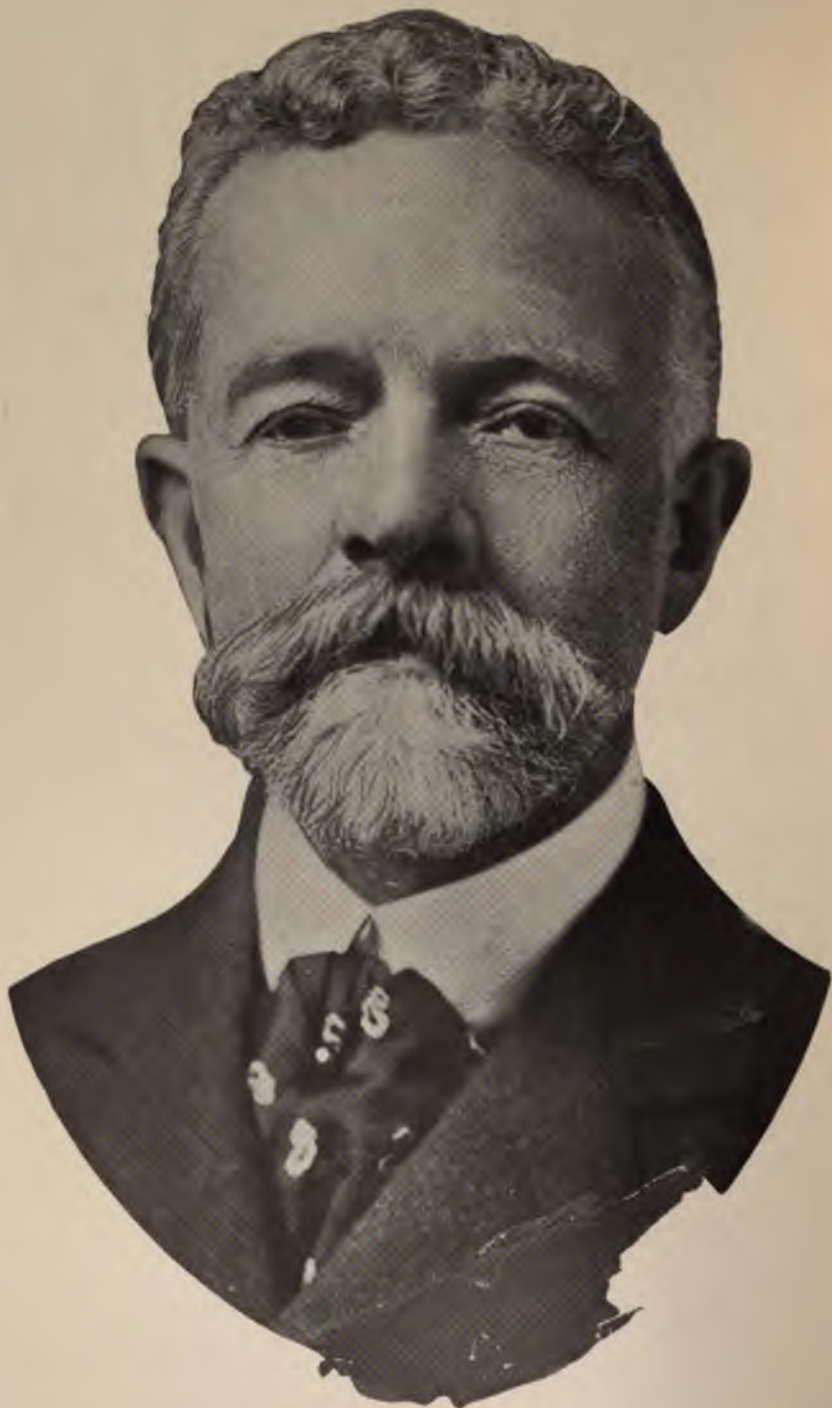
January 12, 1911

TWELFTH ANNUAL SESSION

November 27-28, 1911

Compiled by
CLARENCE POE
Secretary-Treasurer

Raleigh, N. C.
Edwards & Broughton Printing Co
1912



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE

The guest of the State Literary and Historical Association at its Twelfth Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETINGS

STATE LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

CHICAGO, ILL., 1911

ELEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION

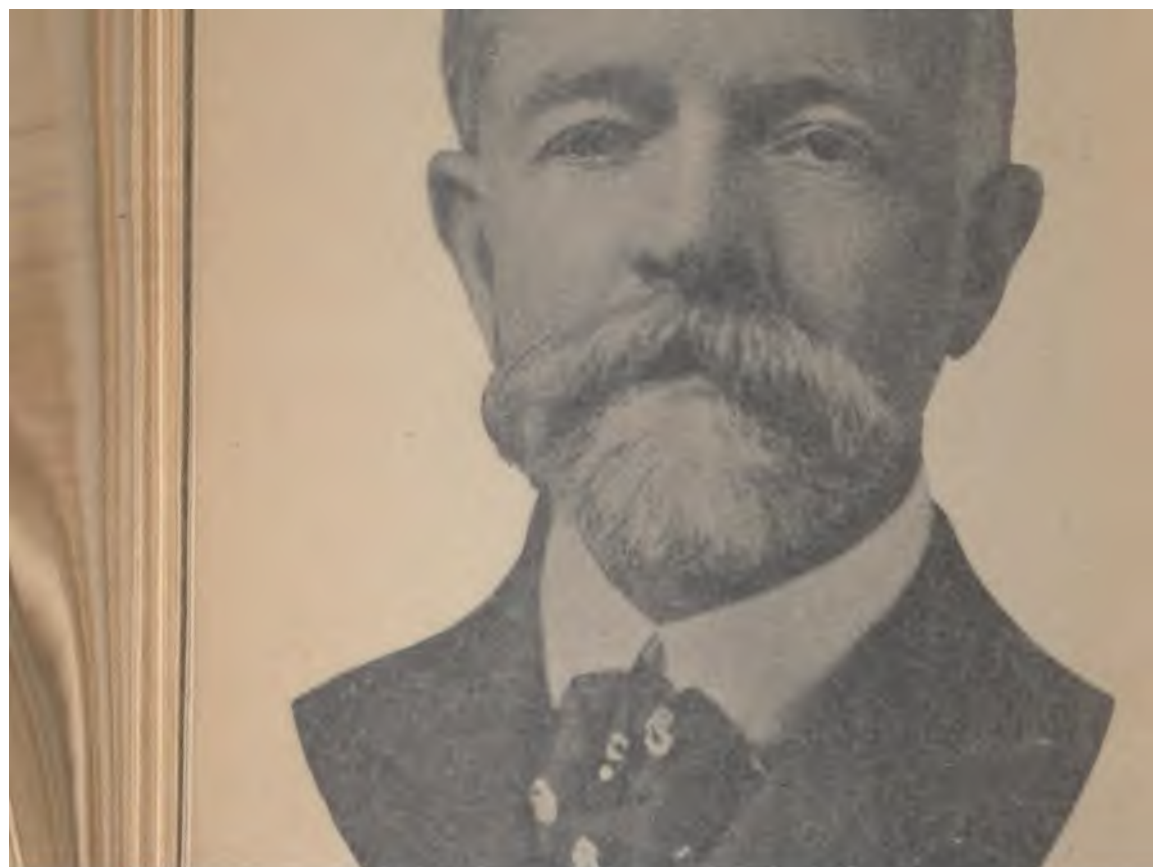
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TWELFTH ANNUAL SESSION

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Compiled by
CLARENCE FOF
Secretary-Treasurer

Revised and
Published by the
State Library and Historical Association



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Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1910-1911.

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President.....E. K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill
First Vice-President.....MRS. FRANCES FISHER TIERNAN, Salisbury
Second Vice-President.....JULIUS C. MARTIN, Asheville
Third Vice-President.....MISS EDITH ROYSTER, Raleigh
Secretary-Treasurer.....CLARENCE POE, Raleigh

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

R. D. W. CONNOR.....Raleigh
 W. L. POTEAT.....Wake Forest
 T. P. HARRISON.....West Raleigh
 W. J. PEELE.....Raleigh
 EDWIN MIMS.....Chapel Hill

1911-1912.

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President.....R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh
First Vice-President.....W. P. FEW, Durham
Second Vice-President.....MISS LIDA T. RODMAN, Washington
Third Vice-President.....A. C. AVERY, Morganton
Secretary-Treasurer.....CLARENCE POE, Raleigh

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

E. K. GRAHAM.....Chapel Hill
 W. L. POTEAT.....Wake Forest
 T. P. HARRISON.....West Raleigh
 WM. K. BOYD.....Durham
 F. A. WOODARD.....Wilson

PURPOSES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association.

There are two classes of members: "Regular members," paying \$1 a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying \$5 a year.

PRESIDENTS OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

1900-1901.....	WALTER CLARK, Raleigh
1901-1902.....	HENRY G. CONNOR, Wilson
1902-1903.....	WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT, Wake Forest
1903-1904.....	C. ALPHONSO SMITH, Chapel Hill
1904-1905.....	ROBERT W. WINSTON, Durham
1905-1906.....	CHARLES B. AYCOCK, Goldsboro
1906-1907.....	W. D. PRUDEN, Edenton; A. M. SCALES, Greensboro
1907-1908.....	ROBERT BINGHAM, Asheville
1908-1909.....	JUNIUS DAVIS, Wilmington
1909-1910.....	PLATT D. WALKER, Charlotte
1910-1911.....	EDWARD K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill
1911-1912.....	R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh

AWARDS OF PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

- 1905—JOHN CHARLES MCNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)
- 1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)
- 1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE. "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)
- 1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE. "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)
- 1909—CLARENCE POE. "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)
- 1910—R. D. W. CONNOR. "Cornellius Harnett." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)
- 1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Hon. Lee S. Overman.)

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. PEELE, Raleigh.

D. H. HILL, Raleigh.

THOMAS M. PITTMAN, Henderson.

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh.



Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

THE Eleventh Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives Thursday afternoon, January 12, 1911. First on the program was a "Review of the Historical Activities of the Year," by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the State Historical Commission.* Dr. Edwin Mims, Chairman of the Extension Committee, then made an address, saying in part:

Dr. Woodrow Wilson said at the sesquicentennial celebration at Princeton several years ago, "Of course, when all is said, it is not learning, but the spirit of service that will give a college place in the public annals of the nation." There is laid down upon us the compulsion of the National life. We should not keep aloof and closet ourselves while a nation is coming to its maturity. The words suggest at once the development of democracy and the responsibility of high institutions of learning in a democracy.

One of the most striking evidences of progress of the nineteenth century was the desire of the people for increased knowledge. Elementary schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities have not satisfied the craving of the people for continuous education. This desire for popularization of culture has been expressed in various forms of popular education—the movement for public libraries, organizations of clubs and well planned systematic extension lectures.

Corresponding with this increasing culture on the part of the public is the desire of high institutions of learning to be of service to the wider public than that found within the walls of those institutions. The University Extension movement in England, whereby Oxford and Cambridge have come into touch with many centers of English life, the adoption of the same ideas and methods by the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, and more recently by Columbia and Harvard, all give evidence of an increase in coöperation between the public and high institutions of learning.

It may be admitted readily that the greatest service that a college does to a State is that of doing well and thoroughly the tasks demanded by its student body. The greatest service rendered by an individual teacher is that of the class room. Not all scholars are

*This paper is included in Bulletin No. 9 of the Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission: "The Third Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission." Members of the State Literary and Historical Association who desire a copy can obtain it by writing to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh, N. C.

adapted to public work; men who have high ideals of research should be encouraged in every possible way—give their whole time and attention to laboratories and libraries, and yet in every college faculty there are men who are fitted by temperament, and by their desire to extend their influence, to engage in the work of a public nature. Such a man strives to make his ideas prevail in the community at large. If he is a man of science, he will do what he can to arouse the public to an appreciation of what science is and will lend his efforts to the development of the scientific methods and spirit; if he is a student of history he will not be satisfied unless he has something to do with the interpretation of history for many of his fellow citizens, who may be college graduates or who may never have had the advantages of such a training.

No college or university in the State is prepared to undertake extension work on any large scale; working together through this Association, they may arrange for courses of lectures in five or six centers in the State. Public libraries, high schools and clubs of the community can work together for the successful launching of such courses. Several college men have already agreed to give series of three or four lectures and several communities have already expressed a desire for such lectures. By concentration of all the organizations that are interested in the advancement of the community, real service may be rendered to the commonwealth. Such work will be of the greatest benefit to the institutions themselves.

Such a movement must go slowly at first, but if it succeeds in a few places, it will soon succeed throughout the whole State. The public work that is being done now in more or less a haphazard way by college men will be crystallized and made systematic. The results will be disappointing at first, but their ultimate effect can not be questioned.

Dr. D. H. Hill then presented the Bibliography of the year, as printed elsewhere. Following Dr. Hill's paper, Attorney-General T. W. Bickett, on behalf of the Committee, announced the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup and presented it to the winner, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, whose "Cornelius Harnett" had won this well merited recognition. In presenting the cup Mr. Bickett said:

The learned Paul was intensely human when he gave to the Corinthians the injunction, "So run that ye may obtain the prize." The prize, whether it be a crown of laurel or a cup of gold, has always appealed to the imagination of mankind and elicited its supremest endeavors. A fairly accurate appraisalment of the character of a people may be made by a consideration of those excellencies

for which they offer rewards. The perception of virtue is next door neighbor to its possession. Therefore, in the establishment of this golden trophy, Mr. Patterson has conferred upon the State a twofold blessing: It blesses the men who are incited to noble effort, and, in much greater degree, it blesses all the people by its beautiful emphasis upon the wisdom of the "Children of Light."

Sir, this cup comes to you with a noble lineage. Its chain of title is of pure gold. The first link in that chain is the "Song of a Caged Mocking Bird" by that sweet and gentle spirit, who was brother in race and soul to the great Scotch bard, and whose early going away made those of us who loved him feel that

"The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
Unfinished must remain."

The last link in this golden chain was wrought by the most remarkable farm product of this generation, a young man whose book and whose life is dedicated to the intellectual and financial emancipation of his own people.

It is a keen personal pleasure to me to present you this tangible evidence of victory. From the day that your first historical paper appeared in the press I have felt that we had a true historian in our midst, one able to see things in their just proportion and assign events their proper place in the development of the State.

It is eminently appropriate that this cup should be awarded to one whose patriotic efforts have rescued and preserved for future writers such a wealth of historical material.

Your "Life of Cornelius Harnett" should be read in every home in North Carolina, and it is to be hoped that this recognition of its merits will result in its wide distribution among our people.

I congratulate you, sir, upon having worked your way into such a goodly company. May this cup be to you the "Open Sesame" to these treasure-houses of the mind and heart where "words fitly spoken are like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

President Walker announced as the Committee on Nomination of Officers, Messrs. F. A. Woodard, of Wilson; Albert L. Cox, of Raleigh; George Rountree, of Wilmington; Chief Justice Walter Clark, of Raleigh, and Dr. Thomas P. Harrison, of Chapel Hill.

As a Committee on Resolutions he named Dr. R. T. Vann, W. J. Peele, Marshall DeLancey Haywood, Capt. M. O. Sherrill, and Dr. D. H. Hill.

Hon. Richard H. Battle, as Chairman of the Committee to look after the erection of a marble statue of the State's great

son, Zebulon B. Vance, in the Capitol at Washington, reported that by resolution of the General Assembly of 1907 the statue was to be erected out of funds of the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated in 1911; that it was hoped that this would be done, but in view of the empty treasury, the Governor and Council of State had incurred no expense, but the Governor has said that he would make some recommendations and the assurance had been given that steps will soon be taken to carry out the resolution. The report was adopted.

For the Committee on the Practicability of Marking Historic Sites Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood reported one meeting of the committee; that no funds are in hand, and that the work is being done by local associations; that the committee be discharged, the State being too large to be kept under supervision. The report was adopted.

Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, extended on behalf of the Wachovia Historical Society an invitation to the Association to meet next in Winston-Salem.

President Walker expressed thanks for the invitation and stated that under the by-laws this would be decided by the executive committee.

RESOLUTION REGARDING TRAVELING LIBRARIES.

The following resolution, offered by Prof. Edward K. Graham, was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The North Carolina Library Commission, since its creation in April, 1909, has constantly striven to stimulate interest and foster development in North Carolina libraries; and

WHEREAS, It is at present endeavoring to secure legislation providing for the operation of a system of free traveling libraries through which library facilities may be carried to groups of rural taxpayers, to rural high schools, and to small towns not at present possessing public libraries: therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association commend the North Carolina Library Commission in its endeavors to secure the necessary legislation for the operation of such a system of traveling libraries, and that it coöperate in such ways as may seem best with the Commission in its efforts to this end.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The following report of the Committee on Local Historical Societies was received and adopted:

The Committee on Local Historical Societies recommend that such local societies as have ten or more members and charge annual dues of at least \$1.00 may be affiliated with the State Literary and Historical Association upon the annual payment of fifty cents for each member. The members of the local society in such a case to become members of the Association without further dues.

NEED OF A FIREPROOF LIBRARY.

The Committee on Resolutions also presented the following report, which was adopted without a dissenting vote:

WHEREAS, The State of North Carolina has in her public records, her State Library, Supreme Court Library, Museum, Hall of History, and in other collections, invaluable public property constantly exposed to destruction on account of being housed in inadequate buildings, totally unprotected from fire; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the State Literary and Historical Association, that it is the sense of this Association that there is an imperative demand for the erection by the State of a fireproof building for the better protection of such valuable public property and for the better accommodation of the several departments of the State government.

Another resolution was passed as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Association that the State should purchase the painting lately finished by Mr. Jaques Busbee—the landing of the English on Roanoke Island in 1584 and their reception by the Indian Queen.

At the evening session President Platt D. Walker, of the State Literary and Historical Association, presented his annual address on "The Mission of the Association." (See page 15.) At the conclusion of his address President Walker introduced Hon. Thomas J. Jarvis, ex-Governor of North Carolina, who made a notable and eloquent appeal for the erection of a fireproof State Library and Hall of Records, a movement inaugurated by the Association several years ago and which it has prosecuted with unflagging zeal.

At the conclusion of Governor Jarvis's speech Rev. C. J. Wilson moved a rising vote of thanks to the distinguished speaker, which was heartily and unanimously given.

The selection of officers for ensuing year then followed, resulting in the following elections:

President—E. K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill.

First Vice-President—MRS. FRANCES FISHER TIERNAN, of Salisbury (Christian Reid).

Second Vice-President—JULIUS C. MARTIN, Asheville.

Third Vice-President—MISS EDITH ROYSTER, Raleigh.

Secretary and Treasurer—CLARENCE POE, Raleigh.

The Association then adjourned.

Annual Address of the President

DELIVERED BY HON. PLATT D. WALKER, IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, RALEIGH, THURSDAY EVENING,
JANUARY 12, 1911.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I must first return to you my cordial thanks for the honor which you conferred upon me by my election to preside over such an illustrious body at the annual meeting. When I recall the names of those who have occupied this position in the past it increases my sense of gratitude to you that I should have been considered a worthy successor to those who have filled this office so gracefully and with such rare ability.

It is expected that I say something concerning the great object or aim of this Association, which is to encourage and further the literary spirit in our State and to stimulate our people to greater endeavor in historical research. It seems to have been regarded, and rightly so, by those who took part in the organization of the Association, that a matter of the first importance is the preservation of our State literature and history, so that what has already been achieved or gained should not be lost by our failing to provide for the care and protection of our literary and historical records, and the vast collection of books and valuable material in our State libraries and museum which can not easily be restored if destroyed.

The work of preservation must, of course, be undertaken by the State. The value of this property, which belongs to the State, is sufficient of itself to induce the early adoption of such effective measures as will secure it against the hazards which now constantly surround it and threaten it with destruction. We can not appeal too often or too much to the representatives of the people to provide some safe repository for the many records and volumes, the natural, scientific and literary curiosities which have been collected by the well directed efforts of her faithful and devoted sons and daughters in their patriotic endeavor to rescue from oblivion all that has made her history glorious in the past, and illustrates her achievements in science, art and lit-

erature, her renown in war, and her wealth in the hidden treasures of the earth. "The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is."

This sentiment, chosen as one of the mottoes of your Historical Commission, expresses in neat and eloquent phrase the dominant spirit and purpose of this body. It warns us that we can not forget what has been done in the past, if we would successfully perform the duties of the hour, and that our present development in all departments of intellectual effort is but the result of the slow but sure process of evolution from the beginning. We do not live in the present alone, for all we are and all we have gained in intellectual and material things have come to us by gradual accretions—the growth and fruitage of seed sown as the years have come and gone. A wise policy, therefore, dictates that nothing should be lost by a failure to safeguard the records of past achievements. The cost of preserving them will be far less than the cost of replacing them, even if this could be done. It is therefore well to sound the note of warning again and again until it is heeded, and the hope we have so often expressed has been realized.

There is no reason why our people should not rank with the best in literary culture and attainments. The rapid extension of educational advantages and facilities and the improved methods of instruction, with our University and colleges annually contributing to the diffusion of knowledge and learning through those who, after thorough training according to the highest standards of scholarship, enter the professional and other callings well equipped for the life work which they have undertaken, these and other accessories have caused a deeper and livelier interest to be taken in the advancement of our people in their literary pursuits and ambitions, and for this reason more has been accomplished in recent years than ever before. The early history of the State has not only been made easily accessible to the reader, but many questions of historical interest have been presented and discussed in attractive style by those whose learning and scholarship eminently qualify them to write upon such subjects.

The incentive to still greater effort in the field of literature and historical investigation has been constantly afforded by this Association, and the results so far accomplished give promise that the purposes for which it was organized will eventually be fully realized. A vast area has been left unexplored and awaits the coming of the diligent student and scholar to discover and reveal, in song and story, its rich and varied treasures. In these strenuous times, when the thoughts of men are centered on the acquisition of material things, when the State has increased by rapid strides in wealth and population, it is encouraging to think that educational progress and development have kept even pace with this steady growth in other directions, and that the scholar has made his influence felt in as great a degree as those who led in the march to industrial supremacy. Indeed, to him is due, in large measure, the credit of preparing the thinkers and workers in the industrial world by mental training and enlightenment for the solution of the great problems of this busy and restless life. The higher the order of intelligence, the more readily does the mind grasp these intricate questions, and the more intelligently and skillfully unravels them. One of the first duties of the State to the citizen is to educate him, to place within his reach every facility for mental and moral development and improvement. The more faithfully and zealously she performs this duty the richer will be her reward in all things that make for the greatness and glory of the Commonwealth. The growth of a State, except, perhaps, that which is adventitious, is measured always by the growth of her citizens in capacity and fitness for the successful performance of their duties, whether in science, art, or literature, in the trades or the professions. We need have no concern for what those who have preceded us have done, for in every crisis of the State, whether in peace or war, they have shed nothing but lustre and renown upon her history. When we recall the deeds of the Revolutionary patriots, of those who, in the early days of the republic, were confronted by problems never before presented to the wit of man, we have reason to be more than proud of the part which our noble and distinguished men performed, not only in the making, but in the maintenance of our institutions. Their

deeds deserve to be perpetuated, and while we are making history even now, we should sacredly preserve the records of their achievements, for as has been so well said: "A people who have not the pride to record their history, will not long have the virtue to make history worth recording."

In conclusion, therefore, let me urge upon you, in the language of your constitution, the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history, the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the vindication of the State from misrepresentation, and a firm and courageous assertion of her rightful position in history, and finally the engendering and cultivating of an intelligent, healthy State pride among the people. If we perform well the task thus allotted to us we will receive, I am sure, the aid and encouragement of the State in our work, and in return we will have rendered to her an incomparable service.

North Carolina Must Preserve its Historical Records

ADDRESS BY EX-GOVERNOR THOMAS J. JARVIS, AT THE TENTH ANNUAL
SESSION OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, IN
THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT
RALEIGH, JANUARY 12, 1911.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very much touched at the very kind manner in which I have been presented to you and the warm and cordial manner in which you have received that presentation.

As I sat here looking over this audience and around this hall, I have had a struggle with myself to recall my wandering thoughts from the past and concentrate them upon the duty that now lies before me.

This hall has been the scene of so much of my early labors in behalf of my State and her people that instance after instance came trooping back to me. There is one which so much marks the changes that have taken place in the political and social conditions in North Carolina within my recollection that I can not refrain from mentioning it. In that memorable Legislature of '68 and '69, when so much of mischief was done for our State, I had the distinguished honor of representing the county of Tyrrell. My seat in that body was the seat now being occupied by my dear friend Mr. Richard H. Battle. Sitting immediately behind me was a colored man, named Price, from the county of New Hanover, representing the great city of Wilmington. I had noticed him several times, but had paid no particular attention to him. One day I felt a gentle touch on my shoulder and turning, I saw this colored man. He said, "Captain, you do not remember me, do you?" I said, "No, Price, I do not." "Don't you remember," he asked, "the good dinners you used to eat during the war in Lieutenant Price's camp?" "Yes," I replied. Then he said, "I was Colonel Price's cook, and I cooked those dinners for you"; and then added: "Captain Jarvis, when I was cooking for you and Colonel Price you never thought that you and I would be sitting here on an equality, making laws for North Carolina, did you?"

I could talk for an hour of instance after instance that have come under my observation in this hall, but I must desist.

I have a broad field, as announced by the President of this Society, to cover this evening, and you may at the present be just a little bit in doubt as to what I am going to talk about, but I will promise you this—and it is the only promise I will make—that if you will be patient and follow me you will not have any doubt when I get through what I have talked about.

The people of North Carolina have been history makers but not history writers. They have been doers of great things, but they have been criminally careless about the writing of the records and preserving them. I propose, with the permission of your President, to narrate just two or three little instances that illustrate this fact. In 1879, soon after I had the honor of being inaugurated Governor of North Carolina, Col. F. A. Olds, then the Quartermaster-General of the State Guard, who was then, as he is now, always trying to do something for the State, came to me one day and said, "Governor, would you be willing for me to go down to the old arsenal, clean it out, throw away all the old *debris* in it, and fix up the building for the State Guard to preserve the ammunition and arms?" I said, "Fred, I don't know about that; I don't know what is there, but we will walk over there and see." We went into the old arsenal and there found a large number of old knap-sacks, old military clothing of the Kirk-Holden war, large piles of old papers; and there, too, were ballot boxes in which the people had voted at the three-days' election in April, 1868. These ballot boxes had been sent to Charleston, S. C., the votes counted there by General Canby, and then the boxes had been sent back here and put away in that old arsenal. In addition to the old military accouterments and ballot boxes there was more than a wagon load of old papers, documents and manuscripts of all sorts. I said to Colonel Olds, "Fred, get Colonel Saunders to come down here with a servant to help him. You and he can examine these records; whatever he says is worthless you can throw away or destroy." We spoke to Colonel Saunders about it and he consented. Will you believe me when I tell you in that old pile of *debris* they found the original manuscript copy of the Journal of the Halifax Convention, which formed our first State Con-

stitution? You may be curious to know how it got there. I happen to know that.

In 1868 a man named Ashley was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction. He was assigned to the room on the third floor of the west wing of the Capitol. He did not like this room for his office, and he did not want to remain there. At that time the Supreme Court occupied the two rooms now occupied by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State had the larger of the two rooms now occupied by the Auditor, and the Auditor the smaller one. The Governor and his Council made an order to move Ashley down on the first floor in the office occupied by the Secretary of State, to move the Secretary of State to the Supreme Court room, and to move the Supreme Court up to the garret to the room occupied by Mr. Ashley. Judge Pearson and his associates were very indignant. They appealed to the Legislature, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to assign the garret room to Ashley and to allow the court to remain where it was originally, and for twenty-four hours a fierce conflict went on in this hall between the friends of the Supreme Court and the friends of the Educational Department. Finally the Democrats took the side of the Supreme Court and passed the resolution. While that conflict was going on up here, Ashley was busy down in those two offices below moving everything and trying to get possession before we could pass the resolution, and the rotunda of the Capitol was piled up with wagon loads of the records, which had been moved out of the office of the Secretary of State. And after we had passed the resolution, instead of putting those records back where they belonged, they gathered them up and put them in that old arsenal.

Now you, gentlemen of the Legislature, will say that that was bad. Pardon me if I say that you will be just a little less negligent of your duty if you permit the records of North Carolina to be much longer improperly kept over yonder in those fire-traps, the Supreme Court and Agricultural buildings. I say you will be but a little less negligent than they were in 1868!

There is another instance that I want to mention. I suppose there is no lover of North Carolina who does not glory in the fact that the State had a loyal, faithful son by the name of Wil-

liam L. Saunders, who compiled and edited the Colonial Records of our State. Let me tell you how he came to undertake that great work. After he had found that old manuscript copy of the Journal of the Halifax Congress down in the old arsenal, he said to me one day, "Governor, isn't there some way that can be devised to enable me to collect the Colonial Records of the Colony of North Carolina and get them together so as to preserve them?" I replied, "I don't know, Saunders, but I will think about it. Come tomorrow and we will talk this matter over." He came and I said, "I will tell you what to do. Write a simple little resolution to this effect: 'That the trustees of the State Library are authorized to take such steps as in their judgment may be necessary to collect and publish the Colonial Records of the Colony of North Carolina.'" Well, he wrote it. I sent for two or three members of the Legislature, handed it to them, and asked them to have that resolution passed. You will find it in the Public Laws—a little resolution it is, in length, but no man can tell how much it cost to carry it out, or the intrinsic, the eternal, the everlasting value of the work now that it is done!

Of course, the Legislature did not inquire into the magnitude of the work or the probable cost, but they were willing to trust the trustees of the State Library, who happened to be myself, Saunders, and Scarborough. After it was passed I said to Colonel Saunders, "I have plenty of my own work to do. You look after this and when you want a meeting of the trustees call it, and understand you always have two votes, yours and mine." And he did. For years and years he worked with a love and a loyalty that few men have ever given to their State. Wounded seriously in the war, disabled from walking by rheumatism contracted in camp, rolled about in a chair, still you could go to his office or to his room and always find him with a pile of those papers around him, going over them and compiling them. He got access to the archives of England and France, through our State Department, and the ministers of these countries accredited to Washington, and whenever the mails brought a batch of those records from abroad or elsewhere, his joy was boundless. He went through them with devotion like one reading a letter from a loved one. In the latter years it was a race with Saunders and disease, but he was spared to complete that work, and left to his

State a monument such as no other man has left. I want to stand here tonight and say that North Carolina never had a more loyal or a more faithful son than the man who compiled those Colonial Records.

The Agricultural Department had been organized, but it had no home, no place to stay. The old hotel property on the corner of Edenton and Halifax streets was advertised for sale. At that time the Governor was Chairman of the Board of Agriculture, and also Chairman of the Executive Committee. I thought the State ought to own that property, so I sent for the members of the Executive Committee—Dr. Kemp P. Battle and Col. T. M. Holt. They came and we bought the property. We had the title taken to the State and for all that property where that old building stands and where the Supreme Court building now stands we paid simply the sum of \$13,000. We got an option on the balance of that block, which lies back to the other street, for \$7,000. I sent a message to the Legislature informing that body of the purchase and of the then existing option on the balance, and earnestly urged that it be bought. Don't you think they ought to have done it? Don't you think it was very unwise not to have done it? Gentlemen, they did not act any more unwisely than you will be charged with acting if you neglect the opportunity of preserving the records of your State! If a fire should come and consume those records people will say that you acted as unwisely as you are now ready to say your predecessors did at that time!

Now, since we bought that property conditions have changed very much. The State has grown wonderfully in wealth, in business, and in population. New departments have been added to the State government. We then were just beginning to develop the Agricultural Department. The Corporation Commission has since been organized; we now have the Labor Commissioner, the Insurance Commissioner, the Historical Commission, and besides the records of the State have piled up and piled up until every available space in all the offices is now filled, and a large part of them is in places that are subject to be burned and destroyed at any time. Your Supreme Court Library, as I have said, was housed in two small rooms. Go over there now and look at the library and see how it has grown, until today it

is one of the very best law libraries in the South, if not in all this Union. Then, ladies and gentlemen, the State Library was contained in that little room up there in the northeast corner of this Capitol. That was large enough then, but since then the library has increased and multiplied until you now have one of the best libraries of any State in this Union. Here, then, are two libraries that can not be replaced by \$100,000, libraries that money could not buy again, because they are not to be had. There they are, exposed to danger of loss by fire. And then all the offices of the State government are overcrowded. The Executive officers of this State have not room in which to discharge their duties properly. Go into the office of the Secretary of State, of the Auditor or in any of the offices here, and you will find that the records of these offices have multiplied and multiplied until there is hardly room for an extra chair in which you can be seated. Of course, the officers can not do their best work under these circumstances.

Now, I say these conditions ought to be changed. The change can only come through the General Assembly of North Carolina. Two ways have been suggested to remedy this. Now, in what I am going to say I want it understood that I am speaking for myself alone. While I am speaking by the kind invitation of this Society, still I may have some views which its members do not endorse. I am speaking for myself alone. I say two ways have been suggested to remedy the conditions I have described—one to enlarge this Capitol, the other to erect a new building. Now, speaking for myself and myself alone, I am opposed to ever touching this Capitol. (Great applause.) It is the one beautiful piece of architecture erected by our fathers. It is the one beautiful great achievement left that links us to the past. There is nothing superior to it. I say let it stand here, and stand forever, as a monument to the men who built it. But there is another reason why I am opposed to changing the Capitol. If you were to enlarge it so as to make room in it for all that is needed, you can not do it without ruining its architectural beauty. This building is just as large as this square will justify. To put a very large building on this square would be out of all proportion of harmony, and would destroy the beauty of both building and square. I say let the square and the building

stand just as they are. Now if that is correct—and I am very glad to see that what I have said has such cordial approval of this audience—then the only other remedy is to erect a new building. Now what I would do if it were left to me is this:

I would take from that square over there the Agricultural Building and the Supreme Court Building. I would clean them off entirely, and upon that square I would put the handsomest State building in the South. In it I would provide room for all the offices and departments of the State, for the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court and the State Libraries, and for the State Museum. I would move everything out of this building and let this building stand here for the legislative department. I would provide in the new building a Supreme Court room that would be amply sufficient for all the growth and purposes of our Supreme Court for ages to come; a library building for our State Library that would be sufficient and ample for ages to come, an executive office for the Governor that would be commensurate with the dignity of that great office. Go down to the Governor's office now; you find no reception room. There is in his private secretary's office only room enough for two or three chairs. So I say, without going into details, I would make in the new building provision for all the executive offices that the State has or is likely to have.

But you would ask me, How are you going to pay for it? That is very simple to me. There are some things that I am an old fogey about, and I can't help it to save my life. I was born that way. I have lived that way, and I expect to die that way. One is that I do not believe that any government has any right to tax the coming generations for its daily support. I think the government of North Carolina ought to live within its means. I think it ought to levy taxes enough upon the property of the State to meet all its current expenses in the way of paying its officers and supporting its institutions of all kinds. I repeat, I do not think that we have any right to levy tribute upon the coming generations for our daily expenses and support, nor, on the other hand, do I think that we have a right to levy burdens upon this generation to pay for things to be enjoyed by the coming generations. I think one is just as bad as the other. Now, when you come to analyze it, and sift it down into plain

language, that means this—that for the support of our institutions and to meet the current expenses of the State government, we ought to do that out of the taxes we levy and collect out of the people; but when it comes to permanent buildings, I don't care what they are, when it comes to erecting buildings that are to be used and enjoyed by the coming generations, those generations ought to help pay for them.

Now may I indulge in another little instance to show that this is no new theory of mine? If you will look into the laws of 1883 you will find a law something like this: "That if in the opinion of the Governor and his council at the beginning of 1884, there is money enough in the treasury to run the State for that year, no taxes should be collected." At that time we had in the treasury \$400,000 or \$500,000 surplus, and as a result of other legislation we had reason to believe that we should get \$600,000 more. So we began the year of 1884 with \$1,000,000 surplus in the treasury. Some men wanted to use it to buy up the bonds of the State. I said: "No, those bonds do not mature for 25 or 30 years. Let's not invest that money in them. Let those people take care of that themselves, but let us use this money this year. For days and days we fought that question out, and finally adopted the suggestion I made, and a thing happened in 1884 that is not likely ever to happen again, there was not one penny of tax collected in 1884 from property to run the State government. I refer to that to show that this is no new theory of mine. So I say when we come to erect buildings that are to be enjoyed by us and the coming generations also, let the coming generations help pay for them. I suppose it would cost nearly a million dollars. I am going to assume it can not be done for less. I say, issue one million dollars of bonds and build it.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have followed the Scriptural injunction: "What one of you that desire to erect a building would not sit down and first count the cost." I want to tell you now what it is going to cost annually. Issue one million dollars of bonds at four per cent, the annual interest will be \$40,000. The census states there are over two millions of people in North Carolina, so if you will distribute the annual expense of this building out among the people, every man, woman, and

child, it would be less than two cents apiece. But you say it can not be done that way; taxes must be levied on the property. All right. The Auditor tells us that the assessed value of the property at its low rate of assessment is \$613,000,000. On this the tax would be two-thirds of one cent. On \$1,000 worth of property it would be 6 2-3 cents, on \$10,000, 66 2-3 cents. A man who gives in \$10,000 worth of property for taxation would be paying 66 2-3 cents to preserve and keep safe the valuable property of his State. On the \$100,000 of property he would pay \$6.66 2-3, and I suppose if a man gives in \$100,000 worth of property at the present rate of valuation, it is pretty safe to assume he is worth a quarter of a million. So that the citizen with a quarter of a million dollars would be paying to preserve the records and property of his State but \$6.66 2-3 a year.

Now, gentlemen, there it is. I have given you a low and imperfect estimate of the value of the property to be preserved on the one hand, and the actual cost to the taxpayer on the other hand to preserve it. What will you do about it? The Literary and Historical Association, presided over by my distinguished friend, is at work. The Historical Commission joins them, and the Historical Departments in the University and the colleges unite with them in rescuing and preserving the precious records of our State. The women are organizing their societies to aid in the holy crusade to honor the deeds of our fathers. Our people are stirring themselves as never before in collecting the records of our ancestors, and they are being piled up and piled up and piled up. Will the Legislature alone hesitate in the discharge of its duty? Can it hesitate to provide a safe place for the keeping of the records of the State? I come, ladies and gentlemen, to join you with all the fervor and earnestness of my soul in pressing upon this Legislature the importance of at least making the beginning, and I trust that there will be no conflicts as to the details or anything that shall retard the work, but that every man in and out of the Legislature, who believes that something should be done to preserve this property of ours, unite in their efforts to make a start. It seems to me it would be well to appoint a commission of good, practical men who can be trusted, and leave it to them to work out the details for the erection of such a building.

There are two things I would not have put in that building. I would not have any cheap gingerbread work, or any graft about it. I would erect a building there that for its simple grandeur should be an honor to North Carolina and the pride of all her people.

Americans feel and talk differently from any other people in the world. Some years ago upon one of our National anniversaries in one of the harbors on our Atlantic coast, the warships of all civilized nations of the earth assembled, and men from all the corners of the earth came to see them. Those great warships moved up in majestic splendor to be viewed by the great multitude. When the ships of England passed by the Englishmen standing there said, "There go the ships of his Majesty the King of England." When the German ships passed by the Germans standing there said, "There go the ships of his Majesty, the Emperor of Germany." When the Spanish ships passed by the Spaniards said, "There go the ships of his Majesty, the King of Spain." By and by when the American ships came along, an American, a little fellow from the mountains of Western North Carolina, cried out, "There go our ships." Everything here in America is ours. It is our Governor, it is our Supreme Court. I would have such a building erected in this Capital City of ours that when the people of North Carolina come here to attend the inauguration of their Governor, when the people come to attend the great State Fair, and see that building, there would not be a man from the ocean to the mountains who would not say with pride, "There is our State building."

Ladies and gentlemen, North Carolina is entitled to the very best of everything; she is amply able to have the best, and I appeal to her loyal sons and daughters to decree that she shall have the best.

North Carolina Bibliography of the Year

PAPER PRESENTED BY DR. D. H. HILL AT AFTERNOON SESSION,
JANUARY 12, 1911.

As far as I have been able to collect them the North Carolina books for the year number 37 titles. These may be grouped as follows: I, History; II, Biography; III, Poetry; IV, Fiction; V, Religious Books; VI, Text Books; VII, Miscellaneous.

I. HISTORY.

1. Reprint of Bricknell's "Natural History of North Carolina," printed in 1737; 417 pages. Edited by J. Bryan Grimes.
2. Abstract of North Carolina Wills from 1663 to 1789; 428 pages, and also alphabetical list of names. Edited by J. Bryan Grimes.
3. History of New Hanover County, by Alfred Moore Waddell; cloth; illustrated; 232 pages.
4. Caldwell County in the Great War of 1861-5; illustrated; cloth, 67 pages. Edited by G. W. F. Harper.
5. The James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. 9, continued: (a) Federalism in North Carolina, by H. M. Wagstaff; (b) Letters of William Barry Grove. Edited by H. M. Wagstaff.
6. The Booklet, edited by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, published in its four numbers this year some valuable historical papers. Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has contributed 36 biographical sketches to these volumes.
7. England and the French Revolution, by W. T. Loprade; seven chapters; cloth; 230 pages. Johns Hopkins Press.

II. BIOGRAPHY.

1. Cornelius Harnett, by R. D. W. Connor; cloth; 11 chapters; 209 pages. Edwards & Broughton Publishing Company.
2. The Bishops of North Carolina, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; cloth; illustrated; 270 pages. A. Williams & Co., Raleigh.

3. Autobiography of Brantley York, edited by William K. Boyd for the John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society; cloth; 139 pages.

4. Julia Jackson Christian: A Memorial Sketch of General Stonewall Jackson's Daughter, by Mrs. Mary Anna Jackson; cloth; illustrated; 57 pages. Stone & Barringer Company.

5. Franklin Plato Eller and John Carlton Eller: A Memorial Volume, by J. B. Hubbell; illustrated; cloth; 245 pages.

6. Eugene Morehead Armfield: A Memorial Volume, by George F. Kirby; 46 pages.

III. POETRY.

1. Leaves of Life, by Samuel Harley Lyle, Jr.; cloth; 70 poems; 90 pages. The McGregor Publishing Company, Athens, Ga.

2. Gates of Twilight, by Henry E. Harman; cloth; illustrated; 33 poems; 134 pages. The Stone & Barringer Publishing Company, Charlotte.

3. Songs of the Quiet Hour, by Mary Hoyland Livermore; paper cover; 50 pages. The Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

IV. FICTION.

1. Chaney's Stratagem, by Mrs. Harriet Courtney Pinnix; cloth; 314 pages. C. M. Clark Publishing Company, New York.

2. Tar Heel Tales, by H. E. C. Bryant; cloth; illustrated; 18 stories; 218 pages. The Stone & Barringer Company, Charlotte.

3. The Breed and the Pasture, by J. L. Chambers; cloth. The Stone & Barringer Company, Charlotte.

4. Bildad Akers, by Thomas N. Ivey; cloth; 18 chapters; 205 pages. Mutual Publishing Company, Raleigh.

5. Strength of the Weak, by Mrs. M. B. Thacker; 12 mo. Broadway Publishing Company, New York.

V. RELIGIOUS BOOKS.

1. The Indispensable Book, by William Walter Moore, now of Union Seminary; cloth; 114 pages. Fleming H. Revell & Co., New York.

2. Thoughts Promotive of the Higher Life, by Wiley Good-

man Riddick; cloth; 49 chapters; 279 pages. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

3. Lectures on the Book of Revelation, by W. C. Nowell; cloth; 191 pages. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

VI. TEXT BOOKS.

1. The Howell Primer, by Logan D. Howell; cloth; 127 pages. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge.

2. Reading in Public Schools, by Thomas H. Briggs and L. D. Coffman, 25 chapters; 274 pages. Row, Peterson & Co., Chicago.

3. Patillo's Geographical Catechism, a reprint of the Rev. Henry Patillo's book which was published in 1796. This book, consisting of 62 pages, was edited by N. W. Walker and M. C. S. Noble for the University Reprint Series.

4. Diseases of Economic Plants by Frank Lincoln Stevens and John G. Hill; illustrated; 513 pages. Macmillan Company.

5. Our Republic, a United States History for grammar grades, by J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton and J. A. C. Chandler; cloth; 500 pages. Riley & Sadler, publishers.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Interpreters of Life and the Modern Spirit, by Archibald Henderson; cloth; illustrated; 8 vo. Duckworth & Co., London.

2. Race Distinctions in American Law, by Gilbert T. Stephenson; cloth; 12 chapters; 388 pages. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

3. The Lantern of Diogenes, by N. B. Herring. E. M. Uzzell & Co., Raleigh.

4. The Jew a Negro, by Arthur T. Abernethy; cloth; 110 pages. Dixie Publishing Company, Moravian Falls.

5. David G. McDuffie's Discovery of Natural Cause for the Variation of the Magnetic Needle of the Compass, edited by W. A. Guthrie; cloth; 36 pages. Seeman, Durham.

6. Military Topography, by C. O. Sherrill; cloth; illustrated; maps; 346 pages.

7. Idealism in Education, by Herman Harrell Horne; cloth; 5 chapters; 183 pages. Macmillan Company, New York.

8. Twenty volumes Annotated Reprints of the Supreme Court Reports, by Chief Justice Walter Clark.



Minutes of Twelfth Annual Meeting



Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

THE Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association, the first session of which was held in Raleigh's beautiful new Auditorium Monday evening, November 27, 1911, proved to be the most notable in the entire history of the organization, both from the standpoint of attendance and interest.

The opening prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. I. McK. Pittenger, of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, N. C., after which President Edward K. Graham delivered the annual address, his subject being "Prosperity and Patriotism." This address is published in full elsewhere in this report.

Following the address of the President came a musical selection by the band of the State School for the Blind, after which President Graham introduced Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, a former President of the State Literary and Historical Association, who has since achieved distinction at the University of Virginia and as Roosevelt Professor in the University of Berlin. In introducing Dr. Smith President Graham said:

It is my pleasure to present rather than introduce a former President of the Association; a citizen of this State, who lived and worked with us, who loved us and was greatly loved by us. Since he left us the merit of his scholarship has carried him as ambassador to the highest court of the world's learning and there fixed him securely as a permanent figure in the world's affairs. However successfully North Carolina succeeds in concealing her regret at the departure of her men of distinction, she makes no effort to conceal her happiness at having them return, and so to you, sir, to whom we trust we shall ever be "mine own people," our hearts in strength of brothers' welcome bid you welcome home—Dr. C. Alphonso Smith of the University of Virginia.

Dr. Smith's subject was "What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?" This address will also be found in full elsewhere in this volume.

Following Dr. Smith's address Mrs. Horace Dowell sang "Prayer Recit and Aria from *Der Freischutz*," Miss Sadie Duncan accompanying her at the piano.

The evening session was brought to a close with the feature that probably excites keener interest as a rule than any other part of the annual program—the presentation of the Patterson Memorial Cup, awarded each year to “that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius.” Senator Lee S. Overman, of Salisbury, presented the report for the Committee, which consists of “the President of the State Literary and Historical Association, the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State A. and M. College at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.”

It was no surprise to the audience when Senator Overman announced that the cup had been awarded to Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the State University, in recognition of the excellence of his three books published since the previous meeting of the Association: “Interpreters of Life,” “Mark Twain,” and “George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works.”

In accepting the cup Dr. Henderson said:

It gives me very real pleasure to express to you, Mr. Spokesman, and through you to the Committee of Award, my hearty thanks for the distinction of its imprimatur. And, in a more general sense, to express to the people of North Carolina my sincerest felicitations upon the efforts now everywhere going forward to assist in giving to this Old North State its true and definitive place within the charmed circle of literature and of art. Any contribution I may have made to that end, either at home or abroad, has been made in the name, and for the sake, of old North Carolina.

AFTERNOON SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

At the afternoon session of the State Literary and Historical Association, November 28th, held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Dr. D. H. Hill, President of the State A. and M. College first presented the North Carolina bibliography of the year, after which Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the State His-

torical Commission, gave a report of the State's historical activities since the preceding meeting of the Association. Both papers are published in full in this volume.

Another feature of the session was the report of Dr. Edwin Mims, Chairman of the Lecture Extension Committee of the Association. In part Dr. Mims said:

To give a concrete example of what might be done to carry out the ideas suggested a year ago, a series of three lectures on American Literature was given by the chairman of this committee at Winston-Salem in the spring. A central committee composed of representatives of all organizations was appointed to arrange for giving the lectures under the best possible circumstances. Two of the lectures were given at the High School Auditorium, and one at Salem College, the audiences ranging from 200 to 350. The lecturer had an hour each day for consultation with such as desired suggestions on courses of reading either for individuals or clubs. He furnished the newspapers of the town a bibliography relating to the various subjects treated. Some thirty new members of the State Literary and Historical Association were secured.

Soon after this demonstration of what might be done in a specific community by a representative of this Association, the Secretary of the Association sent out letters to the presidents of the various institutions of higher learning in the State, asking their coöperation in extending the work and influence of the Association. The responses to these letters were most gratifying, for in every case there was a definite endorsement of the idea and an expression of a willingness to coöperate.

The Association has promises of courses of lectures from President Poteat and Professor Sikes of Wake Forest; President Few and Professor Brooks of Trinity; President Smith and Professor Fulton of Davidson; President Hill of the A. & M. College; and Professors Graham and Mims of the University.

So far the response from the public has not been so marked as might have been hoped. Necessarily there is some confusion as to just what is contemplated. There have been some communities that have voluntarily made inquiries of the Secretary or the chairman. There are others with whom correspondence has not as yet reached definite conclusions. But it may now be definitely stated that within the next few weeks or months series of lectures under the auspices of this Association will be given in Goldsboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Washington, Willson, and New Bern.

Necessarily plans are as yet tentative. A good suggestion has been made by the committee appointed by Trinity College—that the lectures crystallize in a definite movement in the various communities to preserve local records and other materials of permanent

historical interest. All such suggestions will be carefully worked out. Different lecturers will emphasize different ideas, but in each case there ought to be made every possible effort to get definite results. We are of the opinion that some man or woman, who is in sympathetic relationship with all the higher institutions of the State, and who knows local conditions well, should be put in charge of this work and should push it aggressively and constructively.

A number of brief talks on subjects related to the work of the Association followed and four resolutions bearing on these were adopted as follows:

I.

Be it Resolved, That the Association continue the Committee on Vance Statue, Mr. R. H. Battle, chairman, with the request that they endeavor to secure the erection of the monument in Statuary Hall at the earliest possible moment.

II.

Resolved, That this Association heartily commends the proposed movement to place markers on the North Carolina section of the "Boone Trail," the historic highway over which the members of Judge Richard Henderson's colony were conducted to what is now the State of Kentucky.

III.

Be it Resolved, That the President of the State Literary and Historical Association shall appoint each year a committee on marking historic sites, a committee on library extension, a committee on lecture extension work, and a committee on increasing the membership of the Association.

IV.

Resolved, That this Association heartily endorses the movement inaugurated by the R. F. Hoke Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy to erect an adequate memorial to the gallantry of the North Carolina troops at Gettysburg.

At the conclusion of this "business session" the members of the Association present attended an informal reception given by the Woman's Club of Raleigh.

EVENING SESSION. TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

A great audience greeted the distinguished guest of the Association, Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, historian and man of letters, at the concluding session of the State Literary and Historical Association. Senator Lodge had

been invited by vote of the members of the Association. He was introduced to the audience by Hon. Robert W. Winston, a former President of the State Literary and Historical Association, in the following words:

Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—To the man who lives by ideals, no spot in America appeals quite so strongly as Boston, with its Faneuil Hall, its "here Warren fell"; its "perpetual dissatisfaction with things that perpetually fall short of a high and perfect ideal." When we contemplate a Josiah Quincy taking the very jackets off the Board of Governors of Harvard College and in a public address fearlessly declaring that the curriculum of that institution was a flat failure and had destroyed the careers of thousands of young men by its fetish-like adherence to the obsolete educational systems of a discredited age; or, when we consider John Quincy Adams, single handed and alone, whipping to a frazzle the aristocratic and powerful commercial interests of New England—whether for greed and gain they servilely bent their necks to the yoke of British tyrant or stifled their consciences to favor a continuance of slavery in the South; when we view these and other more modern exhibitions of freedom of speech and of life, we can but believe that after awhile "that collective voice of the national understanding which alone can give back to us a peaceful and assured conviction will indeed be heard." This is what Matthew Arnold would call living by ideals. "When one side of a question has long had your earnest support, when all your feelings are engaged, when you hear all around you no language but one, when your party talks this language like a steam engine and can imagine no other, still to be able to think, still to be irresistibly carried—if so it be—by the concert of thought to the opposite side of the question and like Balaam to be unable to speak anything but what the Lord has put in your mouth"—this, if I interpret Boston aright, this is Boston.

In 1829 William Wirt made his first and only visit to Boston, partaking of the generous hospitality of Adams and Webster and Story and Otis, and when, taking his leave of the vivacious daughter of his open-handed host of the evening, he gallantly stooped and imprinted a kiss upon her soft and youthful hand, do you wonder that all his prejudices against the "Yankees" vanished into thin air and that in the ecstasy of his satisfaction he wrote his friend, Judge Cabell, of Virginia, "A Boston gentleman is every whit as good as a Virginia gentleman." High praise from a gentleman living in Virginia—that mountain of conceit which bounds our modest old State on the north, even as South Carolina—that other mountain of conceit—shuts it in on the south.

Gentlemen, Massachusetts and North Carolina have had their differences, but they have fought them out like men, and now they are brothers. The great North and the great and dominant party is in our midst and meeting our people face to face. We bid them welcome—thrice welcome. Let us now hear the man who more nearly than any other, by heredity and education, embodies the highest ideals of New England life and character—the scholar and the statesman—the defender of his ultimate convictions, unafraid—Henry Cabot Lodge, of Boston.

Senator Lodge then delivered his address, his subject being "The Constitution and Its Makers." He held the rapt attention of his great audience for an hour and forty-five minutes, his ability and eloquence charming those who disagreed with him as well as those who endorsed his contentions. Senator Lodge's address appears in full in this report and has also been printed as an official document by the United States Senate, 15,000 copies having been ordered published for general distribution throughout the country.

In addition to Senator Lodge's speech several musical numbers of unusual excellence added to the charm of the evening program, these being as follows:

Piano Solo—Tarantelle Op. 27, No. 2.....	<i>Moszkowski</i>
MISS ELLA DORROH.	
Violin Solo—(a) Romance	<i>Sinding</i>
(b) Serenade, Op. 4.....	<i>D'Ambrosio</i>
MISS BLANCHE L. CRAFTS; MISS LUNEY at piano.	

Hon. F. A. Woodard, of Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, then made his report recommending as officers for the ensuing year the following:

R. D. W. CONNOR, *President*.

A. C. AVERY, W. P. FEW, MISS LIDA T. RODMAN, *Vice-Presidents*.

CLARENCE POE, *Secretary-Treasurer*.

No other nominations were offered and the foregoing officers were then elected by acclamation.

President Graham then declared the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association adjourned.

Social Features

No record of this session of the State Literary and Historical Association would be complete without mention of the several social features which gave the meetings unique distinction and charm.

Most notable among these social features was the brilliant reception given by Hon. and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, at the Yarborough House, immediately following the conclusion of the evening session November 28. A fuller account of this reception appeared in the *News and Observer* of November 29th, and is appended to this report.

The Association is also under obligations to the progressive and hospitable members of the Woman's Club for their delightful reception Monday afternoon, November 27th. Those in the receiving line were: Mrs. W. A. Withers and Mrs. Bowen at the door; Mrs. James Litchford, Chairman of Entertainment Committee; Mrs. Thomas P. Harrison, President of the Club; Miss Fannie E. S. Heck, Miss Rosa Broughton, Mrs. W. N. Hutt, Mrs. Paul Lee, Mrs. Charles McKimmon, Mrs. V. C. Royster, Miss Edith Royster, Mrs. Jaques Busbee, and Mrs. W. E. Shipp.

In concluding this formal record of the proceedings of the twelfth annual sessions it should be stated that never before has there been such hearty coöperation on the part of all Raleigh interests in making the meeting a success. Liberal citizens of the town subscribed an entertainment fund to defray the cost of the hall, carriages and automobiles for speakers, etc. The city gave the use of its new Auditorium, the Association paying only for the expense of heating and lighting. The Woman's Club of Raleigh gave hearty coöperation both by developing interest in the meetings and in tendering an informal reception. Prof. Wade R. Brown generously gave his time in arranging the musical program, to whose success the Band of the State School for the Blind, Mrs. Horace Dowell, Miss Sadie Duncan, Miss Ella Dorroh, Miss Blanche L. Crafts, Miss Luney, all contributed; and Mr. Virgil J. Lee and his corps of ushers deserve thanks for their efficient handling of the large crowds at the evening sessions.

CLARENCE POE, *Secretary*.

RECEPTION WAS BRILLIANT EVENT.

JUDGE AND MRS. R. W. WINSTON IN HONOR OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—STATE'S MOST BRILLIANT SOCIAL FUNCTION GIVEN LAST NIGHT AT THE NEW YARBOROUGH HOTEL, WHERE THE SCENE WAS A MOST FASCINATING ONE—GUESTS FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE STATE.

(*News and Observer*, November 29, 1911.)

The scene was a most brilliant and fascinating one last night at the reception given by ex-Judge and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, of Raleigh, in honor of the State Literary and Historical Association, there being present its members and specially invited guests. The event proved to be one of the most, if not the most brilliant social function ever given in Raleigh or the State, and was enjoyed by fully five hundred guests.

The reception was given on the second floor of the new YARBOROUGH Hotel, the parlors and halls decorated in pine, ferns and white chrysanthemums, the attractiveness of the hotel fittings and arrangements enhanced by these. The reception line, a long one in which were many men and women of note, was in the spacious hall overlooking the lobby, and in the lobby below an orchestra rendered attractive music. Brilliant lights gleamed, handsomely gowned women moved about, there was the hum of social converse, and happiness reigned. The assemblage was one of guests from all sections of the State, numbers from out of the State, and no more delightful reception has ever been enjoyed in Raleigh. In giving it, Judge and Mrs. Winston not alone extended a most enjoyable reception to the members of the State Literary and Historical Association, but their gracious hospitality included specially invited guests. On all sides could be heard congratulatory remarks concerning Judge Winston, a former President of the Association, and his wife, and the first of the social functions given in honor of the Association.

During the hours of the reception, which lasted from 10 o'clock till 12, delicious refreshments were served, fruit punch, a salad course, an ice cream course, and coffee. The many ladies who were in charge in serving did this most happily, the guests being served in parlors and in the halls.

In the receiving line were Judge and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, the speaker of the evening at the meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association; United States Senator Lee S. Overman, of Salisbury, and his daughter, Mrs. Edwin C. Gregory, of Salisbury; Dr. and Mrs. Archibald Henderson, of Chapel Hill; Mr. and Mrs. William Sinclair Manning, of Spartanburg, S. C.; Dr. Edwin Mims,

of the State University; Mrs. William E. Shipp, of Raleigh; Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem; Dr. E. K. Graham, of the State University; Mrs. Jennie W. Overman, of Salisbury; Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Virginia; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Platt D. Walker and Mrs. Walker; Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, of Richmond, Va.; Bishop and Mrs. Joseph Blount Cheshire; President Howard Rondthaler, of Salem Female College, and Mrs. Rondthaler; President W. L. Poteat, of Wake Forest College, and Mrs. Poteat; Dr. D. H. Hill, of the A. & M. College, and Mrs. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Webb, of Durham; Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh; Dr. and Mrs. T. P. Harrison, of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. R. D. W. Connor, of Raleigh; Miss Eliza Pool, of Raleigh; Miss Edith Royster, of Raleigh; Mr. Clarence Poe, of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Peele, of Raleigh.

The guests were received in the red parlor by Col. and Mrs. John W. Hinsdale, Col. and Mrs. Charles E. Johnson, Col. and Mrs. Ed. Chambers Smith, Rev. and Mrs. Milton A. Barber, and in the hall by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Root, Dr. and Mrs. Patterson, Mr. and Mrs. Cruikshank, Mr. and Mrs. Jaques Busbee, and Mrs. Ellanor Lyon, of New York.

In the punch room delicious fruit punch was served by Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Strong, Dr. and Mrs. Hubert A. Royster, Miss Annie Root, and Miss Kathryn Horner, of Oxford.

In charge of the salad course were Mrs. R. H. Jones, Miss Bessie Smedes Leak, Miss Dowd, Miss Eleanor Mann, Miss Lucy Moore, Miss Sue Kitchin, Miss Mary Grimes Cooper, Miss Pearl Heck, Miss Pickel, Miss Emmie Haywood, and Miss Adeline Barbee.

In charge of the ice cream course were Dr. and Mrs. A. W. Knox, Miss Amy Winston, Miss Ann McKimmon, Miss Elizabeth Thompson, Miss Jean Clark, Miss Alice Aycock, and Miss Alston Dargan.

Prosperity and Patriotism

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT EDWARD K. GRAHAM AT TWELFTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 27, 1911.

No perfunctory word of thanks can express to the membership of this Society my gratitude for the honor that your generosity has conferred upon me during the past year. To serve a society dedicated to the mission of patriotism, and confirmed in that mission by ten years of patriotic achievement, is an honor that no pretense of self-confidence will let me enjoy without misgiving. My gratitude is sincere, though I confess that it is somewhat ashamed.

It is my purpose tonight to speak on "Patriotism and Prosperity." In what I shall say I shall call your attention to the prosperous North Carolina of today, and our patriotic relation to it; and if my voice lacks the authority adequately to answer the simple but tremendous question I propose, I shall accomplish my purpose if I can put the question into your minds; for the relation between prosperity and patriotism must, in our present situation, be our preëminent concern.

And if it be thought that to avoid the obvious difficulties of looking at present things as they are, I mean to devote myself to criticising things that I do not like, I hasten to correct that impression. Looking at North Carolina as she is I find my heart set tonight to a different tune. Too many genuinely good things invite judgment, too many that inspire hope and confidence to the very furthest reaches of patriotic faith, to suggest either vainglorious boasting or destructive criticism. Whatever is wrong in the complex problems with which we are so fortunate as to be confronted, and whoever is wrong on the questions on what North Carolinians are so fortunate as to differ, this much is squarely and fairly true: that the present moment in our State life carries more inspiration for the active enjoyment of constructive citizenship than any that the State has known before.

The main reason for this feeling of stimulation is clear. We have fought life's great necessary battle—the battle to make a decent and prosperous living—and we have won. There are plenty of economic difficulties still to overcome, but the sense of fear and worry is gone, the weariness is gone, the load has fallen from our back; and the average North Carolinian of today with straight shoulders and keen eyes looks at the world unafraid, confident that he can win material success to the limit of his ambition right here at home. And a tremendous thing that is to feel. In spite of nine cent cotton and financial doubt in the country at large, the news has been heralded abroad that North Carolina is coming into a magnificent legacy of material prosperity, and men in joy and confidence are writing over the rugged face of the State the epic of successful work.

But in a more vital way than this constructive materialism has North Carolina achieved success that has brought civic stimulus and elation. Along with this individual success she has in the past ten years somewhat achieved the idea of community success through coöperation. Scarcely a town in the State has failed to have its community spirit take fire from its constructive materialism: town slogans, electric "Welcomes," chambers of commerce, civic committees of every sort give evidence that prosperity has developed the joyful sense of coöperative patriotism. In the State at large prosperity has patriotically achieved not only the public school system, but the department of health and hygiene, of public roads, historical and library commissions, and numerous civic and betterment associations. It has developed for this effort to make the State a healthy and habitable home, its most competent leadership: aggressive, efficient, almost inspired by just the power of this thought of constructive communityism.

Is this as far as we can go, or has patriotism a profounder work to do, other lines on which to work, other leaders to develop in a time of prosperous peace? In 1861 patriotism was exalted by the supreme sacrifice of every physical thing; in 1870 it was exalted by sacrifice not less supreme and courageous. What is its mission in North Carolina in 1911 when men are making money, and the happiness of citizens is not greatly interfered with by fighting for anything except success in busi-

ness? Domestic tranquillity is assured, there is no need of the common defense. Can a man have a prosperous business on Fayetteville Street and still have a mission of progressively achieving, and with high devotion, all of those blessings of liberty for which his fathers gave "the last full measure of devotion"?

Here we meet the oldest of personal and national problems: Can we translate prosperity into greatly permanent terms? To digest material prosperity, government of the people confronts a problem as difficult as the problem of science when confronted with gravitation, Judaism when confronted with Christ, monarchy when confronted with America.

Moralists advise us to avoid this threat of prosperity by despising money; culture tells us to seek freedom of the spirit by despising work. But we go on working; we go on making money. We somehow doubt the efficacy of seeking perfection on an empty stomach. We are impelled forward not because we do not want perfection, but because as a free and equal people we seek perfection through work, as surely as the Hebrews sought it through religion, the Romans through law, the Greeks through art.

Clearly we are going on, making as good a living as we can, building great businesses and great cities, achieving material success in terms that the world has not known before. I can not hope to suggest what I conceive this statement to mean for our State. We have scarcely begun this great commonwealth-construction. America, we are told, will one day be the home of 800,000,000 people. Consider in these terms this North Carolina of the future now in the making! Will it be able to assimilate its gigantic share of this regal wealth of successful workers? Will our civilization perpetuate its buoyancy, its confidence, its progress, or will it, like China, eat out its life and heart of hope? Right now we are facing great problems of taxation, of race, of corporate control, of city government. What magnitude these will assume the present conflict in the nation between government and business merely suggests.

The mission of patriotism was never higher, its opportunity never more magnificent, than in this formative period of prosperity. Its ultimate test is its ability to develop the whole life

of the people as individuals—whether the business man on Fayetteville Street is to be merely a business man, or Man-in-Business. The justice, beneficence, beauty and success of North Carolina depends ultimately and altogether on the presence of these qualities in the life of the individual North Carolinian. To master this constructive materialism, to translate this prosperity becoming more and more triumphant, patriotism urges every citizen to consecrate himself to achieving as a part of his constructive civic program a constructive idealism.

From the point of view, then, of this formative prosperity, patriotism means above all things else a profoundly genuine faith. It means faith in these things we are doing as fine and worthy things; it means faith in ourselves who are doing them; it means faith in the race of men, and our ability to incorporate into our lives the principles that have made for their progress.

The Apostle Paul, who knew the life of money-changing Jerusalem as well as that of Athens, marks the supreme need in the daily work of a free people when he says: "That was first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." He suggests no apology for the industrial structure of our prosperity, but he insists on its balance, on its ideal interstructure. It is just with this present business of ours that we have to deal, not to discard it as unworthy, but to translate it into worthy life. Patriotism urges us to have faith in it; to have faith in the men who are concerned in making it; the motives and capacities of our fellow North Carolinians, the active stuff of life that we have on hand—our contemporaries in the factories, on the farms, in the market place. Patriotism urges us to take abounding inspiration from a faithful view of the possibilities of progress in the activities in which we are engaged. It emphasizes not our competitions and dissensions, but our unities, reminding us that we grow on our appreciations, our admirations, our affections. A patriotic voice of sincerity and sympathy can, through civic faith, translate the life of any town, however mean and sordid, from impotence into power.

And so in State life. In organizing an admirable social life here, threatened as we are by personal ambitions, jealousies, party antagonisms, slowly dissolving poverty and its prejudices, and material success and its pr s. patriotism urges us to

submit ourselves joyfully to the works of unity, to the challenges to devotion, to the energizing virtues and ideals that are even more truly North Carolina's: her ideal home, her unrivalled stock, her noble traditions.

Patriotism makes potent in dealing with the garish problems of today the ideals of her past: the thought not only that her blood and spirit made great a nation across the sea, but that her blood had the hardihood to leave the nation, and as "a community so humble that no statesman condescended to notice it, reduced the wildest theories of civilization to practice"; and in addition to this vision of truth, caught a vision of righteousness by which that government steadily progressed; and in addition to this caught a vision of sacrifice by which in a war of exalted heroism she left immortal testimony of her bravery on every battlefield. Patriotism finds in these memories of her days of trial faith that she can as highly interpret the conditions of her present prosperity.

But patriotism in a prosperous State goes further than faith in its own activities, in its own contemporaries, and in its own history: it has faith in the race of men as capable of further and continued progress toward perfection. It catches a temper of loyal inspiration for its present effort, from its knowledge of what other nations have found good, in the ability of the people to know the permanently good and to choose it. It, therefore, has faith not only in what the men of today find good, but where that is short of completeness it would balance it and glorify it by unifying it with permanent standards. Wherever men have achieved fair memorials of progress, in whatever time or field or country, patriotism would find and follow and diffuse the principles of that progress. And in its review of history, the successes and bankruptcies of prosperity, patriotism finds no confusion. There is everywhere the same clear, simple judgment of history. I give it in the commonplace sentence of Bolingbroke: "Patriotism must be founded on great principles and virtues in the life of the people." Otherwise it becomes dead formalism. Religion forgets God and becomes Pharisaism and the letter of the law; democracy and prosperous commerce forget the people and depend on the machinery of legislation; identify progress with population, waterpowers, railways, sky-

scrapers, the opening of canals. These do not make a State great nor make men greatly love their State. "They are powerless until they give themselves to the reinforcement of those human qualities of which any real State life is made, and make the nation more just, more upright, more generous, more free, more love inspiring. They may do that. It is within the power of a nation as of a man to grow greater with every dollar added to its wealth; but a dollar is powerless" until it joins itself to whole principles of life and passes into character. The character of a free people must assimilate its prosperity, as it forms, into the life of the people. And this is ultimately and simply what patriotism is in the life of a prosperous State: it is giving a welcome in the State life to all of those things, material and spiritual, which have the right to enter into it and dominate it.

As to what these principles are there is again no confusion. They have the simplicity and grandeur of all elemental truth. Paul, the apostle of the people, calls them, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are elevated, whatsoever things are amiable, whatsoever things are of good report," counseling us to let our lives run upon their lines. Plato makes the same judgment, more comprehensively, as truth, goodness, and beauty. Pasteur, the greatest of modern scientists and the good patriot of progress, stated them in his final message to mankind: "Happy is that man who finds in his heart an ideal of beauty and obeys it, an ideal of knowledge, an ideal of art, an ideal of his native country. These are the vital sources of great thoughts and great actions."

To interpret the life of a people engaged in triumphant materialism in terms of these ideal values is the tremendous obligation of patriotism in a time of prosperous peace: to incorporate them in our lives, to project them into our affairs, to make them supreme in our judgments. It is to give electric welcomes to these necessities of the spirit that patriotism counsels us at this critical moment in our history. We need a baptism of this patriotic faith—not a sprinkling, but an immersion! We do not need to change the spiritual nature of North Carolina; but we do need to raise its temperature to a temperature of power. We need to put the State more fully into that current of spiritual power that runs through the humanity of men as

Divinity of God rules above them. All experience, all prophecy, and the high instincts of our own hearts tell us that through patriotic faith and consecrated service we may translate our local issues in the terms of these eternal principles, and that only so shall our civilization see salvation.

Many sincere and patriotically disposed men grant that progress means more than material prosperity, but they will give to any program of idealism indifferent support because they regard it as too impractical for personal service.

They have the feeling that if we seek prosperity with heart, mind and soul that the other will be added as a sort of extra dividend. It is the always defeated hope of spiritual inertia. If constructive idealism is to be the saving standard of our State life we shall establish it by effort, deliberate, courageous, and devoted. The destiny of a people in ideals is no more a matter of chance than business is a matter of chance. A certain fine basis exists in the nature of our people, but a high civic standard is not waited for, but achieved.

Others, more active, doubt the need of such a program for city or State because they identify progress of the people with party platforms. In the midst of active affairs we are overwhelmed by the notion that democracy is a way of doing something, whereas it is primarily a good way of being something. All of the active devices of government—ballots, laws, constitutions, and the rest—are not to enable men to vote, but to develop men who will vote for right things; not to make more perfect machinery for governing men, but to make more perfect men for governing. We can pass all the Sherman laws we please, but we can not get them obeyed, enforced, or interpreted unless they accord with the vital standards and demands in the life of the people. There the issues of government are determined. That is what carrying the government back to the people really means; there is the true referendum. What most of us mean by faith in the people is a faith with limitations; a negative faith that they are not bad, that in a great crisis of right and wrong that they will by a sort of instinct approximate right. We have not the high-hearted faith of the true democracy that sees in the developing ideals of the people the one fruitful source of a State's steadily progressing toward perfection. We believe in

the average man; but we believe too much in his averageness, too little in his manhood.

There is another closely associated doubt as to the right of idealism to a place on a patriotic program: that it is indefinite and visionary, and so against the trend of the time. The trend of the time is toward practical efficiency, to identify education with useful facts, religion with works, and statesmanship with a tariff on mica. True patriotism does not rebel against this program except to say that it is incomplete. Patriotism is truly devoted to vocational training, to "swatting the fly," to guarding the needs of the district; but not as supreme ends in themselves. It looks behind practice and immediate profit. It sees that above all else the real fruitfulness of practice comes from the supremacy of principles in the lives of the people, and it has faith that its own people are worthy of what the greatest nations in their great moments have found as the inspiration of their great achievements. In other words, it rejects the standard of mere success that would reproduce the very successful Pittsburg; the standard of mere efficiency that would reproduce the very efficient C. F. Murphy. But while it values whatsoever things are true, and good, and beautiful for their own sake, it does not leave them an inactive philosophy. It does not reject practice, nor small affairs, but it saturates all practice with ideal values and so makes it permanent and magnificent. In every activity it is not ashamed to insist that the standard shall be not merely "Does it pay?" but that to that be added, not as a dead echo, but as the supreme ultimatum of all practice: "What doth it profit" if a State gain the whole world and lose its hold on the realities of Statehood?

The program of constructive idealism is difficult, it is tremendous, but it is not indefinite. Above and beyond all temporary considerations of property, railroads, factories, and corporations, patriotism lays hold upon its vision of North Carolina as a noble state of mind and heart and soul, as the Athens of Pericles was a state of mind, the England of Elizabeth, the Virginia of Jefferson, and to a lesser extent the Wisconsin of LaFollette. No tyranny of balance sheets can shake the faith of patriotism in the great vital truth of democracy that "without vision the people perish."

To catch this vision and to realize it is not the patriotic work of any profession or class. All professions and businesses, all offices truly magnified, are equally the ministers of this patriotism in a free and prosperous State. But it is the singularly fine fortune of this Society to be dedicated to patriotism through service to the ideals of truth, and justice, and beauty as they are revealed in literature and history. Splendid things it has done, and greater things it is yet to do in carrying its beliefs into the life of the State. There is supreme need of a devoted body of loyal men and women who value material construction, but upon whom material size of any sort can not impose. When thousands of strident voices, organized and unorganized, are every breathing moment reminding the State of its business and body, the demand of patriotism is for a militant, extensive group that will remind it of its soul, and give somewhat of their lives to that service.

A number of years ago a witty North Carolinian said that North Carolina was the place where men still believed in God, read Scott, and voted the Democratic ticket. That was when skepticism was more popular, and the Democratic ticket less popular than it is now. But we accept the estimate as indicating the splendid material which challenges patriotic effort in North Carolina: her righteousness, her steadfastness, her beautiful loyalty. No State in the Union offers in the character of its people a more inspiring opportunity for perfecting prosperity in a noble commonwealth through patriotic service to ideal values.

North Carolinians are a truthful people and a truth loving people. Patriotism urges us to render powerful this native virtue by giving abundant welcome to truth in every practice and activity in our life. Ignorance, with its prejudices, is the great foe to truth, and the warfare we are waging against ignorance is our richest patriotic asset; but no patriotic heart can remain untroubled and inactive when it daily faces the tragic deficiency in our power that comes from the terrible sacrifices that we make to ignorance. Beyond this fundamental service patriotism urges us to energize interest in ideas, to give to knowledge momentum and driving power by sending by all possible means currents of ideas throughout the State. In order to give ideas

free course, patriotism urges us to the still higher and more courageous service of creating a free atmosphere of truth. I do not mean truth as I see it, or my party sees it, or my sect of any sort, but truth as it stands revealed to any sincere seeker after it. I mean that for truth to be permanently powerful it must be lifted above its stratified, sectarian stage. Its healthful open mindedness does not, however, mean indecision and indifference. It believes in its party, in its leaders, in its church. It believes in these things as the practical instruments and exponents of truth to be most valiantly fought for. But it also knows that if the people of a State follow a leader, or a party, or a creed, through fear, mere convention or a lack of personal concern; speak without sincerity or keep silent through indifference, the vision of truth is sectarian and incomplete—a dead motive; ideas of spiritual construction are thereby blighted, and unable to keep pace with the unchecked freedom of materialism.

A Virginia paper said recently, apropos of corruption in some of our prosperous sister States, that "North Carolina is the cleanest State in the Union." Regardless of whether our merit in this respect is preëminent, it is certainly true that in goodness the nature of our people affords a splendid basis for constructive idealism. I shall not discuss in detail the interesting practical relations that the standard of material prosperity bears to that standard of level, equalized justice that is the life-blood of all creative effort of every sort in a free State. I do not mean the standard of technical honesty or stolid righteousness. What I do mean is keeping fresh and vital and dominating the criterion of glowing justice. In establishing this standard over the tyranny of the merely business standard of success our prosperity has to face its inexorable problem of the camel and the eye of the needle. We shall not build with permanence unless in every test between the strong and the weak—in finance, labor, race, religion, art, domestic servants—the hundred applications in legislative and personal practice—we courageously and joyfully make prevail above all other judgments the standard of glowing justice as the incarnate conscience of the people.

The editor of *The Progressive Farmer*, who is also Secretary of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, a

combination of offices that admirably illustrates his interpretation of successful practice through constructive ideals; of what I have been trying to say of the passion for knowing, allied to the passion of making prevail, the union of present business with the business of all time, of devotion to one's own affairs purified by devotion to the affairs of the State—this patriotic North Carolinian of faith, has hanging in his remarkable office a reproduction or two of Raphael's side by side with a reproduction of Smith's pea planter and Jones's stump puller; a copy of Emerson's *Essays* is mixed in with a dissertation on subsoil plowing. I do not know what Raphael thinks of the crowd he has got into, but I know that Emerson enjoys it—his robust Americanism has no prejudices against beauty.

The work of an active people is incomplete without beautiful expression. State life, however prosperous, is nervous, barren and poverty stricken, unless it is enriched by noble emotions, nobly expressed and nobly enjoyed. What a benediction in the public life of the State has been our own grey old capitol building, in the gentle perfection of a beautiful age that is ever young—the hallowed memorial of gracious ideals that its presence will not let die. The influence of its beauty on the life of the State has been greater, I suspect, than that of many a chief executive. We do not count the extension of beauty in the form of books, pictures and architecture as a civic obligation; yet beauty is not less powerful than the sterner virtues in the ideals of a free people.

There are now 2,500 rural school libraries scattered over North Carolina, containing 200,000 volumes, in addition to the collections in the larger towns. These should not be cemeteries of dead books, nor mere conveniences for people who already love books, but this society and other agencies that have discovered the beauty of books, should put that beauty into the lives of the people. So our private homes, however simple, have a patriotic service as radiating centers in civic life of the tone and temper of beauty; our municipalities as aggregates, not of competing businesses, but beautiful expressions of the joy of living together. The small towns of which North Carolina is made up offer in their formative stage the best opportunity for growing into the supreme civic grace of beauty—though small towns

like small boys are especially careless of their personal loveliness. We prostitute the beauty of our highways of trade to the most vulgar purposes, indifferent to the fact that they, too, are the homes of men, careless of how we build them or build on them. Splendid civic work has been done in the past five years in beautifying our public places, and almost entirely it has been done by women—unfranchised and unfinanced. We need abundantly to welcome this motive of beauty as a dominating ideal into our private and our public construction, making it an active ally in that noble confederation of ideals, that partnership of the present with the past and the future that is the summary of all patriotism, the prophecy of permanent greatness.

May I say, in a word of conclusion, that there are many evidences that while we are building with energy, intelligence, confidence, temples to our god of Industry, that we are stirred by these profounder motives of ideal construction? They are observable in almost every North Carolina town, and nowhere are they more impressive than in our own lately awakened capital city. No other influence could be quite so potent as that there should be here a government not only efficient in practice, but glorifying its practice by illustrations of a genuine civic patriotism that expresses itself by devotedly constructing works of truth, justice, and beauty. But more than any other evidence of a growth of a noble civic faith in North Carolina is that supreme evidence in the life of the people more deeply felt than seen. It is the aspiration, even the yearning of the people of this State for higher things—a passionate docility, combined with the strength of native independence—a yearning for great leadership founded on great principles. Even now these leaders may be waiting. I do not know. The expectation of the people is a compelling prayer. It will be the work of our section, I believe, reestablished in nationalism through prosperity, to lead the nation out of its confusions of materialism, and it will be only through new interpretations of the old ideals. However this may be, I know that our own heroes will come in commerce, in statecraft, in literature, in religion, when the spiritual temper of the State becomes resurgent through patriotic faith, and so liberates the splendid virtues of constructive materialism from its own unbalanced tyrannies. To usher in this creative era is

in part the glorious privilege of every man and woman who would play a patriot's part in the North Carolina of today, and achieve in the North Carolina of tomorrow the commonwealth for which men have dreamed and died, but scarcely dared to hope!

What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?

OUTLINE OF ADDRESS BY C. ALPHONSO SMITH, POE PROFESSOR OF
ENGLISH IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 27, 1911.

We are approaching a new era in our educational campaign. The slogan has hitherto been "More schools"; it will soon be "Better textbooks in the hands of the pupils." We are on the threshold of changes in our courses of study in the public schools hardly dreamed of ten years ago. What we have considered fundamental subjects are going to be readapted to present day school needs or eliminated altogether.

THE TRADITIONAL STATE HISTORY.

For some time I have been reading State histories, and the conviction has grown upon me that they are an outworn inheritance from England. In the traditional English History the reign of the monarch is the chronological unit, and so in our United States histories we divide by Presidents, and in our State histories by Governors. The pupil is supposed to memorize both names and dates. Add wars to this list and you have the usual State History. The Governors, in other words, are lined up in single file and the pupil has a word with each as he passes with his teacher down the line from the first to the last. Pauses are made only in the case of wars. Here the gubernatorial stream broadens out into a storm-tossed lake, but soon narrows again into the single stream.

Is this history? Will this sort of study ever put the pupil in touch with the great constructive forces that are making and have made every State what it is? The fact is we are living in a democracy but repeating for the school children the formula of a monarchy.

THE REMEDY.

We must democratize our history, not by lengthening, but by widening and diversifying the record. The traditional history ends where real history should begin. Fifty years to me, are enough for the purely narrative part

ture. This narrative should deal sparingly with names and dates, but it should present interestingly and lucidly the main events from the founding to the present time. This outline, however, at which most histories stop, should be but the real beginning. The pupil learns through this narrative what has been done; he is now to learn how it was done.

The first part may be considered The Result. The second part is The Interpretation of the Result. In the second part he is to learn the significance of the constructive agencies that have determined and conditioned the present status. It is as if the pupil were shown a majestic building. After seeing its imposing outlines his first question is: "How was it built?"

CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES.

What are these constructive forces? The most important are Agriculture, Transportation, Manufacturing, Government, Literature, Education, Religion, and Representative Leadership. These seem to me the natural and necessary headings of the chapters that should follow the narrative introduction. The length of these chapters and the method of treatment would, of course, be conditioned on the kind of evolution through which the State had gone. But, however modified, these are the forces which have moulded the past of every American State, and in which the American places his confident trust for the future. History must correlate these forces with the past and must interpret them in terms of the present. It must give the pupil such a realization of their significance as will make the preceding narrative of his State's development seem not a meaningless tale, but the inevitable resultant of interacting forces. In the case of North Carolina the recent unparalleled advance along all of these lines and the concurrent efficiency of the State Historical Commission make this method of treatment a practical necessity. No other treatment can make even approximately plain to the pupil or to the outside reader just what North Carolina is today and why. Let us glance at these forces in the proposed order of treatment.

AGRICULTURE.

No State is making greater comparative progress today in agriculture than North Carolina. Even the boys, the captains

of the corn brigades, are enthusiastic. Not only have agricultural methods been improved, but the constructive significance of agriculture in the making of a State is being realized as never before. What is needed now is to relate this movement to our past, and to put a new conception of agriculture in the home by putting it in the school. The Department of Agriculture sends out bulletins, the good influence of which is limited only by the number of appreciative readers. The time has come to meet these bulletins half way by preparing a body of intelligent readers in advance. Four-fifths of the inhabitants of North Carolina live in the country. Should not the boys and girls from these homes be made to feel that they are a part of the history of the State? Are they made to feel this in the pages of the political histories that have been written?

The chapter on agriculture would not be filled with statistics but it would begin with a brief reference to agriculture as a world influence in civilization and then pass directly to North Carolina. There should be an abundance of illustrations, a discussion of the more epoch-making discoveries and inventions, a clear statement of the nature of the soil and the resultant localization of industries, with a hint of the immense possibilities yet undeveloped. The purpose is not to make professional agriculturalists, but enlightened citizens. The emphasis, therefore, should be put upon agriculture as conditioning history. The discussion should be broad, interesting, but elemental, the facts being so stated as to furnish a key to the narrative that has preceded.

TRANSPORTATION.

The same general treatment would be followed in the chapter on transportation. It would be well to begin with the good roads movement. Is this not constructive? Is it not making history? Does it not contribute to the exchange of ideas and to the facilitation of neighborliness as well as to the increase of commerce? Or one might begin with the proposed Atlantic interior passage from New England to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico. Once touch the constructive imagination of the pupil and you have enriched his civic consciousness. We hear much today of the future-minded man. No one doubts his value as a civic asset. But the future-minded man is only the past-minded

boy grown up. If the boy is taught to see that the great things all about him are not detached and isolated, but rather the product of influences working silently and convergently through the centuries, influences that he can stimulate or retard, he will be the future-minded man of his generation.

A map of the State, showing the old highways yielding place to railroads or being transformed by macadam, showing also the possibilities of new landways and waterways, would give the pupil a glimpse into the future of the State that he could not obtain from the most elaborate political map. Emerson says that he found roads out west that began broad, then narrowed to a squirrel path, and finally took refuge up a tree. But he must have been journeying backwards. These roads probably began in the tree, passed into a squirrel path, widened into a hog path, swelled into a cow path, and graduated into a man path. Road building does not go backward, and the memory of roadbuilders should not be allowed to lapse. It was evidently a future-minded man who wrote the inscription on the lone headstone between Hendersonville and Mount Hebron:

HERE LIES SOLOMON JONES,
THE ROAD MAKER,
A TRUE PATRIOT.

HE LABORED FIFTY YEARS TO LEAVE THE WORLD BETTER THAN
HE FOUND IT.

MANUFACTURING.

"As late as 1810," says President D. H. Hill, in his *Young People's History of North Carolina*, "out of fifteen hundred men present at a military drill, all but forty were dressed in homespun." There was at that time not a cotton mill in the South. The growth of manufactures in the South since 1810, but especially since 1870, is an epic of absorbing interest. Last year alone more than 100,000 people in North Carolina labored in factories, and the value of their products was more than \$150,000,000.

The transition from the spinning wheel and loom (still seen in remote mountain districts) to the cotton mill, from home made tobacco to the tobacco factory, and from home made furniture to the furniture factory, is a transition that has never

been adequately treated in our histories. It is a story that is written large over the face of our State, but meagerly, if at all, in our school textbooks. But a moment's consideration will show that if the study of history in the schoolroom is meant to be an introduction to the constructive agencies that have touched our life at every point, manufactures whether by hand or machine can not be ignored. The boy or girl who can think through the steps that lead from the raw material to the finished product, and who can relate these steps to the general advance in things of the mind, is a historian in the germ. Such a pupil has learned to interpret facts in terms of forces.

GOVERNMENT.

Not till the pupil has learned the simpler interrelations of soil, roads, and machinery, will he be prepared to understand the simpler problems of government. It was just this failure to take into consideration the physical aspects of civilization that made John Locke's Grand Model the joke of North Carolina history.

Civics and agriculture, when studied at all in the public schools, are usually studied apart from history. But are they not necessary to the understanding of history? Even if they are studied both before and after the study of State history they should also be studied along with and as a part of State history. In North Carolina a beginner's course in agriculture is required in the fifth and sixth grades. The History of North Carolina is taught also in the sixth grade, while civil government is put in the seventh grade. This seems to me an admirable arrangement provided the significance of agriculture and the significance of good government are made plain in the State history.

As North Carolina is experimenting with the commission form of government for cities the whole subject of civics might well be introduced by calling attention to this new and promising development in the science of self-government. Civics should be taught at least in a human rather than in a formal way, so that the pupil may intelligently think himself through the leading offices of State, county, and town. There should be a State government, a county government, and a city government organized from time to time among the pupils. A boy who has

played governor, or legislator, or county commissioner, or mayor, or policeman, will have learned that the duties of democratic citizenship need more emphasis than the rights. He will also be enabled to read his State's history with an insight and sympathy impossible before.

LITERATURE.

The history of literature in North Carolina has never been written, but enough is known to warrant the historian in calling attention to our native writers as interpreters and moulders of our history. Two North Carolinians at least have touched the intellect and heart of the nation in a unique way. Hinton Rowan Helper's book, *The Impending Crisis* (1857), remains the ablest discussion of the economic weakness of slavery that has yet been written. The tone is bitter, but the State can not afford to omit this man from the roll of its national thinkers. "New England wives," says Helper, "have written the most popular antislavery literature of the day. Against this I have nothing to say; it is well enough for women to give the fictions of slavery; men should give the facts." The effect of *The Impending Crisis* on the thought of the nation was hardly less than the effect of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the emotions of the nation.

What Helper of Mocksville did for the economic argument against slavery, O. Henry, of Greensboro, did for the four million of New York. The one appealed to the head, the other to the heart. But both appeals were national and the services of both men should be capitalized in our history for future generations.

I have reference, however, chiefly to North Carolina writers who have found their inspiration in their native soil, writers who have celebrated the scenery or perpetuated the traditions of their own State. Such writers are history makers and history interpreters. The *Old North State*, by Gaston, is the best known State song in America. Its music and words have done more to bind North Carolinians together in a community of interest and idealism than any other single poem in our literature. It should not only be memorized in every school but studied as an interpretation of the State spirit at the time when it was

written. It is not a final interpretation, but it will stimulate others to attempt a better.

Mrs. Tiernan's *Land of the Sky* (1876) introduced Western North Carolina to the outside world. It did for the region around Asheville a service comparable to that done by Irving's *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* for the neighborhood of Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson. If Burton Egbert Stevenson in his *Poems of American History* (1908) finds a place for Seymour W. Whiting's poem on *Alamance*, and William C. Elam's poem on *The Mecklenburg Declaration*, ought not the historians of North Carolina to find a place for them? If these and similar poems belong to American history, do they not belong also to North Carolina history? If the pupil learns nothing more from them than that literature has from the beginning been the conservator and the herald of history he will have learned a truth that will minister to him as long as he lives.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

These are grouped here for lack of space, and not because they should be grouped in our proposed history. There should be separate maps showing the growth of schools and churches, and a clear statement of their necessary interdependence. The growth and influence of the Young Men's Christian Association should also be outlined, as well as the growth and influence of school libraries.

The educational history of the State has already been well written; it needs only to be brought up to date, provided with plentiful pictures, and skilfully adapted to public school use. The purpose is to make clear not only the phenomenal advance of recent years, but the heroisms of early years and the moulding influence of education upon every phase of our State's activities. It is the merest commonplace to say that churches and schools are at once the measures and the determinants of a State's progress. But as common as the saying is, I have found no State history that traces these two constructive forces in their beneficent influence upon the State's destinies. If mentioned, they are merely mentioned. It is at least the highest praise that can be given the story of our State to say that it is understood by any one who ignores or of intellect or morality.

REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS.

This chapter should complete and unify all that has gone before. But the leaders chosen should be representative of the constructive forces already mentioned. The makers of North Carolina history have been not only civic leaders in the accepted sense, but farmers, road builders, manufacturers, educators, writers, and preachers. The influence of biography on a reader, it must be remembered, is measured not merely by the greatness of the life portrayed, but by the similarity of task and environment that the reader is made to feel between himself and the hero. The biography, in other words, must meet the reader half way. It must reveal the same or kindred interests. It must touch his sense of common humanity. When this is done, life is reinvested in life. Longfellow's line, "There is no death; what seems so is transition," receives thus a new meaning. The transition is from the past to the present, from service that has been to service that will be.

To select these representative men, to portray the salient features of their life and work, to relate them properly to the varied activities of the State and to the ideals and interests of the pupils in our schools, is to write history that is not only democratic, but dynamic. It is a task calling for disciplined judgment and wide sympathy, but the reward will be greater than the task.

IN CONCLUSION.

History thus written would not fill the pupil's mind with names and figures, but it would deepen and diversify his interests. It would enable him to correlate the present with the past, and to summon both to the service of a larger future. His imagination would be enlarged both by retrospect and prospect. He would realize that history is not conservation, but interpretation, that it deals with the past only to make it live on into the present, and with the present only to garner it for the future.

Above all he would realize that his own honest toil, however humble, is a part of the State's progress, that no one man and no one class of men has made or is making the fabric of statehood, that it is a collective and composite thing on which many

brains have pondered and many hands have wrought. And out of this realization there would come that new conception of the State, a conception which has kindled alike the imagination of the poet and the patriotism of the citizen :

"God gave all men all earth to love,
But since our hearts are small,
Ordained for each one spot should prove
Belovèd over all;
That, as He watched Creation's birth,
So we, in godlike mood,
May of our love create our earth
And see that it is good."

The Constitution and its Makers

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE HENRY CABOT LODGE, TUESDAY EVENING,
NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

Before this Society and on such an occasion to speak on any subject not connected with the history of our common country would hardly be possible, and would certainly not be fitting. I have, therefore, chosen a subject which touches the history of the United States at every point. I shall try to set before you some of the results of a great work in which your State and mine alike took part a century and a quarter ago, and which possesses an interest and an importance as deep and as living today as at the moment of its inception. I shall touch upon some present questions but I shall speak without the remotest reference to politics or parties, for my subject transcends both. I shall speak as a student of our history with reverence for the past and with a profound faith in the future. In a word I shall speak simply as an American who loves his country, "now and forever, one and inseparable."

A little less than twenty-five years ago great crowds thronged the streets of Philadelphia. Men and women were there from all parts of the United States; the city was resplendent with waving flags and brilliant with all the decorations which ingenuity could suggest, while the nights were made bright by illuminations which shone on every building. Great processions passed along the streets, headed by troops from the thirteen original States, marching in unusual order, with Delaware at the head, because that little State had been the first to accept the great instrument of government which now, having attained its hundredth year, was celebrated in the city of its birth.

Behind the famous hall where independence was declared an immense crowd listened to commemorative speakers, and the President of the United States, a Democrat, honored the occasion with his presence and his words.

Two years later, in 1889, the same scenes were repeated in New York. Again the cannon thundered and again flags waved above the heads of the multitude gathered in the streets through which

marched a long procession, both military and civil, headed as before by the representatives of the original thirteen States. Again, this time at a great banquet, addresses were delivered and once more the President of the United States, a Republican, honored the occasion by his presence, and in the name of all the people of the country praised the great deeds of our ancestors.

In Philadelphia we celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. In New York we commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the government which that Constitution had brought into being. Through all the rejoicings of those days in every spoken and in every written word ran one unbroken strain of praise for the great instrument and of gratitude to the men who, in the exercise of the highest wisdom, had framed it and brought it forth. All men recalled that it had made a nation from thirteen jarring States, that it had proved in its interpretation flexible to meet new conditions and strong to withstand injustice and wrong, that it had survived the shock of Civil War, and that under it liberty had been protected and order maintained. The pæan of praise rose up from all parts of this broad land unmarred by a discordant note. Everyone agreed with Gladstone's famous declaration, that the Constitution of the United States was the greatest political instrument ever struck off on a single occasion by the minds of men. We seemed by all we said and did to justify those foreign critics who reproached us for our blind reverence for our Constitution and our almost superstitious belief in its absolute wisdom and unexampled perfections.

Those celebrations of the framing of the Constitution and of the inauguration of the government have been almost forgotten. More than twenty years have come and gone since the cheers of the crowds which then filled the streets of New York and Philadelphia, since the reverberations of the cannon and the eloquent voice of the orator, died away into silence. And with those years, not very many after all, there seems to have passed away also the spirit which then pervaded the American people from the President to the humblest citizen in the land. Instead of the universal chorus of praise and gratitude to the framers of the Constitution the air is now rent with harsh voices of criti-

cism and attack while the vast mass of the American people, still believing in their Constitution and their government, look on and listen, bewildered and confused, dumb thus far from mere surprise and deafened by the discordant outcry so suddenly raised against that which they have always revered and held in honor. Everyone who is in distress, or in debt, or discontented, now assails the Constitution, for such is the present passion. Every reformer of other people's misdeeds—all of that numerous class which is ever seeking to promote virtue at somebody else's expense—pause in their labors to point out the shortcomings of our national charter. Every raw demagogue, every noisy agitator, whether in Congress or out of Congress, incapable of connected thought and seeking his own advancement by the easy method of appealing to envy, malice, and all uncharitableness—those unlovely qualities in human nature which so readily seek for gratification under the mask of high sounding and noble attributes—all such people now lift their hands to tear down or remake the Constitution. In House and Senate one can hear attacks upon it at any time and listen to men deriding its framers and their work. No longer are we criticised by outsiders for having a superstitious reverence for our Constitution. Quite recently I read an article by an English member of Parliament,* a Liberal, I believe, with Socialist proclivities, who said that this reproach of an undue veneration for the Constitution ought no longer to be brought against us, for beneficent and progressive spirits were already beginning to pull to pieces and to modernize it in conformity with the clamor of the moment. All this is quite new in our history. We have, as a people, revered our Constitution and realized what it has accomplished and what protection it has given to ordered freedom and individual liberty. Even the Abolitionists, when they denounced the Constitution for the shelter which it afforded to slavery, did not deny its success in other directions, and their hostility to the Constitution was one of the most deadly weapons used against them.

The enmity to the Constitution and the attacks upon it which have developed in the last few years present a situation of the utmost gravity. If allowed to continue without answer they

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may mislead public opinion and produce the most baneful results. The people of the United States may come to believe that all these attacks are in a measure, at least, true. And, therefore, if they are not true, their falsity ought to be shown. Beside the question of the maintenance or destruction of the Constitution of the United States all other questions of law and policy sink into utter insignificance. In their presence party lines should disappear and all sectional differences melt away like the early mists of dawn before the rising sun. The Constitution is our fundamental law. Upon its provisions rests the entire fabric of our institutions. It is the oldest of written constitutions. It has served as a model for many nations, both in the Old World and in the New. It has disappointed the expectations of those who opposed it, convinced those who have doubted, and won a success beyond the most glowing hopes of those who put faith in it. Such a work is not to be lightly cast down or set aside, or which would be still worse, remade by crude thinkers and by those who live only to serve and flatter in their own interest the emotion of the moment. We should approach the great subject as our ancestors approached it, simply as Americans with a deep sense of its seriousness and with a clear determination to deal with it only upon full knowledge and after the most mature and calm reflection. The time has come to do this, not only here and now, but everywhere throughout the country.

Let us first consider who the men were who made the Constitution and under what conditions they worked. Then let us determine exactly what they meant to do, a most vital point, for much of the discussion to which we have been treated thus far has proceeded upon a complete misapprehension of the purpose and intent of the framers of the Constitution. Finally let us bring their work and their purposes to the bar of judgment so that we may decide whether they have failed—whether in their theory of government they were right or wrong, then and now—or whether their work has stood the test of time, is broad based on eternal principles of justice, and if rent, or mangled or destroyed would not in its ruin bring disaster and woes inestimable upon the people who shall wreck their great inheritance and like

"The base Indian throw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe."

First, then, of the men who met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, with doubts and fears oppressing them, but calm, high courage, and with a noble aspiration to save their country then and in the future from the miseries which threatened it, to lead it out from the wilderness of distractions, in which it was wandering blind and helpless, into the light, so that the chaos, hateful alike to God and men, might be ended and order put in its place.

It is the fashion just now to speak of the framers of the Constitution as worthy, able, and patriotic persons, whom we are proud to have embalmed in our history, but toward whom no enlightened man would now think of turning seriously for either guidance or instruction, so thoroughly has everything been altered and so much has intelligence advanced. It is commonly said that they dealt wisely and well with the problems of their day, but that of course they knew nothing of those which confront us, and that it would be worse than folly to be in any degree governed by the opinions of men who lived under such wholly different conditions. It seems to me that this view leaves something to be desired and is not wholly correct or complete. I certainly do not think that all wisdom died with our fathers, but I am quite sure that it was not born yesterday. I fully realize that in saying even this I show myself to be what is called old-fashioned, and I know that a study of history, which has been one of the pursuits of my life, tends to make a man give more weight to the teachings of the past than it is now thought they deserve. Yet, after all allowance is made, I can not but feel that there is something to be learned from the men who established the government of the United States, and that their opinions, the result of much and deep reflection, are not without value, even to the wisest among us. On questions of this character, I think, their ideas and conclusions are not to be lightly put aside, for, after all, however much we may now gently patronize them as good old patriots long since laid in their honored graves, they were none the less very remarkable men, who would have been eminent in any period of history and might even, if alive now, attain to distinction. Let us glance over the list of delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. I find, to begin with, that their average age was

forty-three, which is not an extreme senectitude, and the ages range from Franklin, who was eighty-one, to John Francis Mercer, of Virginia, who was twenty-eight. Among the older men who were conspicuous in the Convention, were Franklin, with his more than eighty years; Washington, who was fifty-five; Roger Sherman, who was sixty-six, and Mason and Wythe, of Virginia, who were both sixty-one. But when I looked to see who were the most active forces in that Convention, I found that the New Jersey plan was brought forward by William Paterson, who was forty-two; that the Virginia plan was proposed by Edmund Randolph, who was thirty-four; while Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, whose plan played a large part in the making of the Constitution, was only twenty-nine. The greatest single argument, perhaps, which was made in the Convention, was that of Hamilton, who was thirty. The man who contributed more possibly than any other to the daily labors of the Convention, and who followed every detail was Madison, who was thirty-six. The Connecticut Compromise was very largely the work of Ellsworth, who was forty-two; and the Committee on Style, which made the final draft, was headed by Gouverneur Morris, who was thirty-five. Let us note then at the outset that youth and energy, abounding hope, and the sympathy for the new times stretching forward into the great and uncharted future, as well as high ability, were conspicuous among the men who framed the Constitution of the United States.

Their presiding officer was Washington, one of the great men of all time, who had led the country through seven years of war, and of whom it has been said by an English historian that "no nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life." Next comes Franklin, the great man of science, the great diplomatist, the great statesman and politician, the great writer; one of the most brilliant intellects of the eighteenth century, who, in his long life, had known cities and men as few others have ever known them. There was Hamilton, one of the greatest constructive minds that modern statesmanship has to show; to whose writings German statesmen turned when they were forming their Empire forty years ago, and about whom in these latter days books are written in England because they find in the principal author of the *Federalist* the great exponent of the doctrines

of successful federation. There was Madison, statesman and law maker, wise, astute, careful, destined to be, under the government which he was helping to make, Secretary of State and President. Roger Sherman was there, sagacious, able, experienced; one of the leaders of the Revolution and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, as he was of the Constitution. Great lawyers were present in Philadelphia in that memorable summer of 1787; such men as Ellsworth and Wilson and Mason and Wythe. It was, in a word, a very remarkable body which assembled to frame a Constitution for the United States. Its members were men of the world, men of affairs, soldiers, lawyers, statesmen, diplomatists, versed in history, widely accomplished, deeply familiar with human nature. I think that without an undue or slavish reverence for the past or for the men of a former generation we may fairly say that in patriotism and in intellect, in knowledge, experience, and calmness of judgment, these framers of the Constitution compare not unfavorably with those prophets and thinkers of today who decry the work of 1787, would seek to make it over with all modern improvements and who, with unconscious humor, declare that they are engaged in the restoration of popular government.

That phrase is in itself suggestive. That which has never existed can not be restored. If popular government is to be restored in the United States it must have prevailed under the Constitution as it is, and yet those who are so devoured by anxiety for the rights of the people propose to effect the restoration they demand by changing the very Constitution under which popular government is admitted by their own words to have existed. I will point out presently the origin of this confusion of thought. It is enough to say now that for more than a century no one questioned that the government of the Constitution was in the fullest sense a popular government. In 1863 Lincoln, in one of the greatest speeches ever uttered by man, declared that he was engaged in trying to save government by the people. Nearly thirty years later, when we celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Constitution, the universal opinion was still the same. All men then agreed that the government which had passed through the fires of Civil War was a popular government. Indeed this new idea of the loss of popu-

lar government, which it is proposed to restore by mangling the Constitution under which it has existed for more than a century, is very new, in fact hardly ten years old.

This first conception of our Constitution as an instrument of popular government, so long held unquestioned, was derived from the framers of the Constitution themselves. They knew perfectly well that they were founding a government which was to be popular in the broadest sense. The idea sedulously propagated, that these great men did not know what they were about, or were pretending to do one thing while they really did another, is one of the most fantastic delusions with which agitators have ever attempted to mislead or perplex the public mind. The makers of the Constitution may have been right or they may have been wrong in the principles upon which they acted or in the work they accomplished, but they knew precisely what they meant to do and why they did it. No man in history ever faced facts with a clearer gaze than George Washington, and when, after the adjournment of the Convention, he said: "We have raised a standard to which the good and wise can repair; the event is in the hands of God," he labored under no misapprehension as to the character of the great instrument where his name led all the rest.

It is the fashion to say that since then great changes have occurred and wholly new conditions have arisen, of which the men of 1787 could by no possibility have had any knowledge or anticipation. This is quite true. They could not have foreseen the application of steam to transportation, or of electricity to communication, which have wrought greater changes in human environment than anything which has happened to man since those dim prehistoric, unrecorded days when someone discovered the control of fire, invented the wheel, and devised the signs for language, masterpieces of intelligence with which even the marvels of the last century can not stand comparison. The men of the Constitution could as little have foreseen what the effects of steam and electricity would be as they could anticipate the social and economic effects of these great inventions or the rapid seizure of the resources of nature through the advances of science and the vast fortunes and combinations of capital which have thus been engendered. Could they, however, with prophetic

gaze have beheld in a mirror of the future all these new forces at work, so powerful as to affect the very environment of human life, even then they would not, I think, have altered materially the Constitution which they were slowly and painfully perfecting. They would have kept on their way because they would have seen plainly what is now too often overlooked and misunderstood, that all the perplexing and difficult problems born of these inventions and of the changes, both social and economic, which have followed, were subjects to be dealt with by laws as the questions arose, and laws and policies were not their business. They were not making laws to regulate or to affect either social or economic conditions. Their work was not only higher but far different. They were laying down certain great principles upon which a government was to be built and by which laws and policies were to be tested as gold is tested by a touchstone.

Upon the work in which they were engaged, social and economic changes or alterations in international relations and political conditions, no matter how profound or unforeseen—and none could have been more profound or more unforeseen than those which have actually taken place—had little bearing or effect. They were framing a government and human nature was the one great and controlling element in their problem. Human nature, with its strength and its weakness, its passions and emotions so often dominating its reason, its selfish desires and its nobler aspirations, was the same then as now. There is no factor so constant in human affairs as human nature itself and in its essential attributes it is the same today as it was among the builders of the pyramids. As to the principles of government which the framers of the Constitution wished to adapt to that portion of human nature which had gained a foothold on the North American continent there was little to be invented. There is no greater fallacy than to suppose that new and fundamental principles of government are constantly to be discovered and wrought out. Laws change and must change with the march of humanity across the centuries as its alterations find in the conditions about it but fundamental principles and theories of government are all extremely old. The very words in which we must express ourselves when we speak of

forms of government are all ancient. Let me recall a few facts which every school boy knows and which any one can obtain by indulging in that too much neglected exercise of examining a dictionary. Anarchy, for example, is the Greek word "rule" or "command" with the alpha privative in the form of AN prefixed, and means the state of a people without government. Monarchy is the rule of one; oligarchy is the rule of a few. We can not state what our own government is without using the word "democracy," which is merely the Greek word *Democrateia* and means popular government, or the rule of the people. Aristocracy, ideally as Aristotle had it, is the rule of the best, but even in those days it meant in practice the rule of the best born or nobles. Plutocracy is the rule of the rich; autocracy, self-derived power, the unlimited authority of a single person. Ochlocracy is the rule of the multitude for which we have tried to substitute the hideous compound "mobocracy." As with words so with the things of which the words are the symbol; the people who invented the one had already devised the other. The words all carry us back to Greece and all these various forms of government were well known to the Greeks and had been analyzed and discussed by them with a brilliancy, a keenness and an intellectual power which have never been surpassed. If you will read "The Republic" and "The Laws" of Plato and supplement that study by an equally careful examination of what Aristotle has to say on government you will find that those great minds have not only influenced human thought from that time to this, but that there is little which they left unsaid. It is the fashion for example to speak of Socialism as if it were something new, a radiant discovery of our own time which is to wipe away all tears. The truth is that it is very old, as old in essence as human nature, for it appeals to the strong desire in every man to get something for nothing and to have some one else bear his burdens and do his work for him. As a system it is amply discussed by Plato, who in "The Republic" urges measures which go to great extremes in this direction. In the fourth century of our era a faction called the Circumcellions were active as Socialists and caused great trouble within the weakening empire of Rome. The real difficulty historically with the theories of socialism is not that they are new, but that they are very, very

old, and wherever they have been put in practical operation on a large scale they have resulted in disorder, retrogression and in the arrest of civilization and progress.

Broadly stated there have been only two marked additions to theories or principles of government since the days of the Greeks and the Romans. One is the representative principle developed by the people of England in the "Mother of Parliaments" and now spread all over the world, and the other is the system of federation on a large scale embracing under a central government of defined powers a union of sovereign and self-governing States which the world owes in its bold and broad application to the men who met at Philadelphia to frame our Constitution in 1787.

With these exceptions the framers of the Constitution dealt with the theories and systems of government which have been considered, discussed and experimented with for more than two thousand years and which are today, a century later, the same as in 1787, unchanged and with no additions to their number. In order to reach the essence of what the makers of the Constitution tried and meant to do, which it is most important to know and reflect upon deeply before we seek to undo their work, let us begin by dismissing from our consideration all that is unessential or misleading. Let us lay aside first the word republic, for a republic denotes a form and not a principle. A republic may be democratic, like ours, or an autocracy like that of Augustus Cæsar, or an oligarchy like Venice, or a changing tyranny like some of those visible in South America. The word has become as inaccurate, scientifically speaking, as the word monarchy, which may be in reality a democracy as in England or Norway, constitutional as in Italy, or a pure despotism as in Russia. Let us adhere in this discussion to the scientifically exact word democracy. Next let us dismiss all that concerns the relations of the States to the National Government. Federation, as I have said, was the great contribution of the Philadelphia Convention to the science of government. The framers of the Constitution, if they did not invent the principle, applied it on such a scale and in such a way that it was practically a discovery, a venture both bold and new, as masterly as it was profoundly planned. With the love of precedents characteristic of

their race they labored to find authority and example in such remote and alien arrangements as the Achæan League and the Amphietyonic Council, but the failure of these precedents as such was the best evidence of the novelty and magnitude of their own design. Their work in this respect has passed through the ordeal of a great war, it has been and is today the subject of admiration and study on the part of foreign nations and not even the most ardent reformer of this year of grace would think, in his efforts to restore popular government, of assailing the Union of Sovereign States. Therefore we may pass by this great theme which was the heaviest part of the task of our ancestors.

In the same way we may dismiss, much as it troubled the men of 1787, all that relates to the machinery of government, such as the electoral college, the tenure of office, the methods of electing Senators and Representatives, and the like. These matters are important; many active thinkers in public life seek to change them, not for the better as I believe, but none the less these provisions concern only the mechanism of government, they do not go to the root of the matter, they do not affect the fundamental principles on which the government rests.

By making these omissions we come now to the vital point which is, What kind of a government did the makers of the Constitution intend to establish and how did they mean to have it work? They were, it must be remembered, preparing a scheme of government for a people peculiarly fitted to make any system of free institutions work well. The people of the United Colonies were homogeneous. They came in the main from Great Britain and Ireland with the addition of the Dutch in New York, of some Germans from the Palatinate, and of a few French Huguenots from France, whose ability and character were as high as their numbers were relatively small. But an overwhelming majority of the American people in 1787 were of English descent, and they, as well as the others from other lands, were deeply imbued with all those principles of law which were the bulwarks of English liberty. In this new land men had governed themselves and there was at that moment no people on earth so fit for or so experienced in self-government as the people of the thirteen colonies. Their colonial governments

were representative and in essence democratic. They became entirely so when the Revolution ended and the last English Governor was withdrawn. In the four New England colonies local government was in the hands of the town meetings, the purest democracies then or now extant, but it is best to remember what the men of 1787 well knew, that these little democracies moved within fixed bounds determined by the laws of the States under which they had their being.

For such a people, of such a character, with such a past and such habits and traditions only one kind of government was possible and that was democracy. The makers of the Constitution called their new government a republic and they were quite correct in doing so, for it was of necessity republican in form. But they knew that what they were establishing was a democracy. One has but to read the debates to see how constantly present that fact was to their minds. Democracy was then a very new thing in the modern world. As a system it had not been heard of, except in the fevered struggles of the Italian City republics, since the days of Rome and Greece, and although the Convention knew perfectly well that they were establishing a democracy and that it was inevitable that they should do so, some of them regarded it with fear and all with a deep sense of responsibility and caution. The logical sequence as exhibited in history and as accepted by the best minds of the eighteenth century, struggling to give to men a larger freedom, was—Democracy—Anarchy—Despotism. The makers of the Constitution were determined that so far as in them lay the American Republic should never take the second step, never revolve through the vicious circle which had culminated in empire in Rome, in the tyrants of the Grecian and the despots of the Italian cities which in their turn had succumbed to the absolutism of foreign rulers.

The vital question was how should this be done; how should they establish a democracy with a strong government—for after their experience of the Confederation they regarded a weak government with horror—and at the same time so arrange the government that it should be safe as well as strong and free from the peril of lapsing into an autoeracy on the one hand or into disorder and anarchy on the other. They did not try to set any

barrier in the way of the popular will, but they sought to put effective obstacles in the path to sudden action which was impelled by popular passion, or popular whim, or by the excitement of the moment. They were the children of the "Great Rebellion" and the "Blessed Revolution" in the England of the seventeenth century, and they were steeped in the doctrine of limiting the power of the King. But here they were dealing with a sovereign who could not be limited, for while a King can be limited by transferring his power to the people, when the people are sovereign their powers can not be transferred to anybody. There is no one to transfer them to and if they are taken away the democracy ceases to exist and another government, fundamentally different, takes its place.

The makers of the Constitution not only knew that the will of the people must be supreme, but they meant to make it so. That which they also aimed to do was to make sure that it was the real will of the people which ruled and not their momentary impulse, their well considered desire and determination and not the passion of the hour, the child perhaps of excitement and mistake inflamed by selfish appeals and terrorized by false alarms. The main object, therefore, was to make it certain that there should be abundant time for discussion and consideration, that the public mind should be thoroughly and well informed and that the movements of the machinery of government should not be so rapid as to cut off due deliberation.

With this end in view they established with the utmost care a representative system with two chambers and an executive of large powers, including the right to veto bills. They also made the amendment of the Constitution a process at once slow and difficult, for they intended that it should be both, and indeed should be impracticable without a strong, determined and lasting public sentiment in favor of change.

Finally they established the Federal Judiciary and in the Supreme Court of the United States they made an addition to the science of government second only in importance to their unequalled work in the development of the principle of federation. That great tribunal has become in the eyes of the world the most remarkable product among the many remarkable solutions devised by the Convention of 1787 for the settlement of the

gravest governmental problems. John Marshall, with the intellect of the jurist and the genius of the statesman, saw the possibilities contained in the words which called the Court into being. By his interpretation and that of his associates and their successors the Constitution attained to flexibility and escaped the rigidity which then and now is held up as the danger and the defect of a written constitution. In their hands the Constitution has been expanded to meet new conditions and new problems as they have arisen. In their hands also the Constitution has been the protection of the rights of States and the rights of men, and laws which violated its principles and its provisions have been set aside.

By making the three branches of the government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, entirely separate and yet coördinate, and by establishing a representative system and creating a supreme court of extraordinary powers the framers of the Constitution believed that they had made democracy not only all powerful but at the same time safe and that they had secured it from gradual conversion into autocracy on the one hand and from destruction by too rapid motion and too quick response to the passions of the moment on the other. If ever men were justified by results they have been. The Constitution in its development and through our history has surpassed the hopes of its friends and utterly disappointed the predictions and the criticisms of its foes. Under it the United States has grown into the mighty Republic we see today. New States have come into the Union, vast territories have been acquired, population and wealth have increased to a degree which has amazed the world, and life, liberty, and property have been guarded beneath the flag which is at once the symbol of the country and of the Constitution under which the nation has risen to its high success.

Such results would seem to be a potent argument in favor of the instrument of government through which they have been achieved. But to argue from results seems just now out of fashion. Actual accomplishment it would appear is nothing. According to the new dispensation our decision must be made on what is promised for the future, not on what has been done in the past. Under this novel doctrine, as I have observed it,

we are to be guided only by envy and discontent and are to act exclusively on the general principle that whatever is, is wrong.

What then is the plan by which popular government, which existed under the Constitution for more than a century and which has been mysteriously lost during the past few years, is to be restored to us? It is proposed, to put it in a few words, to remove all the barriers which the makers of the instrument established in order to prevent rash, hasty, and passionate action and to secure deliberation, consideration and due protection for the rights of minorities and of individuals. This is to be accomplished in two ways, by emasculating the representative system through the compulsory initiative and referendum, and by breaking down the courts through the recall. These are the changes by which it is intended to revive popular government. Incidentally they strike at the very heart of the Constitution as the framers planned and made it, for they will convert the deliberate movement of the governmental machinery by which its makers intend to secure to democracy both permanence and success, into an engine which starts at the touch of an electric button, which is as quick in response as a hair trigger pistol, and as rapid in operation as a self-cocking revolver.

These new ideas are of a ripe age, indeed they have passed many hundreds of years beyond the century fixed by Dr. Johnson for the establishment of a literary reputation at a point where it might be intelligently discussed. Let us therefore consider and criticize them.

The compulsory initiative and the compulsory referendum need not detain us long, for the effect of those devices is obvious enough. The entire virtue or the entire vice—each one may use the word he prefers—of these schemes rests in the word "compulsory." The initiative without compulsion is complete in the right of petition secured by the first of the first ten amendments to the Constitution which really constituted a bill of rights. The right of petition became the subject of bitter controversy at a later time and was vindicated once for all by John Quincy Adams' great battle in its behalf, more than three-quarters of a century ago. There are few instances where petitions representing a genuine popular demand have not met a response in action whether in Congress or the State Legislatures, still

fewer when respectful attention and consideration have not been accorded to them. But the responsibility for action and the form such action should take has rested with the representative body. When the initiative is made compulsory a radical change is effected. A minority, sometimes a small minority, of the voters, always a small minority of the people, can compel the Legislature to pass a law and submit it to the voters, when a very large majority of the people neither ask for nor, so far as the evidence goes, desire it. In this way all responsibility is taken from the representative body and they become mere machines for drafting and recording laws. It is the substitution of government by factions and fractions for government by the people. The representative body as hitherto constituted represented the whole people. Under the new plan it is to be merely the helpless instrument of a minority, perhaps a very small minority of the voters.

The voluntary referendum has always existed in this country. In the national government, owing to our dual or Federal form, the referendum on constitutional amendments is necessarily made to the States and has never been suggested for the laws of the United States, owing to both physical and constitutional difficulties. But in the States the referendum has always been freely used not only for constitutions and constitutional amendments but for laws, especially for city charters, local franchises and the like. But if on demand of a minority of the voters the referendum is made compulsory all responsibility vanishes from the representative body. The representative no longer seeks to represent the whole people, or even his own constituency, but simply votes to refer everything to the voters and covers himself completely by pointing to the compulsory referendum. On the other hand the voters are called upon to legislate. Of the mass of measures submitted they know and can know nothing. Experience shows that in all referendums a large proportion of the voters decline to vote. Whether this is due to indifference or to lack of information the result is the same. It shows that this system demands from the voters what the most intelligent voters in the world are unable to give. They are required to pass upon laws, many of which they have neither time nor opportunity to understand without deliberation and without any dis-

cussion except what they can gather from the campaign orator who is, as a rule, interested in other matters, or from an occasional article in a newspaper. They can not alter or amend. They must vote categorically "yes" or "no." The majority either fails to vote and the small and interested minority carries its measure, or the majority in disgust votes down all measures submitted, good and bad alike, because they do not understand them and will not vote without knowing what their votes mean. The great laws which, both in England and the United States, have been the landmarks of freedom and made ordered liberty possible, were not passed, and never could have been perfected and passed, in such a way as this. This new plan is spoken of by its advocates as progressive. As a matter of fact, it is the reverse of progressive. Direct legislation by popular vote was familiar, painfully familiar, to Greece and Rome. In both it led through corruption, violence, and disorder to autocracy and despotism. The direct vote system also proved itself utterly incapable for the government of an extended empire and of large populations. Where government by direct vote miserably failed, representative government after all deductions have been made, has brilliantly succeeded. The development of the principle and practice of representative government was, as I have already pointed out, the one great contribution of modern times to the science of government. It has shown itself capable of preserving popular government and popular rights without the violence and corruption which resulted of old in anarchy and despotism and at the same time it has provided its adaptability to the management of large populations and the efficient government of great empires. Representative government was an enormous advance over government by the direct vote of the Forum, the Agora or the market place, which had preceded it, and which had gone down in disaster. It is now proposed to abandon that great advance and to return to the ancient system with its dark record of disorder and failure. This is not progress. It is retreat and retrogression. It is the abandonment of a great advance and a return to that which is not only old and outworn, but which history and experience have alike discredited.

Look now for a moment at representative government as we ourselves have known it. Let us not forget, in the first place, that the Congress of the United States under the Constitution has been in continuous existence for more than 120 years, that with the single exception of the "Mother of Parliaments" it is much the oldest representative body of a constitutional character now existing in the world. Let us also remember that the history of the American Congress is in large part the history of the United States and that we are apt to be proud of that history as a whole and of the many great things we as a people have accomplished. Yet, whatever praise history accords to the Congress of the United States in the past, the Congress of the moment and the members of that body in either branch receive but little commendation from their contemporaries. This is, perhaps, not unnatural and it certainly has always been customary. Legislative bodies have rarely touched the popular imagination or appeared in a dramatic or picturesque attitude. The Conscript Fathers, facing in silence the oncoming barbarians of Gaul; Charles the First, attempting to arrest the five members; the Continental Congress adopting the Declaration of Independence; the famous Oath of the Tennis Court, are almost the only instances which readily occur to one's mind of representative and legislative bodies upon whom for a brief instant has rested the halo of heroism and from which comes a strong appeal to the imagination. The men who fight by land and sea rouse immediate popular enthusiasm, but a body of men engaged in legislation does not and can not offer the fascination or the attraction which are inseparable from the individual man who stands forth alone from the crowd in any great work of life, whether of war or peace.

We may accept without complaint this tendency of human nature, but I think every dispassionate student of history, as well as every man who has had a share in the work of legislation, may rightfully deprecate the indiscriminate censure and the consistent belittling which pursue legislative bodies. This attitude of mind is not confined to the United States. The press of England treats its Parliament severely enough, although on the whole with more respect than is the case with the American press in regard to the American Congress. But running through

English novels and essays we find as a rule the same sneer at the representatives of the people as we do here. Very generally, both in this country and abroad, those who write for the public seem to start with the proposition that to be a Member of Congress or a Member of Parliament or a Member of the Chamber of Deputies in France, implies some necessary inferiority of mind or character. I do not desire to be rash or violent, but I think this theory deserves a moment's examination and is perhaps open to some doubt. As Mr. Reed once said, it is a fair inference that a man who can impress himself upon 200,000 people, or upon the whole population of a great State, sufficiently to induce them to send him to the House or Senate, has something more than ordinary qualities and something more than ordinary force. Then, again, as Edmund Burke remarked, you can not draw an indictment against a whole people, nor, I may add, can you draw an indictment against an entire class. There are good men and bad men in business and in the professions, in the ministry, in medicine, in law and among scholars. Virtue is not determined by occupation. There are, I repeat, good and bad men in every profession and calling, among high and low, rich and poor, and the honest men, who mean to do right, largely predominate, for if they did not the whole social structure would come crashing to the ground.

What is true of business and the professions is true of Congress. There are good and bad men in public life and the proportion of good to bad, I believe, compares favorably with that of any other occupation. Public men live in the fierce light which beats upon them as upon the throne, a light never fiercer or more pitiless than now, and for this reason their shortcomings are made more glaring and their virtues by contrast more shadowed than in private life. This is as it should be, for the man who does wrong in private life is far less harmful than the public servant who is false to his trust. To inflict upon the public servant who is a wrongdoer the severest reprobation is necessary for the protection of the community, but for this very reason we should be extremely careful that no reprobation should be visited unjustly on any public man. It is an evil thing to betray the public trust, but it is an equally evil thing to pour wholesale condemnation upon the head of every man in public

life, good and bad alike. That which suffers most from an injustice like this in the long run is not the public servant who has been unfairly dealt with, for the individual passes quickly, but the country itself. After all, the voters make the representative. If he is not of the highest type he appears to be that which the majority prefers. Wholesale criticism and abuse of the representatives reflect more on the constituencies, if we stop to consider, than on those whom the constituencies select to represent them. Indiscriminate condemnation and equally indiscriminate belittling of the men who make and execute our laws, whether in State or Nation, is not only a reflection upon the American people but is a blow to the United States and every State in it. They help the guilty to escape and injure the honest and the innocent. They destroy the people's confidence in their own government and lower the country in the eyes of foreign nations.

The Congress of the United States embodies the representative principle. The principle of representation, as I have said, has been the great contribution of the English speaking race to the science and practice of government. The Greeks and the Romans, let me say once more, had pure democracy and legislation by direct vote in theory at least, and we have but to read Plato's "Republic" and "The Laws" to learn the defects of the system in use in Athens. Greece failed to establish an empire; she touched the highest peaks of civilization and finally went to pieces politically beneath the onset of Rome. Rome established a great empire, but after years of bloody struggles between aristocracy and democracy it ended in a simple despotism. The free cities of Italy oscillated between anarchy and tyranny, only to fall victims in the end to foreign masters. In Florence they had elections every three months and a complication of committees and councils to interpret the popular will. Yet the result was the Medicis and the Hapsburgs.

It is also to be remembered that the representative principle has been coincident with political liberty. Whatever its shortcomings or defects, and like all things human it has its grave defects, it none the less remains true that the first care of every "strong man," every "savior of society," every "man on horseback," of every autocrat, is either to paralyze or to destroy the

representative principle. It may be that the representative principle is not the cause of political liberty, but there can be no question whatever that the two have always gone hand in hand and that the destruction of one has been the signal for the downfall of the other. The Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the several States embody the representative principle. By that principle your laws have been made and the republican form of government upheld for more than a century. Whatever its shortcomings it has maintained the government of the United States, and upheld law and order throughout our borders. The framers of our government separated the executive from the legislative branch. They deemed both essential to freedom. The Constitution of my State declares that the government it establishes is to be a government of laws and not of men; a noble principle and one worthy of fresh remembrance. With such a history, and typifying as it does the great doctrines which were embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the institutions of England, it may be fairly asked that if the representative principle must be criticised, as it should be, with severity when it errs, it should also be treated with that absolute justice which is not only right in the abstract, but which is essential to the maintenance of law, order, and free government, to human progress and to the protection of the weak, even as the fathers designed that it should be. When we blame its failures let us not forget its services. They have broadened freedom down from precedent to precedent. They shine across those pages of history which tell the great story of the advance of liberty and of the ever widening humanity which seeks to make the world better and happier for those who most need happiness and well being. In beneficent results for the people at large no other form of government ever attempted can compare with it for a moment.

The worst feature of the compulsory initiative and referendum lies therefore in the destruction of the principle of representation. Power without responsibility is a menace to freedom and good government. Responsibility without power is inconceivable, for no man in his senses would bear such a burden. But when responsibility and power are both taken away, whether from the executive or the representatives, the result is simple

inanity. No man fit by ability and character to be a representative would accept the office under such humiliating conditions. Those who accepted it would do so for the pecuniary reward which the office carried and would sink rapidly into mere machines of record, neither knowing nor caring what they did. With a representative body thus reduced to nothingness we are left with the people armed only with their votes and with an executive who has necessarily absorbed all the real powers of the State. This situation is an old story and has always ended in the same way. It presents one of those rare cases in which the teaching of history is uniform. When the representative principle has departed and only its ghost remains to haunt the Capitol, liberty has not lingered long beside its grave. The rise of the representative principles and its spread to new lands today marks the rise of popular government everywhere. Wherever it has been betrayed or cast down the government has reverted to despotism. When representative government has perished freedom has not long survived.

Most serious, most fatal indeed, are the dangers threatened by the insidious and revolutionary changes which it is proposed to make in our representative system, upon which the makers of the Constitution relied as one of the great buttresses of the political fabric which was to ensure to popular government success and stability. Yet even these changes are less ruinous to the body politic, to liberty and order, than that which proposes to subject judges to the recall. No graver question has ever confronted the American people.

The men who framed the Constitution were much nearer to the time when there was no such thing as an independent judiciary than we are now. The bad old days, when judges did the bidding of the King, were much more vivid to them than to us. What is a commonplace to us was to them a comparatively recent and a hardly won triumph. The fathers of some of those men—the grandfathers of all—could recall Jeffreys and the "Bloody Assize." They knew well that there could be no real freedom, no security for personal liberty, no justice, without independent judges. It was for this reason that they established the judiciary of the United States with a tenure which was to last during good behavior and made them irremovable except by

impeachment. The Supreme Court then created and the judiciary which followed, have, as I have already said, excited the admiration of the civilized world. The makers of the Constitution believed that there should be no power capable of deflecting a judge from the declaration of his honest belief, no threat of personal loss, no promise of future emolument, which could be held over him in order to sway his opinion. This conviction was ingrained and born with them, as natural to them as the air they breathed, as vital as their personal honor. How could it have been otherwise? The independence of the judiciary is one of the great landmarks in the long struggle which resulted in the political and personal freedom of the English speaking people. The battle was fought out on English soil. If you will turn to the closing scenes of Henry IV, you will find there one of the noblest conceptions of the judicial office in the olden time ever expressed in literature. It was written in the days of the last Tudor or of the first Stuart, in the time of the Star Chamber, of judges who decided at the pleasure of the King, and when Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, took bribes or gifts. Yet lofty as is the conception you will see that Shakespeare regarded the judge as embodying the person, the will, and the authority of the King. We all know how the first two Stuarts used the courts to punish their enemies and to prevent the assertion of political rights, which are now such commonplaces that the fact that they were ever questioned is forgotten. The tyranny of the courts was one of the chief causes which led to the great rebellion, and out of that great rebellion, when the third Stuart had been restored, came the habeas corpus act, which has done more to protect personal liberty than any act ever passed. But the Second Charles and the Second James had learned nothing as to the judges. They expected them to do their bidding when the King had any interest at stake, and under the last Stuart the courts reached a very low point and the legal history of the time is characterized by the evil name of Jeffreys. When the lawyers went to pay their homage to William of Orange, they were headed by Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age. "Mr. Serjeant," said the Prince, "you must have survived all the lawyers of your standing." "Yes, sir," said the old man, "and but for Your Highness, I

should have survived the laws, too." The condition of the courts was indeed one of the strongest of many bitter grievances which wrought the revolution that placed William of Orange on the English throne. In the famous Bill of Rights there is no provision in regard to the courts, and it is not quite clear why it was omitted, although apparently it was due to an oversight. In any event it was not forgotten. It was brought forward more than once in Parliament, but William announced that he would not assent to any act making the judges independent of the Crown. As his reign drew toward its close, however, he signified that although he would veto a separate act he would accept the independence of the judiciary if provided for in the Act of Settlement, which was to determine the succession to the throne of England. Therefore we find in the Act of Settlement the clause which declares that the judges shall hold office during good behavior—"quandiu sēbene gesserint"—and shall be removable only on the request of both houses of Parliament.

It is necessary to pause a moment here and consider briefly the provision of the Act of Settlement for the removal of judges on an address by the House, because it has been most absurdly used by persons ignorant probably of its history, as a precedent justifying the recall. The clause was inserted not for the purpose of controlling the judges, but to protect them still further against the power of the Crown by which they had hitherto been dominated. The history of the clause since its enactment demonstrates what its purpose was as well as the fulfillment of that purpose in practice. During the two centuries which have elapsed since William III gave his assent to the act there has been, so far as I can learn, only one removal on address, that of Sir Jonah Barrington, an Irish judge, in 1806, more than a hundred years ago. There have been several cases where removal was petitioned for but Barrington's was, I think, the only one in which the demand was successful. The procedure employed shows that there is no resemblance whatever between the removal of a judge upon the address of the law-making body and the popular recall. They are utterly different, instituted for different purposes and the former furnishes in reality a strong argument against the latter. In all the cases

of removal or attempted removal by address of Parliament the accused judge was carefully tried before a special committee of each House; he could be heard at the bar of either House, he could and did employ counsel, and could summon and cross-examine witnesses. This proces is as far removed from the recall as the zenith from the nadir, for under the recall the accused judge has no opportunity to summon or cross-examine witnesses, to appear by counsel, or to be properly heard and tried. He is obliged under the recall to make an appeal by the usual political methods and at the same time to withstand another candidate, while he is forced to seek a hearing from audiences ignorant of the law and inflamed perhaps against him by passion and prejudice. He has no chance whatever of a fair trial.

Some of our States borrowed this provision of the Act of Settlement when they formed their Constitutions. My own State of Massachusetts was one of them. The power has been but rarely exercised by the Legislature in the hundred and thirty years which have passed since our Constitution was adopted. It so happened that when I was in the Legislature a case occurred and I was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom the petitions were referred. The accused judge was tried as elaborately and fairly as he could have been by any court or by the Senate if he had been impeached. He had counsel, he summoned and cross-examined witnesses, and the trial, for it was nothing less, occupied weeks. The committee reported in favor of removal, but the House rejected the committee's report. Some years later after a similar trial the address passed both Houses and the judge was removed by the Governor for misdemeanor and malfeasance in office. A mere statement of the procedure shows at once that the removal by address is simply a summary form of impeachment with no relation or likeness to the recall. Removal by address is no more like the recall than impeachment is. If successful they all result in the retirement of the judge accused, but there the resemblance ends.

The makers of the Constitution did not follow the Act of Settlement and adopt the removal on address. They no doubt perceived its advantages because it made possible the removal of a judge incapacitated by insanity or age or disease without inflicting upon him the stigma of an impeachment, but they also

saw that the removal by address might be used for political and personal reasons, of which one instance occurred in my own State, and they probably determined that the risk of its abuse outweighed any possible benefit which might flow from its judicious exercise.

They placed their courts as far as they could on the great heights of justice, above the gusts of popular passion. They guarded them in every possible way. They knew that judges were human and therefore fallible. They knew that the courts would move more slowly than popular opinion or than Congress, but they felt equally sure that they would in the end follow that public opinion which was at once settled and well considered. All this they did because all history and especially the history and tradition of their own race taught them that the strongest bulwark of individual freedom and of human rights was to be found ultimately in an independent court, the corner stone of all liberty. Their ancestors had saved the judges from the Crown. They would not retrace their steps and make them subject to the anger and the whim of any one else.

"They wished men to be free,
As much from mobs as kings,
From you as me."

The problem which they then solved has in no wise changed. The independence of the judiciary is as vital to free institutions now as then. The system which our forefathers adopted has worked admirably and has commanded the applause of their children and of foreign nations, who Bacon tells us are a present posterity. Now it is proposed to tear this all down and to replace the decisions of the court with the judgment of the market place. If I may borrow a phrase from the brilliant speech made recently by Mr. Littleton in the House, it is intended to substitute "government by tumult for government by law."

Those who advocate this revolution in our system of government seem to think that a judge should be made responsive to the popular will, to the fleeting majority of one day which may be a minority the next. They would make their judges servile, and servile judges are a menace to freedom, no matter to whom

their servitude is due. They talk of a judge's duty to his constituents. A judge on the bench has no constituents and represents no one. He is there to administer justice. He is there not to make laws, but to decide what the law is. He must know neither friend nor foe. He is there to declare the law and to do justice between man and man.

The advocates of the recall seem to believe that with subservient judges glancing timidly to right and left to learn what voters think instead of looking steadfastly at the tables of the law, the poor will profit and the rich will suffer, that the individual will win and the corporation lose, that the powerful will be crushed and the weak will triumph, while the sword of the recall hangs over the head of a judicial Damocles. If even this were true nothing could be more fatal. A judge must know neither rich nor poor, neither strong nor weak. He must know only law and justice. He must never listen to Bassanio's appeal "To do a great right, do a little wrong." But their theory is in reality most lamentably false. No man fit to be a judge would, with few exceptions, take office under the recall. In the end the bench would be filled by the weak and the unscrupulous. The weak would make decisions to curry favor and hold votes. The unscrupulous would use their brief opportunity to assure their own fortunes and that assurance could come only from the rich and the powerful, who would thus control the decisions. For the American court we should substitute the Oriental Cadi with the bribe-giver whispering in his ear.

In one of the noblest passages of his letter to the sheriffs of Bristol, Edmund Burke says: "The poorest being that crawls on earth contending to save itself from injustice and oppression is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man." Without the independent judge those words could never have been written. Judges, of course, are human, and therefore err. I know well that there have been one or two great cases where the decision of the highest court traveling beyond its province has been reversed and swept away by the overwhelming force of public opinion, and the irresistible current of events. I know only too well that we suffer from the abuse of technicalities, from delays which are often a denial of justice and that the methods of our criminal law are in many states a disgrace

to civilization. But all these delays and abuses and miscarriages of justice are within the reach of Congress and legislatures and these evils can be remedied by statute whenever public opinion demands a reform. Their continued existence is our own fault. Yet when all is said the errors of the highest courts are few and the abuses and shortcomings to which I have referred can be cured by our own action. In the great mass of business, in the hundreds of trials which go on day by day and year by year, justice is done and the rights of all protected. We may declare with truth that in the courts as we have known them, the poor, the weak, the helpless, have found protection and sometimes their only defense. A mob might thunder at the gates, money might exert its utmost power, but there in the court room the judge could see only the law and justice. The safeguard of the rights and liberties of minorities and individuals, of the weak and above all of the unpopular, as a rule, has been found only in the court. And now it is proposed to undo all this and to make the judges dependent on the will of those upon whom they must pass judgment. If the framers of the Constitution were alive today they would not find a single new condition to affect their faith in an independent judiciary. They would decide now, as they decided then. Are we ready to reverse their judgment and open the doors to the flood of evils which will rush into the State as they always have rushed in when in times past the courts were controlled by an outside power?

The destruction of an independent judiciary carries with it everything else, but it only illustrates sharply the general theory pursued by the makers of the Constitution. They established a democracy and they believed that a democracy would be successful, but they also believed that it could succeed solely through forms and methods which would not make it impossible for the people to carry on their own government. For this reason it was that they provided against hasty action, guarded against passion and excitement, gave ample room for the cooler second thought and arranged that the popular will should be expressed through representative and deliberative assemblies and the laws administered and interpreted through independent courts. Those

who would destroy their work talk continually about trusting the people and obeying the people's will. But this is not what they seek. The statement as they make it is utterly misleading. That for which they really strive is to make the courts and the Congress suddenly and rapidly responsive to the will of a majority of the voters. It matters not that it may be a narrow, an ephemeral or fluctuating majority. To that temporary majority which the next year may be changed to a minority the Congress and the courts must at once respond. Legislation of the most radical, the most revolutionary character, may thus be forced upon the country not only without popular assent, but against the will of the great mass of the people.

The framers of the Constitution made it in the name and for the benefit of the people of the United States, for the entire people, not for any fraction or class of the people. They did not make the Constitution for the voters of the United States. They recognized that the popular will could only be expressed by those who voted and that the expression of the majority must in the end be final. But they restrained and made deliberate the action of the voters by the limitations placed upon the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches, so that the rights of all the people might be guarded and protected against ill considered action on the part of those who vote. Those who now seek to alter the fundamental principles of the Constitution start with a confusion of terms and a false proposition. They talk glibly of the people. But they mean the voters and the voters are not the people, but a small portion of the people, not more than a fifth or a sixth part, who are endowed by law with the power to express what is to be regarded as the popular will. The legal voters are the representatives and trustees of all the inhabitants of the country, of all those under twenty-one to whom the future belongs, of all the women, of all resident aliens and of all persons not qualified to vote. They are the instrument, the only practicable instrument for reaching an expression of the popular will, but they are not the people as a whole for whom and for whose protection the Constitution was made. It was for the protection of the people that the makers of the Constitution made provisions to assure deliberate move-

ment and to prevent hasty, passionate or ill considered action. The purpose of those who would destroy the present Constitution is to remove these safeguards and for the people of the Constitution substitute without check, hindrance or delay, the will of the voters of the moment. They are blind to the awful peril of turning human nature loose to riot among first principles. But they do not stop even there. Under the system they propose a small minority of the voters who are themselves a minority of the people are to have unlimited power to compel the passage of laws. A small minority will be able, and as the experience of the voluntary referendum shows, will in almost every instance, contrive to place laws upon the statute book which the mass of the people really do not desire. A small minority can force the recall of a judge and drive him from the bench. The new system places the actual power in the hands of minorities, generally small, always interested and determined. Instead of government "by the people and for the people" we shall have government by factions with all the turbulence, disorder, and uncertainty that the rule of factions ever implies. Such a system is a travesty of popular government and the antipodes of true democracy. Under the same conditions of human nature, with no element of decision lacking then that we have now, the framers of the Constitution established the system under which we have flourished and rejected that which it is now proposed to set up and which all experience had shown to be a failure. Their system embodied in the Constitution has proved its efficacy. It has worked well and it has been an extraordinary success. The other, burdened with the failure of centuries, has always trodden the same path which revolves in the well worn, vicious circle from democracy to anarchy, from anarchy to despotism, and then by slow and painful steps back to the high levels of an intelligent freedom and an ordered liberty. Our ancestors sought to make it as impossible as human ingenuity could devise to drag democracy down by the pretense of giving it a larger scope. We are asked to retrace our steps, adopt what they rejected, take up that which has failed, cast down that which has triumphed and for government by the people substitute the rule of factions led by the eternal and unwearied

champions who in the name of the people seek the promotion which they lack.

Such are the questions which confront us today, amazing in their existence under a Constitution with such a history as ours. The evils which it is sought to remedy are all so far as they actually exist curable by law. No doubt evils exist, no doubt advance, reform, progress, improvements, are always needed as conditions change, but they can all be attained by law. There is no need to destroy the Constitution, to wreck the fundamental principles of democracy and of the Bill of Rights embodied in the first ten amendments, in order to attain to an amelioration of conditions, and to a wider and more beneficent social state when statutes can effect all and more than is demanded. It is not necessary to scuttle a noble ship in order to rid her of rats; it is not imperative to burn the strong well timbered house which has sheltered successive generations because there is a leak in the roof; it is only a madman who would hurl down in blackened ruin a noble palace, the work and care of centuries, because a stain easily erased may now and then be detected upon the shining whiteness of its marble walls.

All these questions, all these reforms and revolutions so gloriously portrayed to us, it can not be said too often, are very old. Their weakness is not that they are new, but that they are timeworn and outworn. The voices which are now crying so shrilly that we must destroy our Constitution and abandon all our principles of government have been heard

"In ancient days by Emperor and clown."

They are as old as human discontent and human impatience and are as ancient as the flattery which has followed sovereign authority from the days of the Pharaohs to our own.

There is a familiar story, which we all heard as children, of the courtiers of Knut, King of England, a mighty warrior and a wise man, not destitute evidently of humor. These courtiers told the king that the tide would not dare to come in against his command and wet his feet. So he bade them place his chair near the edge of the sea and the main came silent, flooding in

about him, and you all remember the lesson which the king read to his flatterers. Many kings have come and gone since then and those who still remain, now for the most part walk in fetters. But the courtier is eternal and unchanged. He fawned on Pharaoh and Cæsar and from their day to our own has always been the worst enemy of those he flattered. He and his fellows contended bitterly in France for the privilege of holding the king's shirt and when the storm broke which they had done so much to conjure up, with few exceptions they turned like cravens and fled. New courtiers took the vacant places. They called themselves friends of the people, but their character was unaltered. They flattered the mob of the Paris streets, shrieking in the galleries of the convention with a baseness and a falsehood surpassing even those of their predecessors who had cringed around the throne. Where there is a sovereign there will be courtiers, and too often the sovereign has listened to the courtiers and turned his back on the loyal friends who were ready to die for him, but would not lie to him. Too often has the sovereign forgotten that, in the words of one of the most penetrating and most brilliant of modern English essayists, "a gloomy truth is a better companion through life than a cheerful falsehood." Across the centuries come those dangerous and insidious voices and they sound as loudly now and are as false now as ever. They are always at hand to tell the sovereign that at his feet the tide will cease to ebb and flow, that the laws of nature and economic laws alike will at his bidding turn gently and do his will. And the tides move on and the waves rise and the sovereign who has listened to the false and selfish voices is submerged in the waste of waters while the courtiers have rushed back to safety and from the heights above are already shouting, "The King is dead! Long live the King!"

I have a deep reverence for the great men who fought the Revolution and made the Constitution, but I repeat that I as little think that all wisdom died with them as I do that all wisdom was born yesterday. When they dealt with elemental questions and fundamental principles, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, in human history, I follow them because they

have proved their wisdom by their success. I am not ready to say with Donne,

"We are scarce our father's shadow cast at noon,"

but I am more than ready, I profoundly believe that we should cherish in our heart of hearts the noble and familiar words of the wise son of Sirach:

"Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning. Leaders of the people by their counsels and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people; all these were honored in their generations and were the glory of their times.

"There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be which have no memorial; who are perished as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them. But these were merciful men whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance and their children are within the covenant.

"Their seed standeth fast and their children for their sakes. Their seed shall remain forever and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth forevermore. The people will tell of their wisdom and the congregation will show forth their praise."

Books of the Year by North Carolinians

BY D. H. HILL, PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE.

Classified as below I submit a list of the North Carolina books for the year, so far as I have been able to collect the names. If every author of a book would send a copy of his book to the North Carolina section of the State Library, the bibliography each year would be simple and accurate, and the State would take pride in having on its shelves copies of all its books.

HISTORY.

Sketches of Pitt County, by Henry T. King.

The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution, by Hannis Taylor.

The North Carolina Booklet has been, as usual, a vehicle for the publication of valuable short articles on State history.

The James Sprunt Monographs in State History have also been continued.

FICTION.

Sixes and Sevens, by "O. Henry" (Sidney Porter).

Whirligigs, by "O. Henry" (Sidney Porter).

In the Nantahalas, by Mrs. W. E. Townsend.

Root of Evil, by Thomas Dixon, Jr.

Cicely, by Sarah Beaumont Kennedy.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of W. W. Holden. This is No. 2 of the John Lawson Monographs, published by the Trinity College Historical Society.

Life of Andrew Jackson, by John S. Bassett.

Tributes to My Father and Mother, by J. W. Battle.

A Grandmother's Recollections of Dixie, by Mrs. M. N. Bryan.

Statesmen of the Old South, by W. E. Dodd.

George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works, by Archibald Henderson.

Mark Twain, by Archibald Henderson.
J. L. McCurrie, by Edwin A. Alderman and Armistead C. Gordon.

VERSE.

Ways of Men, by F. H. Lyle.
North Carolina in Rhyme, by C. H. Johnson.
Poems, by Miss Shirley Pegram.

LEGAL BOOKS.

Banking and Negotiable Instruments, by George P. Pell.
The Constitution of the State of North Carolina, by Henry G. Connor and Jos. B. Cheshire, Jr.

TEXT-BOOKS.

A Primary Practical Arithmetic, by Mrs. F. L. Stevens and M. C. S. Noble.
Story of Cotton, by E. C. Brooks.
North Carolina Geography, by E. C. Brooks and W. D. Carmichael.
Makers of North Carolina History, by R. D. W. Connor.
A Study of Southern Poetry, by Henry Jerome Stockard.
The Twenty-seven Lines on the Cubic Surface, by Archibald Henderson.
Southern Oratory, compiled by J. Moore McConnell.
The Howell First Reader, by Logan D. Howell.
History of the United States, by J. G. deR. Hamilton and Messrs. Chandler and Riley.
Stevenson's Inland Voyage and Travels with a Donkey, edited by Edwin Mims.

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.

Early Morning Scenes in the Bible, by L. L. Nash.
Lectures on the Book of Revelation, by W. G. Nowell.
Lantern of Diogenes, by N. B. Herring.

Historical Activities in North Carolina

AN ADDRESS BY R. D. W. CONNOR BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

Under the general term "Historical Activities" are included such activities as the erection of memorial tablets, monuments, statues, busts, the collection of portraits, manuscripts, printed documents, and newspapers, the general activities of patriotic and historical societies, and acts and resolutions of the General Assembly relating to historical matters. These activities, as will appear from the following report, were not confined to any one or two periods of our history, but reveal, on the contrary, a widespread interest in preserving the history of the State from colonial days to the very present.

FORT JOHNSTON TABLET.

The earliest event thus commemorated was the erection of Fort Johnston at the mouth of Cape Fear River. This old fortress, which in colonial days guarded the ports of Brunswick and Wilmington, was begun in 1746, completed in 1764, and destroyed in 1775. It was the scene of many interesting and important events at the outbreak of the Revolution, and in erecting a handsome marker on its site (May 23, 1911) the North Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, which has done so much for the preservation of our history, has placed the State under still further obligations to it. The following inscription on the tablet preserves the history of the fort:

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED MAY, 1911, BY THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA, TO MARK THE SITE OF FORT JOHNSTON, THE FIRST FORT IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, BUILT UNDER ACT OF ASSEMBLY OF 1746, AND COMPLETED IN 1764, AND NAMED IN HONOR OF GOVERNOR GABRIEL JOHNSTON.

THE PATRIOTS OF THE CAPE FEAR, RESISTING THE EXECUTION OF THE STAMP ACT IN 1766, FORCED THE SPIKING OF ITS TWENTY-FOUR CANNON, THE GIFT OF KING GEORGE II.

THE FORT WAS THE REFUGE OF GOVERNOR JOSIAH MARTIN AFTER HIS FLIGHT FROM NEW BERN, MAY 24TH, 1775, UNTIL HE WAS COMPELLED BY THE PATRIOTS TO ABANDON IT, JULY 18TH, 1775, ON WHICH DAY IT WAS DESTROYED AND ROYAL GOVERNMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA CEASED.

THE SCOTTISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

The history of Fort Johnston is precisely coincident with the immigration into North Carolina of the Scotch-Highlanders, whose coming hither has so powerfully affected the history of this State. During the years 1746 to 1775 many thousands of these sturdy, self-reliant immigrants sailed into the Cape Fear and received their first welcome to the province in the salutes of the guns of Fort Johnston. In order that their influence on our history may not be forgotten and their memories may not perish, certain patriotic descendants of those gallant old Highlanders, on December 14, 1910, incorporated "The Scottish Society of America," with its principal office at Fayetteville. The objects of the Society as described by its charter are: (1) To rescue from oblivion Scottish history in North Carolina; (2) To promote a closer union in the State among those of Scottish descent; and (3) To encourage Scotch immigration to the State. The Society has before it a fertile field for cultivation if its work is properly pushed.

LIBERTY POINT MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The center of the Scotch-Highlanders' settlements in North Carolina was at Cross Creek, now Fayetteville. When the disputes between the Mother Country and her colonies reached an acute stage, the Highlanders, it is well known, espoused the cause of the former. However, there were Patriots, few in number but determined in spirit, even in the very stronghold of Toryism, and these Patriots, on June 20, 1775, met at Liberty Point in the immediate vicinity of Cross Creek, and signed a test binding themselves to maintain the cause of the colonies with their lives and fortunes. To commemorate this bold deed "The Liberty Point Monument Association" was incorporated by the last General Assembly of North Carolina. (Chapter 455, Private Laws of 1911.) The act recites the fact that

On the twentieth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, . . . certain citizens of the county of Cumberland, therein named, met at what is known as "Liberty Point," at the junction of Bow and Person streets, in the city of Fayetteville, and adopted what is known as "Liberty Point Resolutions," in which they declared their purpose and intent to become independent of the

On the very spot which witnessed her patriotic sacrifice the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1911, unveiled a handsome tablet to the memory of Mrs. Steele. The tablet bears the following inscription:

D. A. R.
THIS TABLET
IS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE
PATRIOT
BY THE
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
1781-1911.

GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND COMPANY.

Cheered by the spirit of this splendid woman General Greene pursued his way, safely rejoined his army, and on March 15, 1781, turned on Cornwallis and at Guilford Court House fought the pivotal battle of the Revolution. This famous battlefield has in recent years, as everybody knows, been developed into an historical park, through the work of the Guilford Battle Ground Company. During the past year the work of the Company has been devoted principally to improving and beautifying the Battle Ground Park. The board of directors on March 15, 1911, adopted a resolution to erect a monument to the late Colonel Joseph M. Morehead, so long the zealous and patriotic president of the company, and at the annual celebration on the battlefield, July 4, a memorial address on the life and services of Colonel Morehead was delivered by Hon. Cyrus B. Watson. At the same time the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, through its vice-president, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, presented to the company a replica of an old battle flag, the original of which, now preserved in the Masonic Temple, at Raleigh, was carried at the battle of Guilford Court House by a North Carolina regiment under Colonel Ebenezer Fulsome. The flag differs from the present National standard in that its stripes are blue and red and the thirteen stars are blue on a white field. A notable achievement of the Guilford Battle Ground Company

during the past year was securing the passage through the National Congress of an act appropriating \$25,000 for the erection of a statue of General Nathanael Greene on the battleground. The contract for the statue is to be awarded December 15, 1911.

JOSEPH MONTFORT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

Two Revolutionary leaders whose memories have been honored during the past year were Joseph Montfort, of Halifax, and Benjamin Smith, of Brunswick.

Joseph Montfort, unfortunately for his own fame and for the good of his country, died at the very beginning of the struggle for independence. But in the initial stages of that contest he manifested a patriotic spirit and an ability in the cause of liberty which would undoubtedly have raised him to eminence among his countrymen. In the service of the colony he attained high position and as a member of the Masonic Order he reached the highest official position ever attained by an American. Accordingly, on February 13, 1911, the Joseph Montfort Memorial Association, an organization composed of Masons, erected at Halifax a handsome tablet to his memory, on which appears the following interesting inscription:

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
JOSEPH MONTFORT.
BORN IN ENGLAND A. D. 1724
DIED AT HALIFAX, N. C.
MARCH 25, A. D. 1776
APPOINTED PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF AND
FOR AMERICA ON JAN. 15, A. L. 5771 (A. D. 1771)
BY THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT
GRAND MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND A. F. AND A. M.
FIRST CLERK OF COURT OF HALIFAX COUNTY
TREASURER OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA
COLONEL OF COLONIAL TROOPS
MEMBER OF PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
ORATOR—STATESMAN—PATRIOT—SOLDIER
THE HIGHEST MASONIC OFFICIAL EVER REIGNING
ON THIS CONTINENT
THE FIRST—THE LAST—THE ONLY
GRAND MASTER OF AMERICA.

BENJAMIN SMITH.

Benjamin Smith attained distinction both in the military and in the civil service of the State. In the former he served with credit as aide-de-camp to Washington in the New York campaigns, and with conspicuous gallantry in the defense of Charleston in 1779; in the latter he served frequently in the General Assembly, as Governor in 1811, and for many years as Trustee of the University. On November 15, 1911, the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, at their regular annual session in Raleigh, presented to the State a handsome portrait of Governor Smith. The portrait was presented on behalf of the Society by Professor Collier Cobb, of the University of North Carolina, and accepted for the State by the Governor, and has been hung in the Governor's office.

CENTER CHURCH.

During the years immediately preceding the Revolution a stream of sturdy settlers from the north of Ireland poured into the southern colonies and scattered throughout the hills and valleys of the Piedmont section of North Carolina and South Carolina. These Scotch-Irish settlers were intensely religious and almost to the man members of the Presbyterian church. After they had won their independence from England they immediately gave their attention to perfecting their church organization. On November 5, 1788, at the old Center Church in Iredell County, delegates from North Carolina and South Carolina met and organized the first Presbyterian Synod of the Carolinas.

On November 8, 1911, the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, in a body, visited the present Center Church, which stands on the site of the old colonial church, and with suitable ceremonies unveiled a tablet in commemoration of that interesting and significant event. The following inscription appears on the tablet:

TO COMMEMORATE THE
FIRST MEETING
OF
THE SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS
NOVEMBER 5, 1788
IN
CENTER CHURCH.

THE OLD TOWN OF BLOOMSBURY.

The signing of a treaty of peace with England and the organization of an independent government made necessary the location of a permanent capital. In 1792 a site in Wake County was selected and the city of Raleigh was laid out. The new city absorbed the old town of Bloomsbury, originally the county seat of Wake, and soon Bloomsbury disappeared from the map. In its brief existence, however, Bloomsbury witnessed many interesting events in our history, and consequently it is appropriate that its site should be properly marked. On April 26, 1911, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, with suitable ceremonies, unveiled a large boulder on the site at the corner of Boylan avenue and Morgan street, in the city of Raleigh, and on it fastened a handsome bronze tablet which bears the following inscription:

ON AND AROUND THIS SPOT
STOOD THE OLD TOWN OF
BLOOMSBURY

OR

WAKE COURT HOUSE

WHICH WAS ERECTED AND MADE THE COUNTY-SEAT WHEN
WAKE COUNTY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1771.

THIS PLACE WAS THE RENDEZVOUS OF A PART OF GOVERNOR TRYON'S ARMY WHEN HE MARCHED AGAINST THE REGULATORS IN 1771; HERE MET THE STATE REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY IN 1781; AND TO THIS VICINITY WAS REMOVED THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT WHEN THE CAPITAL CITY OF RALEIGH WAS INCORPORATED IN 1792.

WAR OF EIGHTEEN TWELVE.

The peace between the Mother Country and her revolting colonies was of short duration. England felt that her honor and prestige required that she wipe out the disgrace of her defeat at Yorktown, and she adopted a policy which finally goaded the United States into war. War accordingly broke out in 1812, but after two years of fierce struggle a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. Since that time many disputes have arisen between these two kindred nations, some of which in other days would undoubtedly have led to war. But for nearly a century all such disputes have been settled by arbitration and the two great English speaking na-

tions have thus set to all the world an example which will ultimately lead to world peace. It is now proposed that in 1914 the United States, Great Britain, and Canada should join in fitly celebrating this hundred years of peace among English-speaking people. As North Carolina, through the services on sea of her distinguished adopted son, Johnston Blakeley, and on land through her famous native son, Andrew Jackson, contributed largely to the success of the young republic in that crisis of her career, so it is fitting that she participate in the celebration of this long reign of peace. The Legislature of 1911 accordingly provided for our participation in the celebration by adopting the following resolution:

WHEREAS, There will have existed peace among English-speaking people for one hundred years at the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and all matters of dispute have been settled by arbitration, thus setting an example to all other nations, and it is intended to have an appropriate celebration of said anniversary by the people of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, and a committee is to be appointed from all States: Now, therefore, the Governor is authorized to appoint four persons as members of said committee to act with it in the preparation of such measures as may tend to an appropriate celebration of the signing of the said Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war of one thousand eight hundred and twelve between Great Britain and the United States.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS.

Two great wars divide our history into three great epochs. The Revolution brought to a close the colonial period—The Epoch of Colonization and Settlement—and ushered in an epoch during which the South developed a marvelous social, industrial, and political system based on slave labor. The Civil War closed this period and ushered in the period of a varied industrial development. The Civil War was the great dividing line for the South from which for many years to come we shall reckon events. "Before the War" and "Since the War" are as thoroughly accepted terms in our vernacular for reckoning dates as "B. C." and "A. D." Naturally, therefore, our most striking historical activities have related for many years past, and will be related for many years to come with the events of the Civil War.

During the past year two monuments were unveiled in North Carolina to the soldiers of the Confederacy—one at Ashboro, the other at Elizabeth City. I regret that my inquiries have elicited no further information relative to the former. The latter, erected by the D. H. Hill Chapter, U. D. C., is a shaft surmounted by the figure of a Confederate soldier, standing at rest. Its total height is 30 feet; it cost \$2,650, and the inscriptions are as follows:

[North side:]

TO OUR CONFEDERATE DEAD.

[South side:]

1861-1865

OUR HEROES.

These two monuments by no means indicate fully the interest taken by the people of North Carolina in preserving the memory of the Confederate soldier.

During the past summer the Guilford Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, began a movement for the erection of a monument at Greensboro to the Confederate soldiers of Guilford County. The chapter reports great success in the raising of funds, but it has most wisely determined not to erect a monument until it has raised a sum large enough to secure one worthy of the object. In this respect the chapter would do well to keep before its eyes the notable achievement of the Robert F. Hoke Chapter, at Salisbury.

Acts of the General Assembly of 1911 display unusual liberality toward the work of erecting memorials to the soldiers of the Confederacy on the part of a considerable number of counties and towns. The Board of Commissioners of Burke County was authorized to appropriate as much as \$1,500 toward the erection of a monument at Morganton "in memory of the bravery and devotion of the Confederate soldiers of Burke County in the Civil War." The Franklin County commissioners were given permission to appropriate \$1,000 to aid in "the erection of a monument in the town of Louisburg, Franklin County, to perpetuate the memory of the Confederate soldiers who took part in the late Civil War, 1861-1865, and especially those who enlisted in the service of that sacred cause from the

county of Franklin." Similar acts were passed for Hertford County, authorizing \$1,000; Lincoln County, authorizing \$300; Macon County, authorizing \$1,000; Nash County, authorizing \$250; Polk County, authorizing \$1,500; Sampson County, authorizing \$1,000; Scotland County, authorizing \$500; Person County, authorizing \$1,000; Stanly County, authorizing the commissioners to appropriate so much money "as they may feel warranted in expending to aid in the erection of said monument"; the town of Rockingham, authorizing \$500, and the town of Roxboro, authorizing \$1,000. If all these counties and towns avail themselves of these acts they will expend on Confederate monuments more than \$10,000, and in each case the act provides that the Daughters of the Confederacy must raise equal amounts, making a total of more than \$20,000. That these patriotic societies will raise their amounts their past achievements leave us no room to doubt.

COMPANY "B," SECOND REGIMENT, NORTH CAROLINA STATE TROOPS.

Chapter 11, Private Laws of 1911, incorporates the surviving members of Company "B," Second Regiment, North Carolina State Troops. Those eligible in the corporation are (1) soldiers who served in the company while it was "in the active service of the State of North Carolina or of the Confederate States of America"; (2) lineal descendants of such soldiers. The purposes of the corporation are declared to be:

(a) To provide for meetings from time to time of the surviving members of said Company B, 2d Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, and of the descendants of deceased members of said company for mutual pleasure and improvement.

(b) To keep fresh in the minds of the said members of the said company the memory of those of their comrades who have passed away and to perpetuate their names and services as soldiers and as citizens, among their descendants.

(c) To preserve a suitable record of the services of the said Company B, 2d Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, to the State of North Carolina and to the Confederate States of America and to preserve and perpetuate the history of the said company, its officers and men, both during and since the Civil War, that their descendants may know and appreciate the patriotic purposes which inspired their forefathers to take up and bear arms in defense of their State from 1861 to 1865.

(d) To foster, stimulate and encourage among the descendants of the members of the said company a love of the State and country by preserving a true and accurate record of the said company and causing to be prepared a history of its service and of the lives of its members, both as soldiers and as citizens.

GEORGE DAVIS STATUE.

These activities look to the perpetuation of the daring and valor of the private soldiers. But we ought not to be forgetful of the great leaders of the Civil War. Among these leaders none deserve to take precedence of George Davis, Confederate States Senator, 1862-1864, and Attorney-General of the Confederacy, 1864-1865. The most notable event among the historical activities of the year was the unveiling at Wilmington, April 20, 1911, of an heroic bronze statue of Mr. George Davis, presented to the city by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The statue stands on an eminence in the center of Market Street Plaza, at the intersection of Third Street, near the site of the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis when he occupied Wilmington after his disastrous victory at Guilford Court House in 1781. Nothing could be more appropriate than the selection of this historic site for the statue of George Davis, who did more to preserve the history of the Cape Fear section from neglect and oblivion than any other man. The western face of the pedestal has upon it the seals of the State of North Carolina and of the Confederacy in inlaid gilt bronze. Upon this face of the monument and above the medallions are these words:

GEORGE DAVIS
SENATOR AND ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF THE
CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

[Below the medallions:]

1820-1896.

[On the southern side of the pedestal are these words:]

SCHOLAR
PATRIOT
STATESMAN
CHRISTIAN.

[On the eastern side of the pedestal is the following inscription:]

HIS WISDOM ILLUSTRATED THE PRINCIPLES OF LAW
AND EQUITY. HIS ELOQUENCE COMMANDED THE AD-
MIRATION OF HIS PEERS. BELOVED FOR HIS STAIN-
LESS INTEGRITY HIS MEMORY DWELLS IN THE HEARTS
OF HIS PEOPLE. SHINING IN THE PURE EXCELLENCE
OF VIRTUE AND REFINEMENT, HE EXEMPLIFIED WITH
DIGNITY AND SIMPLICITY, WITH GENTLE COURTESY AND
CHRISTIAN FAITH THE TRUE HEART OF CHIVALRY IN
SOUTHERN MANHOOD.

[On the north side:]

ERECTED IN LOVING MEMORY
BY THE
UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

ANDREW JOHNSON MONUMENT.

A native North Carolinian who attained eminence during the Civil War was Andrew Johnson. Though at one time slightly in disfavor in the South, yet as we become removed further and further from the struggle of the sixties, as our animosities become mellowed by time, and as our perspective upon great historical events and characters of that period becomes clearer, we can see that for his manly stand in behalf of their rights in the dark days of Reconstruction Andrew Johnson deserves well of the Southern people. We ought to welcome, it seems to me, an opportunity to honor his memory. That opportunity has come. On April 27, 1911, Hon. Edward W. Pou, Representative in Congress from the Fifth Congressional District, introduced in the House of Representatives the following bill:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Merchants Association of the City of Raleigh, under the direction of the Secretary of War, for the erection of a heroic bronze statue of the late President Andrew Johnson on the United States Government grounds in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina: *Provided*, that the design for said statue shall be approved by the Secretary of War and by the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce and Industry and by the Merchants Association of said city.

DAVID SCHENCK AND JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD.

"Since the War" North Carolina's most notable achievements have been in the field of education. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the historical activities of the year bearing upon this period of our history were all in commemoration of work in education.

Distinctly educational was the work of David Schenck and Joseph M. Morehead at the Guilford Battle Ground. Their success in clearing the memory of the North Carolina soldiers who participated in the critical battle of Guilford Court House from charges of cowardice and disobedience of orders deserves the gratitude of all North Carolinians who love their State and her good name; and their work in converting that historic battleground from an old field into a beautiful historical park deserves the thanks of Americans everywhere. In the following the last General Assembly paid a deserved tribute to their memory which voices the universal sentiment of our people:

WHEREAS, David Schenck and Joseph M. Morehead, as presidents of the Guilford Court House Battle Ground Association, gave largely and devotedly of their time and means to the preservation of the Guilford Court House Battle Ground, and rendered distinguished service to the State and Nation by arresting the attention of mankind and fixing it upon the heroic deeds of the American patriots upon that historic scene of conflict between the American Revolutionary and British forces; and whereas, the untiring efforts of the said David Schenck and James M. Morehead made possible the fulfillment of the wish cherished by many, that at Guilford Court House Battle Ground their children and their children's children might throughout all time read in bronze and marble the deeds of valor and self-sacrifice of their ancestors and tread the soil made sacred by the blood of martyrs to the cause of freedom; whereas, said services merit public recognition and an expression of the appreciation of a grateful people: now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate, the House concurring:

First, that the State of North Carolina, through its General Assembly, give public acknowledgment of its debt of gratitude for the services of these distinguished dead.

M'IVER STATUE.

The most distinguished educational leader in the history of North Carolina was the late Charles D. McIver.

During the year the committee in charge of the fund for erecting a statue of Dr. McIver, placed its order with Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, and the statue will be unveiled some time in the early part of the year 1912.

EMMA HEARNE SOUTHERLAND TABLET.

A well deserved tribute was paid to the work of a faithful teacher when a tablet was unveiled in the auditorium of the Mount Olive Graded School, March 1, 1911, to the memory of Mrs. Emma Hearne Southerland. The tablet was erected by The Twentieth Century Club of that town, which Mrs. Southerland organized. The inscription is:

IN MEMORIAM
EMMA HEARNE SOUTHERLAND
ERECTED BY
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB
1911.

PORTRAIT OF AUGUSTUS LEAZAR.

On May 30, 1911, in the auditorium of Pullen Hall, at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, the Leazar Literary Society presented to the College a portrait of Augustus Leazar, soldier, teacher, legislator, and author of the act founding the college.

DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Several patriotic and historical societies have been at work whose activities were not limited to any particular period of our history.

The Daughters of the Revolution, during the year, presented medals for essays in North Carolina history to the city schools of Edenton, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, and New Bern, and awarded a scholarship for historical work to a pupil of the Edenton city schools. They have also continued the publication of the North Carolina Booklet.

THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Wachovia Historical Society made a number of additions to its collections of particular interest in illustrating the

industrial life of the Moravian settlements. Quarters are now being prepared by the Society for the care and preservation of the archives of the Moravian Church of North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The North Carolina Historical Society, in addition to the program carried out at its regular meetings, has made a tentative study of the life of the negroes of Chapel Hill with a view to a publication on the subject at some future time. The society acquired during the year twenty bound volumes of North Carolina newspapers, and issued two volumes of the James Sprunt Historical Publications.

TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

During the year the Trinity College Historical Society published "The Memoirs of W. W. Holden," being volume II of the John Lawson Monographs. The Society has added materially to its collections, notably to its newspaper files and, through coöperation with the Trinity College Library, has completed its file of the laws of North Carolina.

STATE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

The most notable achievement in the interest of history and historical studies of the past year was the passage by the General Assembly of a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the erection of a fireproof building in this city primarily for the safe keeping of the public libraries and historical collections of the State. I speak of this as an achievement in the interest of history because it is a well known fact that the movement for such a building originated with this Association and it is equally well known that the desire to make adequate provisions for the care of the State's libraries and historical collections was the motive which induced the Legislature to make the appropriation. Indeed the act itself cites, as the necessity for such a building, the fact that as "valuable libraries, priceless manuscripts, historic relics, many records and much [public] property are housed in many separate and unfit buildings, exposed to constant danger from fire," therefore "it is imperatively necessary that larger

and safer quarters be provided for them," and consequently it was enacted that "a fireproof building, adequate for the purposes intended and required, should be erected."

In this building, which is to be erected at the head of Fayetteville Street, facing on Morgan Street and overlooking the Capitol Square, commodious and convenient quarters are to be provided for the State Library and the State Historical Commission. To the former the Building Commission has assigned the first floor, to the latter the second floor. On this floor will be provided offices for the Historical Commission, a Document Room for the filing of the Commission's manuscripts and archives of the State, an exhibition hall for the exhibition of manuscripts, a Hall of History for the preservation of historic relics, a Portrait Gallery, reading rooms for students, and other facilities for the work of the Historical Commission.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Nothing can better illustrate the growth in importance and in public interest of the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission than the willingness of the General Assembly to make such generous provisions for its present needs and its future expansion.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The chief activities of the Historical Commission during the past year have been in the collection of manuscripts. It is impossible to state accurately how many historical documents have been added to the State's collections in this way, but speaking conservatively the number can not fall short of ten thousand. Among them are the letters and papers of William A. Graham, Archibald D. Murphey, David L. Swain, the Pettigrew family (notably the papers of Bishop-elect Charles Pettigrew, Congressman Ebenezer Pettigrew, and General J. Johnston Pettigrew), and a large collection of miscellaneous manuscripts. From Mrs. J. F. Minis, of Savannah, Ga., the Historical Commission has received several valuable military maps of Eastern North Carolina, made for the Confederate Government by her father, Major-General J. F. Gilmer, chief of the Bureau of Engineers, C. S. A., a native of North Carolina.

THE RANSOM BUST.

During the past year the Historical Commission has been the means of securing for the State handsome busts of three of her most eminent sons.

On March 4, 1910, Hon. Robert W. Winston, a former President of this Association, addressed a communication to the North Carolina Historical Commission stating that he had in hand funds sufficient for the erection of a bust of former United States Senator Matt W. Ransom, and placing the same at the disposal of the Historical Commission, to be used for placing a bust of Senator Ransom in the rotunda of the State Capitol. The Historical Commission accepted Judge Winston's generous offer, and placed an order for the bust with Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, a well known sculptor of New York. On January 11, 1911, in the presence of the State Literary and Historical Association, the Governor of North Carolina, and the General Assembly of the State, the bust, occupying the niche on the southwest side of the rotunda, was unveiled and presented to the State. As Attorney-General of the State, as Major-General in the Confederate States Army, and as Senator in the Congress of the United States for twenty-three years, Matt W. Ransom rendered services to North Carolina which entitle him to high rank among her public men, and justly deserves this tribute to his memory.

JOHNSTON AND MOREHEAD BUSTS.

During the year through the generosity of the Grand Lodge of Masons the State Historical Commission has been enabled to place an order for the bust of Samuel Johnston, Governor from 1787 to 1789, and first United States Senator from North Carolina; and through the liberality of his grandsons, Hon. J. M. Morehead and Hon. Lindsay Patterson, the Historical Commission has been enabled to place an order for a bust of John M. Morehead, Governor from 1841 to 1845. These busts are to be delivered within the next few days, and in due time will be set up in the rotunda of the Capitol.

For seventy years the four niches on the lower floor of the rotunda, especially designed for busts of eminent public servants, remained empty. On January 12, 1910, the first one was

filled, and before 1912 sets in, busts will have been set up in every niche on the lower floor of the rotunda of the Capitol.

THE WILEY BUST.

It is a most interesting fact as illustrating the awakened interest in this kind of work in North Carolina, that, although not a stone has yet been laid for the new State Administration Building, yet already one handsome marble bust and one life-size bronze statue are being prepared to be set up therein immediately upon its completion—the former to an educator, the latter to a great jurist.

A few years ago the school children of North Carolina started a movement to raise a fund, by penny collections, to have erected a bust of Calvin H. Wiley, the first Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1853-1865, in North Carolina. During the first year an order for this bust was placed with Mr. George Gray Barnard, one of the best known of American sculptors, who will complete his work some time during the coming year.

RUFFIN BUST.

Last summer the State Bar Association adopted a resolution to raise funds for the erection of a statue of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin in the new State Building. Yesterday the committee in charge reported that the necessary funds were in hand and appointed a sub-committee to select the sculptor and award the contract.

HALL OF HISTORY.

The Director of the Hall of History reports that in his work the year has been "a very quiet one," because all the available space in the hall has already been filled. A number of objects have been added, but none of marked importance. "The collection embraces at present something over 8,300 objects." The Director estimates the number of visitors to the Hall of History during the year at 75,000.

SUMMARY.

Summarizing this report it appears that during the past year—or to be more exact, during the last ten months, as it has not

been quite a year since our last meeting—there have been the following historical activities in North Carolina:

1. There were erected eight memorial tablets.
2. Three statues and monuments were erected, and plans were completed for the erection of seventeen others.
3. Busts of four eminent men were executed.
4. Two portraits of persons distinguished in our history were presented to the State.
5. Three patriotic societies, designed to commemorate specific events, were organized.
6. The General Assembly provided ample quarters for the State Library and the State Historical Commission.
7. The State Historical Commission secured an addition to its collections of more than 10,000 manuscripts.

The Patterson Memorial Cup

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval, and will be found to be just and practicable:

(1) The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

(2) It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

(3) It will be given to that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

(4) The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award at your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

(5) The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the Chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the Chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.

(6) If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the Board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the Board may determine. Notice of the

inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

(7) The publication of a member of the Board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION.

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the Cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communications regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

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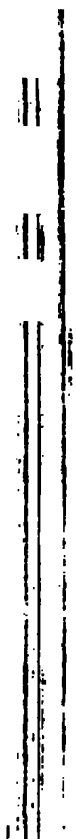
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Miss Edith Royster.....	Raleigh, N. C.
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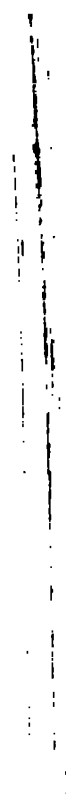
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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 12

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE
State Literary and Historical Association
of North Carolina

RALEIGH
DECEMBER 3-4, 1912



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE
State Literary and Historical Association
of North Carolina

RALEIGH,
December 3-4, 1912

Compiled by
CLARENCE POE,
Secretary

RALEIGH, N. C.
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS
1913

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THOMAS M. PITTMAN, Henderson.

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill.

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N.C. Historical Commission 2-20-13g. O and

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PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

- "The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;
- "The encouragement of public and school libraries;
- "The establishment of an historical museum;
- "The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;
- "The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—
- "The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying \$1 a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying \$5 a year.



Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, DECEMBER 3 AND 4, 1912

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association was called to order in the Auditorium of the city of Raleigh on Tuesday evening, December 3rd, at 8 o'clock, with President R. D. W. Connor in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George W. Lay, Rector of St. Mary's School, after which President R. D. W. Connor presented his annual address as President, his subject being "The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina," a study of racial influences on the character of the Commonwealth, and of the steady growth of democratic ideas and ideals.

At the conclusion of his address, President Connor introduced to the audience Dr. Walter H. Page, editor of *The World's Work*, of New York. For several years it has been the custom of the Literary and Historical Association to invite to its session one eminent son of North Carolina who has attained distinction outside the State. Dr. Page, a native of Wake County, who began his literary career as editor of the *Raleigh Chronicle*, had been invited home for this meeting of the Association and brought a message emphasizing the fact that in order to insure the development of a great literature in North Carolina we must have the fullest possible development of our rural population. Both his address on "The Country Man," and President Connor's address, are published elsewhere in these minutes.

The evening session was brought to a close with the exercises in connection with the presentation of the Patterson Memorial Cup, awarded each year to "that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September the first of the previous year to September the first of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius." Dr. Walter H. Page made the presentation on behalf of the committee, which consists of "the President of the State Literary and Historical Association, the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest, and at the State A. & M. College at Raleigh, of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College."

In accepting the cup awarded him in recognition of his "Where Half the World is Waking Up," Mr. Clarence Poe said:

I can not find words to express my appreciation of this award, ennobled as it is by association with the names Dr. Page has just enumerated—McNeill and Mims and Battle and Ashe and Connor and Henderson—and "our gracious matron of letters." I can only assure you that I accept the generous judgment it symbolizes with a full understanding of the fact that, like every other recognition from one's fellows, it should be regarded not so much as an earned reward from the past as a borrowed trust for the future—a trust that I should use not for purposes of self, but in causes that look to human progress and the development of the State whose good people have ever been gracious to me beyond my deserving.

Before adjourning the meeting, President Connor read the following telegram which was turned over to him by Dr. Page:

NEW YORK, December 2, 1912.

WALTER H. PAGE,

Care State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

The North Carolina Society of New York is pleased that you, one of its former presidents, are to address the State Literary and Historical Association. We ask that you act as the representative of our North Carolina Society of New York at this meeting, and that you extend the assurances of our interest to the officers of the Association. We also hope that you will obtain for us copies of the proceedings and of the addresses.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, *President.*

JOHN S. PRIMROSE, *Secretary.*

After adjourning the regular meeting, the members attended a reception given by the Raleigh members of the Association in honor of the out-of-town members.

MORNING SESSION, DECEMBER 4TH.

The morning session of the Literary and Historical Association opened with a reading of the Bibliography for the year by Miss Minnie Leatherman, Secretary of the State Library Commission.

Following the reading of the Bibliography, Dr. William K. Boyd presented a very valuable and suggestive paper on "Some Neglected Phases of North Carolina History." Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, the next speaker, discussed in a very able paper, "Democracy and Literature." It is to be regretted that these papers of Dr. Boyd's and Dr. Henderson's were not heard by a much larger audience, but readers who could not be present when the speeches were delivered, should not deprive themselves of the privilege of reading them, as they appear elsewhere in this Bulletin.

The addresses of the morning being completed, the Association took up the consideration of motions and resolutions and committee reports.

Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro, was recognized to make the report for the Committee on Library Extension. This committee consists of Mr. George Rountree, Wilmington, Mr. Frank Nash, Hillsboro, Dr. Louis R. Wilson, Chapel Hill, Mr. J. P. Breedlove, Durham, and Mr. Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson. The members of the Association were greatly interested in the recommendations included in the report, and endorsed it enthusiastically, the only criticism being that the members of the Association generally would have had it even stronger.

The report submitted by Mr. Nash, for the committee, was as follows:

To the State Literary and Historical Association:

Your committee on the formulation of a program looking to the extension of library privileges to the entire citizenship of the State, begs leave to report as follows:

1. The part played by the modern library in the general educational advancement of a people is so highly important that North Carolina can not, without great injury to herself, fail to take advantage of all the benefits which may be secured through a further extension of its library resources.

2. The most practical and beneficial way of extending the desired privileges in other States has been through State-supported Library Commissions and well equipped State Libraries. In the majority of States where the kind of library advantages contemplated are enjoyed the work of arousing interest in the establishment of public libraries; of aiding new libraries in solving local problems; of furnishing libraries, clubs, organizations, and individuals with reference lists and information as to desired materials; of operating collections of traveling and debate libraries, is usually undertaken by library commissions. In some of the States the State Libraries, in addition to supplying the demands of the State officers, maintain well equipped reference collections from which citizens can draw for more specialized material which is not accessible in local libraries, and provide for the use of legislators and municipal officers special collections of laws and opinions relating to questions which are the subject of legislation pending in legislatures and municipalities.

3. The need in North Carolina for the further extension of these privileges is extremely urgent. The population of the State is largely rural, and it is denied the privilege of free books which the citizens of the larger towns enjoy. It is without the advantages which come from the reading of books and from the discussion of problems to which the reading of books give rise. The traveling library, made up of well selected books covering many phases of life and thought, is stimulating to the rural sections, and aids the State Departments of Education, Public Health, and Agriculture in extending their work. Again, North Carolina has few strong, centralized libraries from which organizations and individuals can borrow special books. Its citizens are consequently forced to go outside the State for material which might be furnished by the State Library. Furthermore, North Carolina is facing important legislation in subjects on which its legislators are without comparative material drawn from a number of sources. There is no bureau at the capital from which they can secure the special literature which is essential to the drafting of the wisest laws.

In view of these facts, and in view of the further facts that the North Carolina Library Commission is already doing a splendid work in general library

extension, that it is attempting to further its work by putting into operation a system of traveling libraries, and that the State Library is soon to move into quarters which will make possible, from the physical side, the extension of its usefulness as a reference and legislative reference library, your committee beg to offer for adoption the following resolutions:

1. That the State Literary and Historical Association support the North Carolina Library Commission in its effort to secure an adequate appropriation for the operation of an effective system of traveling libraries and the extension of its present work.

2. That it urge upon the Members of the Legislature the importance of more thoroughly equipping the State Library for use as a general and reference library for the State at large and special reference bureau for the Legislature, and that adequate appropriations be granted for the same.

3. That a legislative committee of three members be appointed by the President to prepare such bills or suggest such amendments to present laws as will carry into effect the recommendations contained in the foregoing resolutions.

(Signed)

GEORGE ROUNTREE, *Chmn.*

FRANK NASH,

LOUIS R. WILSON,

J. P. BREEDLOVE,

THOMAS M. PITTMAN,

Committee.

Dr. Archibald Henderson was then recognized and offered a series of notable resolutions which were adopted after considerable discussion.

In speaking to the resolutions, Dr. Henderson said that if this, the Literary, as well as the Historical, Association of North Carolina is to justify in full measure its duplex title, it must take a constructive part in the crusade for culture in our State today which awaits leadership and a leader.

The resolutions follow:

1. That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to consider the problem of our State literature, and to endeavor to secure the person or persons best qualified by reason of talent and aptitude, to prepare a history of the literature of North Carolina.

2. That this Association perfect some organization by which the literary spirit in the State may be stimulated toward effective ends—through the establishment of literary clubs and the organization of those already in existence, with central headquarters in Raleigh; and the formulation, through coöperation with the Women's Clubs of North Carolina, of adequate machinery by which these clubs may have their energies definitely directed in the channel of study of native and Southern literature.

3. That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to petition the Building Committee for the reservation of adequate space in the projected new Hall of History, to be used permanently as a section devoted to the Literature of North Carolina. Furthermore, that this committee be permanent, having for its objects to honor in tangible form the literary achievements of our people, and to preserve the literary remains of our native writers of eminence. That this be done through the preservation and display, in the section aforementioned in the new Hall of History,

of portraits of our men and women of letters, autographed sets of their works, original manuscripts, letters from eminent men and women of letters testifying to the value of such literary works, medallions, busts, and all forms of suitable memorials which may keep green the memory of noble works, finely conceived and artfully executed.

4. That this Association give a new stimulus and direction to the movement, formerly inaugurated, for a system of extension lectures throughout the State.

5. That this Association send a delegated representative to the annual meetings of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, whose duty it shall be, as representative of this Association, to coöperate with the teachers in fostering the intelligent and consistent study of native and of Southern literature in the schools.

6. That, at future annual meetings of this Association, a portion of the program be regularly devoted to appreciations, by competent authorities, of representative figures in our native literature.

7. That this Association appoint one of the present members of the State Library Commission to serve as its representative on that Commission, in order to bring the two organizations into coöperation and to keep in mind the general purpose of ministering to and stimulating the literary consciousness of our people.

Prof. E. K. Graham then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association extend through the Secretary to Mr. Walter H. Page, of New York, its appreciation and thanks for his gift of the beautiful edition of the works of O. Henry and accompanying manuscripts.

Resolved, That the telegram of good will from the North Carolina Society of New York, by the Secretary, be acknowledged with thanks and with expression of appreciation for the patriotic work now being done by that Society in New York.

The Secretary then reminded the members that the Association, in common with ordinary mortals, was suffering somewhat from the "high cost of living." This is due to the fact that in recent years the number of speakers on the program has been greatly increased, four sessions being now held whereas only one was held six years ago, while the policy of obtaining eminent speakers of national reputation for each session is necessarily attended by considerable outlay. On motion the Executive Committee was authorized to consider any plans for increasing the membership fee—in case it should be thought advisable to attempt to get funds by increase in dues rather than by enlarging the membership—with provision that before putting any plan into effect, it must be submitted to the members on a referendum for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the sentiment in favor of the change is large enough to justify its adoption.

President Connor then announced the following committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. E. K. Graham, F. A. Woodard, T. M. Pittman, R. B. Drane, Miss Lida T. Rodman.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session began with a "Conference on the Study and Sources of North Carolina History," Dr. W. K. Boyd, of Trinity College, presiding. Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro, read a paper on "County Records as Sources of Local History," which was followed by a discussion of the same subject by Prof. Charles L. Coon, of Wilson. At the conclusion of these addresses (printed elsewhere in this bulletin) the Association adjourned to attend the exercises in connection with the presentation of the bust of Governor John M. Morehead to the State, these exercises being under the auspices of the North Carolina Historical Commission. A full report of these exercises is given as a part of this bulletin.

At five o'clock the Woman's Club of Raleigh tendered a reception to the members of the Association at which Mr. Edwin Markham was the guest of honor.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session began with a musical number, a trio, "Maytime," by the Misses Day and Miss Haynes, of Meredith College. President Connor then introduced Mr. Josephus Daniels, editor of the *News and Observer*, who delivered an address, which had been expected at a previous session of the Association, on "Nathaniel Macon and His Influence on North Carolina History." A double quartet, composed of Misses Pearson, Durham, Anderson, and Briggs and Messrs. Betts, Coburn, Newcomb, and Thomas, next delighted the audience with a rendering of "There's a River."

President Connor then introduced to the audience Mr. Edwin Markham, the guest of honor at this meeting of the Literary and Historical Association.

Mr. Markham's subject was "America as a New Field for Poetry." Few speakers in Raleigh have ever more completely captivated their audiences than Mr. Markham did on this occasion; and this copy of our Minutes is greatly enriched by the report of his address given elsewhere. Hardly less worth coming to hear than the address itself was Mr. Markham's reading of his famous poem, "The Man with the Hoe." This was done so effectively as to make it one of the memories of a lifetime for all who had the privilege of being present.

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association then came to a close with the report of the committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year. Rev. R. B. Drane submitted this report, announcing in the outset that the committee had been informed by Mr. Clarence Poe that having served as Secretary

since 1903, he would under no circumstances accept a reelection. Mr. Drane, on behalf of the committee, then recommended the following officers:

President.....DR. W. P. FEW, of Trinity College.
First Vice-President.....MRS. MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....MR. O. W. BLACKNALL, Kittrell.
Third Vice-President.....DR. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Chapel Hill.
Secretary-Treasurer.....MR. R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

These officers were then unanimously elected; Dr. Archibald Henderson, however, declined to accept the position tendered him.

The meeting then adjourned.

CLARENCE POE,
Secretary.

The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT R. D. W. CONNOR BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 3, 1912.

A little more than a year ago your kindness selected me for the honor and duty of presiding over this thirteenth annual session of the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association. This honor, I am fully conscious, I owe to no merit of my own but to your generous partiality, for which I desire to return my sincerest thanks. That same partiality I shall expect to be my advocate to plead your forbearance for whatever failure I may meet with in performing adequately the duties you have imposed upon me. Among these is the duty of opening this session with an address on some topic in keeping with the purposes of this Association. You will naturally expect me to select some subject from the history of our own State, but at the same time, you have a right to expect it to be some subject from which some lesson may be drawn that will be of practical value in the working out of our own present day problems. Whether I have succeeded in meeting these just expectations is for your generous judgment to say. My subject is "The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina."

The history of North Carolina during the little more than a decade since the organization of this Association, has been characterized by a remarkable development along two parallel lines, one leading to a widespread material prosperity, the other to a popular intellectual renaissance. One manifests itself in the hum of mills, the shriek of whistles, the roar and rush of trains, revealing the power and energy of an awakening people. The other, no less a revelation of power, is nevertheless a silent movement whose energy is generated in the quiet of the schoolroom and the closet of the student. These two movements have created conditions out of which has sprung a third, political in its nature, just beginning to make itself felt and demanding changes in our system of government profound in their character and far reaching in their effects. None of these movements would have been possible without the others, while all are the results of forces that for two and a half centuries have been shaping our civilization and determining our destiny.

In recognition of this fact we are, as a people, turning more than at any other time in our history to a study of the past to seek therein an explanation of the present and a forecast of the future. One of the most striking features of the intellectual awakening of which I have spoken is the recent rapid development of our historical consciousness.

Out of it have sprung such intellectual activities as the organization of this Literary and Historical Association, the creation of the State Historical Commission, the organization of numerous historical and patriotic societies, the preservation of historic battlefields and buildings, the marking of historic sites, the celebration of historic anniversaries, the publication of historical manuscripts, monographs and books, and the numerous other methods by which mankind has always preserved the history of the race. In the past decade alone we have erected more monuments and written more books in North Carolina, many of them works of real merit, than in all the previous two hundred and fifty years of our history.

The development of the inward spirit of which such activities are but the outward manifestations, means much in the life of any people. "The spirit of a people is the history of a people impersonated in the life of a people. If there is no history of a people, there is no spirit of a people," and without such a spirit the people perish. It seems to me, therefore, that nothing can be more important to a democratic people than the cultivation of such a spirit. Great and rapid material and political development may prove anything but an unmixed blessing if it be not accompanied by a corresponding development of the mental and spiritual resources of the State, and there is no better way for the State to develop these resources and strengthen this side of its life than through the study of its history. Every duty which we are called upon to perform as citizens of a democracy comes to us out of the past moulded into shape by its influence and charged with its spirit. This influence we must understand, this spirit we must appreciate if we would perform the duties and meet the responsibilities of citizenship intelligently and effectively. It follows, therefore, that a knowledge of the history and character of the people among whom we are to live and work is a very necessary part of our equipment for service in a democracy. Properly pursued, the study of history broadens the outlook, sharpens the intelligence, strengthens the character, and confirms the patriotism of the people, and when the day of trial and stress comes, as such days do come to all people, the qualities thus developed become the chief assets of a democratic State.

The American people are even now facing such a test of character. A school of politics has arisen among us founded on the theory that under our system of representative democracy political, social and economic inequalities have sprung up that have closed to the people and their children doors of opportunity that once stood wide open to their fathers; and under the teaching of this school the spirit of discontent has spread abroad in the land. Never before has our political system undergone

so searching an examination as that to which it is now being subjected; never before have demands for radical changes striking at the very roots of constitutional government been so strong and so insistent. These demands wise statesmanship will heed and prepare to meet, but in meeting them in the several States of the Union it will take into consideration the origin, history and character of their people. It will not seek blindly to apply to such ancient commonwealths as Virginia, Massachusetts and North Carolina political experiments and expedients that have nothing to recommend them but the fact that, after brief trials, they appear to be successful in such recent communities as Wisconsin, Oregon, and Oklahoma. For in those States which have not behind them the conservative forces of history or whose populations have sprung largely from races that have not either by inheritance or long experience the instincts of self-government, there is danger that the people, failing to understand and appreciate the long and painful struggle by which orderly liberty has been attained, may become impatient of those salutary restraints upon the popular will which the history of constitutional government has invariably shown to be necessary for the success of democracy; and mistaking expedients for principles, may too hastily discard the lessons of experience for the promises of experiment. On the other hand, in those States which look back to a long and honorable history as their chief claim to the respect of mankind, there is equal danger that an undue reverence for the past may influence their people to tolerate evils which present no claim to consideration except age, rather than adopt remedies against which no ground of opposition can be urged except youth; and thus these old, conservative communities may unfortunately lay themselves open to the just charge of blocking the path of progress without conserving the interests of democracy.

North Carolina, certainly not the least of the States of the Union, could not if she would and, I am sure, would not if she could, refuse to bear her share of the responsibility which present day conditions impose upon her and her sister States. It is of importance, therefore, to us to consider the manner in which she may be expected to meet her obligations. If the origin and character of her people, and the history they have made here, afford any basis for forming a judgment, we shall be safe in asserting that she will be found in neither of the groups that I have described. She will approach her task, as becomes a people conscious of a great past, with a spirit of conservatism that will excite the contempt of the former; and as becomes a people conscious of a great future, she will solve her problems as they are presented with a spirit of progressiveness that will dismay the latter. And in the future, as in the past, unmoved by the contempt of the one or the dismay of the other,

she will do her duty, if not with great brilliancy and acclaim, nevertheless with wisdom and quiet dignity. Such was her attitude when confronted with the Federal Constitution in 1788; and such was her attitude when confronted with Secession in 1861.

Many different factors, of course, have entered into the formation of the character of North Carolina and the determination of her conduct when brought face to face with great crises, and it is to a consideration of these that I shall invite your attention this evening. Foremost among them, because it underlies all others, is the origin of her population. The population of North Carolina has been less affected by outside influences and the infusion of foreign blood than the population of any other American State; and today the dominant characteristics of her people remain the same, modified only by the conditions of American life, as those of the original German, Scotch, and English settlers. A clear understanding, therefore, of the influence of each of these peoples on our civilization is necessary for an understanding of our history.

The influence of the Germans has been chiefly economic. The early German pioneer took but little interest in politics. The only governments which he had known in the Old World were pure despotisms and accordingly he lacked political experience. About the only political principle he was familiar with was obedience to constituted authority, and he concerned himself but little whether that authority was despotic or democratic. He was willing, therefore, to leave politics to his Scotch and English fellow colonists while he devoted his energies to his industrial affairs. Two causes contributed to this result. One was the communistic spirit of the German immigrants which led them to settle in compact communities; the other was the geology of the region in which they settled. The facilities which it offered for manufacturing enterprises did not escape the keen eyes of the early German pioneers. In the section settled by the English, fifty years passed before a mill of any character was erected; in Wachovia, on the other hand, before the close of their first year, the Germans had in operation a flour mill, a carpenter's shop, a shoe shop, a pottery, a blacksmith's shop, a tannery, and a cooperage; and in 1773 a visitor to Wachovia records the fact that the settlers there possessed "a number of useful and lucrative manufactures, particularly a very extensive one of earthenware, which they have brought to great perfection, and supply the whole country with it for some hundred miles around." The first cotton mill erected in North Carolina was built at Lincolnton in 1813 by Michael Schenck, whose name is sufficient evidence of his nationality. This mill was the forerunner of that remarkable industrial development which has raised North Carolina to the second place among the States of the American

Union in the manufacture of cotton. How largely this development is the work of our German population will be readily understood by recalling the names of the pioneers of manufacturing in North Carolina—the Schencks, the Holts, the Frieses, the Hokes, the Reinhardts—as well as the names of the men behind the manufacturing industries of today. An examination of the reports of the State Commissioner of Labor and Printing will reveal the fact that a very large percentage of these enterprises are yet owned or controlled by men of German descent. In 1910, for instance, the sixteen counties that were settled chiefly by German immigrants contained something more than forty per cent of all the cotton, woolen, silk, and knitting mills then in the State.

The influence of industry on government is always exercised in the interest of conservatism. And so in North Carolina, at every period of our history, the influence of our German citizenship has been among the most conservative forces in the life of the State. Thus, in 1776, the German communities in North Carolina held back when the English and Scotch were ready to plunge the country into rebellion and revolution; and in 1861 they opposed slavery and secession. Though they could not prevent revolution in 1776 or secession in 1861, their influence undoubtedly went far toward making both those movements more orderly and less noisy in North Carolina than in some of her sister States; and so today the North Carolina citizen of German descent continues to exercise a singularly potent and salutary influence which will not, indeed, prevent our joining in the progressive movements of the age, but will cause us to move cautiously and thoughtfully until at least we know that our ground is firm and certain.

There are two elements of Scotch population to be found in North Carolina—the Highland Scotch and the Lowland Scotch, or the so-called Scotch-Irish. In estimating the influence on our civilization of these Scotch people the most important fact to be considered is their religion. To it we may trace in a large measure that intensity of convictions, that tenacity of purpose, that vigor of intellect and, above all, that spirit of democracy for which they have been so preëminently distinguished in our history. The system of Presbyterianism which these Scotch immigrants brought with them to the New World sprung up in Scotland without recognition from the law, and was founded on the right of the individual to determine his ecclesiastical system for himself. Accordingly the Church which grew out of it was a democratic institution. It summoned laymen in an overwhelming majority to its early assemblies and legislated for itself, not through bishops and clergy, but through the laymen, that is the people, and this is the very corner stone of democracy. "No Church constitution," says John Richard Greene,

"has proved in practice so democratic as that of Scotland." In a country where Church and State were so closely allied as they were in Scotland in the sixteenth century, it was but a short step from ecclesiastical to political affairs. The same democratic spirit which prevailed in the Church, therefore, might easily be made to prevail in the State. Thus the Scottish Presbytery became a training school for democracy. "A Scottish Presbytery," declared King James I, "as well fitteth with monarchy as God and the devil. No bishop, no king." This democratic spirit, derived primarily from his ecclesiastical system, the Scottish immigrant brought with him to North Carolina. Thrown out as the advanced guard of civilization on the extreme western frontier and left to work out his own salvation in his own way, without any material assistance from government, he developed still further that spirit of aggressive, fighting democracy which has made him such a potent force in our history and has been his most distinctive contribution to our modern civilization.

Preceding both the German and the Scotchman came the Englishman, who, some time about the middle of the seventeenth century, crossed the Virginia boundary line, sought out the rich bottom lands along the shores of Albemarle Sound, and there laid the foundations of the commonwealth. Less conservative than the German and less democratic than the Scotchman, the English settler possessed all the German's respect for authority and all the Scotchman's love of liberty; but he demanded that the authority which claimed his allegiance should conform to the constitutional principles of government which he had inherited from his fathers, and he insisted that his liberty should be in accordance with English conceptions and English standards. To him we owe it that these standards were firmly planted in the soil of North Carolina. During the early years of our history he took up arms and went forth to battle more than once in defense of his ideals of constitutional government, and achieving success at last, he wrote them into the Constitution of 1776, whence they have been handed down to us as his richest legacy to all future generations.

The history of constitutional development in North Carolina since 1776 shows the influence of German conservatism, Scotch democracy and English respect for constitutional principles. It has been the story of a conservative, but continuous growth toward limited, representative democracy. The student can make no graver mistake than to suppose that North Carolina, or any other American State, began its independent existence in 1776 as a pure democracy "America in 1776," says a brilliant writer on current political problems, "was not a democracy. It was not even a democracy on paper. It was at best a shadow-democ-

racy."¹ To say this neither impeaches the wisdom nor decries the work of the framers of our first State Constitutions. The truth is they did not intend to establish democracies. The men who led and dominated the political thought of North Carolina in 1776 were English land-owners whose political ideals were found in the British Constitution. Whatever may be said of the British Constitution of Lloyd George's England, democracy certainly was no feature of the constitution of the England of George III. This constitution, in its full vigor, the English settlers had demanded should follow them to the New World; and they had insisted that their charters should guarantee to them "all liberties, franchises and privileges" enjoyed by their fellow subjects in England. In 1775 the American people rebelled against the authority of the Mother Country because, in order to carry out certain progressive measures, she proposed to ride roughshod over these same "liberties, franchises and privileges." George III and his Ministers felt for such political "sop," introduced from the British Constitution into the early American charters, and thence into our State and Federal Constitutions, to appease the fears of "a jealous people," all that contempt which so strongly moves the scorn of many of our modern reformers; and they determined that this "sop" should not stand in the way of the expansion and progress of the British Empire.²

The Americans, on the other hand, looking to the ancient landmarks set up by the fathers in the days of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, protested against the innovations of the Ministry, though they came disguised in the mantle of progress, and went to war to conserve the constitutional "liberties, franchises and privileges" which had been handed down to them from time immemorial. In that struggle, therefore, England, not America, represented the position that in modern political parlance would be called "progressive"; the Americans were the "reactionaries" of their day. Nevertheless they believed in progress though they did not prate much about it. Their very presence on a new and undeveloped continent shows them to have been of a progressive race. But they believed, as many of their descendants believe to-day, that progress purchased by the surrender of their constitutional guarantees of liberties, would be purchased at too high a rate. Accordingly when the men of North Carolina came to write their Constitution in 1776, they were much more determined to write into it those same safeguards of political liberty,—representative government, the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, the right of trial by jury, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the prohibition against

¹Weyl: "The New Democracy," p. 12.

²Weyl in his "The New Democracy" thus characterizes the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution. "With a sop therefore to a jealous people in the form of the first ten amendments, guaranteeing civil and political rights," etc., p. 15.

the passage of *ex post facto* laws, the guarantee that no man shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property "but by the law of the land" or "by due process of law," and all these other great constitutional principles that have long characterized the governments of English speaking peoples—they were, I repeat, much more intent upon writing these great principles into their Constitution than they were upon establishing a democracy. Today their wisdom stands justified at the bar of history, and if there is any people on the face of the earth who ought not to impeach it it is that people whose very existence as a free, self-governing people was preserved by an appeal to these same political "sops" during the decade from 1866 to 1876. The framers of our Constitution realized, what many of their descendants seem too eager to forget, that without the preservation of these constitutional principles in their full vigor there can be neither liberty nor democracy in the State whether sovereignty resides in one man or whether it resides in a million men.

The government established by the Constitution of 1776 was a representative democracy in form, but in form only. In fixing the basis of representation in the law-making department it paid no attention to population. Every county was given the same number of representatives in both houses of the General Assembly, and certain towns in the House of Commons, without regard to population; and in this respect at least our first State Constitution was less democratic than the Federal Constitution that followed it eleven years later. The same thing may be said of the qualifications for suffrage and for office holding. To English statesmen of 1776—and such were the framers of our first State Constitution—manhood suffrage was a Utopian dream, interesting, perhaps, as a topic for philosophic speculation, but impossible in practical politics; and, although they conferred the right to vote for members of the House of Commons upon all freemen who had paid their taxes, they offset this concession to democracy by restricting the right to vote for State Senators to those who possessed a freehold of fifty acres. Even less democratic than this were the qualifications for office holding. No person could be a member of the House of Commons unless he possessed in the county which he represented "not less than one hundred acres of land in fee, or for the term of his own life"; no person could be a Senator unless he possessed in the county which he represented "not less than three hundred acres of land in fee"; and no person was eligible for the office of Governor unless he was possessed of "freehold in lands and tenements, above the value of one thousand pounds"—an amount comparable to a fortune in our own day of at least ten times that sum. Other undemocratic features forbade any clergyman, while in the exercise of his *pastoral*

functions, to sit in the General Assembly and imposed a sectarian test for office holding designed to exclude Roman Catholics, Jews and Atheists. The people had no voice in the selection of their public servants. The Governor and other executive officers, the Councilors of State, and the judges were all elected by the General Assembly; and the judges held office for life. No provision was made for calling a constitutional convention or for amending the Constitution in any other way, and the Constitution itself was never submitted to the people for ratification.

Undemocratic as this Constitution was in form, it was even less so in spirit. Inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the General Assembly, and membership in the General Assembly was based on a property qualification, property not men, controlled the government. The theory of property was then, as it has always been, that the best government is that which governs least. It teaches that government has fulfilled its mission when it has preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. Under the Constitution of 1776 this theory of government prevailed in North Carolina for more than half a century, a period during which the State undertook no great work for the material, intellectual or social betterment of its people; and it makes the dreariest, most uninspiring chapter in the entire history of North Carolina.

A single movement, however, beginning in the early years of this period and bringing it to a close in triumph, saves it from utter barrenness. This movement was the rise and development of democracy in North Carolina, and its origin may be traced to the influence of the Scotch-Irish in the central and western parts of the State. Measured by the twentieth century standards of democracy, the political ideals of the Scotch-Irish in 1776 were undemocratic enough; nevertheless had those ideals been expressed in our first Constitution that document would have been much more democratic than it really was. Typical of the Scotch-Irish communities was the county of Mecklenburg, which instructed its delegates to the Convention of 1776 to organize a government that should "be a simple democracy or as near it as possible." To the Scotch-Irish influence in that convention we are indebted for the division of political power in the State into three distinct departments independent of each other, legislative, executive, and judicial; for the separation of Church and State; for the clause requiring the maintenance of a university and the establishment of public schools; and for others of the more democratic features of the Constitution. It was in these Scotch-Irish communities, too, that the demand for a more democratic basis of representation in the General Assembly originated. Several years passed after the adoption of the Constitution before the

people came to understand clearly the undemocratic principles on which representation was based, or to appreciate fully its practical working. After the Revolution the center of population moved steadily westward, and this fact made necessary the erection of new counties in the West, each entitled to two Commoners and one Senator. The East, which had dominated the political life of the State on account of its larger number of counties, soon perceived the danger in which it stood of losing its political supremacy. Accordingly, to assure the continuance of its power, it followed the policy of offsetting new counties in the West by the creation of new counties in the East without regard to their population. In 1830, for instance, thirty-six of the sixty-four counties in the State were east of Raleigh. These thirty-six counties contained only forty-one per cent of the voting population of the State; yet they sent to the General Assembly fifty-eight per cent of its members. The voting population of these eastern counties was only 8.7 per cent of the total white population of the State; nevertheless this 8.7 per cent elected a majority of the Legislature by whom the Governor and all other State officials were chosen and thus controlled the government in all its branches. "The State government," says a careful student of our constitutional history, "was developing into an aristocracy based upon county representation without regard to the right of the majority to make the laws under which they lived."

This aristocracy not only affronted the democracy of the Scotch-Irish communities, it also obstructed the industrial development of the German communities in the West. The economic interests of these communities were antagonistic to the *laissez-faire* policy of the East. These interests demanded a program of State activities embracing internal improvements, improved public highways, railroads, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, public schools, and other progressive measures now universally acknowledged to be governmental in their nature. The East, resting its industrial and social system on extensive plantations and slave labor, opposed these democratic innovations, and through its control of the State government successfully opposed them for many years. The Scotch and German communities in the West, finding both their political interests and their material welfare involved in the triumph of democratic principles, demanded amendments to the Constitution so as to change the basis of representation from land to people, to give to the people directly the election of their Governor, and in other respects to make the government democratic in practice and in spirit as well as in form.

A long and bitter struggle, lasting the better part of a quarter-century, followed before democracy won its first victory. During this period a

great democratic movement, worldwide in its significance, swept over the English-speaking countries of the earth. In England it found expression in the Catholic Emancipation Act, the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire, and the Reform Bill of 1832; in America it revealed itself in the creation of new States with constitutions recognizing manhood suffrage, in the extension of the suffrage in practically all the old States, in the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, and in the growth of a strong anti-slavery sentiment in the nation. It was a movement toward democracy comparable only to that of our own time, and as North Carolina can not now, so she could not then withstand its onward sweep. In 1834 the reformers won their first victory by securing the passage of an act submitting to the people the question of calling a constitutional convention. No greater triumph for democracy was ever won in North Carolina. For the first time in their history the people were to be consulted on a great problem of government; for the first time the decision of a great political issue was referred directly to the people.

This first referendum resulted in a victory for democracy. The people called a convention, charged with the duty of purging the Constitution of its undemocratic features, and to it sent their ablest men. These men, as a rule, were in sympathy with the democratic movements of their day. They abolished borough representation. They overthrew the territorial basis of representation in the House of Commons, and adopted one resting on population. They struck out of the Constitution the sectarian test for office holding. They took the election of the Governor away from the General Assembly and gave it to the people. They made provision for amending the Constitution by submitting proposed amendments to a referendum. Finally, unlike their predecessors of 1776, they recognized the rising power of democracy by submitting their work for ratification to the people.

The influence of these changes on the industrial, intellectual and political life of the State can not easily be overestimated. They ushered in an era of progress that within the next quarter-century raised North Carolina from the lowest to the highest rank among the slave-holding States in those things that make for the material and intellectual uplift of the people. To this era belong the erection of the present State Capitol, the building of the North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the beginning of the Western North Carolina Railroad, the organization of the North Carolina Agricultural Society, the erection of the first hospital for the insane, the founding of the State School for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, the establishment of a system of public schools and the

expansion of the University from a local high school with ninety students to a real college whose five hundred students represented every State from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico. Two political institutions, brought into existence by the work of this convention, though unrecognized by the Constitution, have been potent factors in the evolution of democracy in North Carolina. One of these is the party State Convention, the other, the preëlection canvass of the State by party nominees for State offices. So long as the Governor was chosen by the Legislature, the people not only had no voice in his election, but had even less voice in selecting the party candidates. This was done by a small coterie of party leaders—in modern political parlance, the ring—whose followers in the Legislature merely ratified their choice. We may concede, and history will bear us out in doing so, that this ring-rule placed in public life many able, honorable men who would never have entered into a political scramble for office. Nevertheless it was not democracy. The change from this method of selecting party nominees to selection by a convention, in spite of all the party convention's defects, was a long step toward democratic rule. Under the former method, inasmuch as the people had no voice in deciding political issues, there was no reason for discussing them from the stump. When the election of the Governor was given to the people, however, it brought with it of necessity the preëlection campaign. Foreseeing this result, many conservative statesmen opposed the amendment changing the mode of electing Governors. One of the delegates in the convention declared that he had lately seen a gentleman from Tennessee, where the Governor was elected by the people, who told him that "candidates were traveling through the State on an electioneering campaign at expense and trouble to themselves and great annoyance to the people." Although all of us will probably admit that at times this custom has proved annoying, nevertheless none will dispute, I suppose, that it has brought the people into closer touch with their government, imposed upon them a greater responsibility in the determination of governmental policies, and greatly advanced the cause of democracy.

To such public discussion may undoubtedly be attributed the success of the next step toward democratic government in North Carolina. Though the Convention of 1835 did much fine work for democracy it did not purge the Constitution entirely of its undemocratic features. It abolished the sectarian test for office holding, but substituted for it a religious test broader, indeed, in its scope, but sufficiently undemocratic in its limitations. It abolished the equal representation of counties in the Senate but it adopted a scheme of representation by districts, based not on population but on the value of property assessed for taxation; and

it did not disturb the property qualification for the right to vote for State Senators. The Senate, therefore, was left as the representative of property, not people. It was against this provision of the Constitution that democracy made its next fight. The movement to abolish the property qualification for electors for Senators, like the movement for the reforms of 1835, originated in the Scotch-Irish counties of the State. It became the leading issue in four political campaigns, thrice suffering defeat before its advocates succeeded in forcing a referendum, thus assuring its triumph. With the adoption of this reform both branches of the law-making power, as well as the chief of the executive department, were brought under the direct control of the people.

The triumphs of democratic principles which we have been considering until now were the results of growth from within; those which we are next to consider were the results of force from without. The changes made in the Constitution by the conventions of 1865 and 1868, as the result of the Civil War, which were in line with the development of democracy as I have traced it, have become permanent features of our government. The most important of these were the abolition of slavery, the removal of all religious tests for office holding, the placing of the election of all State and county officers, judicial as well as executive, in the hands of the people, the overthrow of the life tenure of judges, and the striking out of all property qualifications for voting and holding office. Had those conventions stopped there, history would undoubtedly have pronounced their work good. But unfortunately they were controlled by men either ignorant or defiant of the history, traditions and character of the people for whom they were framing a government; and in the name of democracy they incorporated in the Constitution other features that were revolutionary rather than evolutionary. The endowment of the negro with the suffrage, though apparently an application of a democratic principle, was really antagonistic to the growth of genuine democracy. It invited disaster to democratic institutions by conferring power upon the unfittest in the State without providing means for their training in self-government. Self-government, if it means anything, means self-restraint,—self-restraint in the exercise of political power not merely by individuals but by large masses of people acting as a unit, and self-restraint is the very essence of democracy. The attempt in 1868 to force the forms of democracy upon a people who knew nothing of its essence proved disastrous to democratic institutions and arrested the progress of democracy for at least a generation. The people of North Carolina were forced to await the course of events before the time was ripe for the correction of the evil and then by the last change which they have made in the Constitution they conserved the in-

terest of democracy by restricting the suffrage to those qualified to exercise it properly, while at the same time they left the way open for all men to prepare themselves for this highest privilege to be enjoyed in a democracy.

It is evident, I think, from the foregoing discussion, that the Constitutional development of North Carolina has been a conservative but steady growth toward the realization of the purpose of the men of Mecklenburg in 1776—"to have a simple democracy as far as possible." Every restriction placed upon suffrage and eligibility to office by the Constitution of 1776 has been removed, the election of the officials in all three of the great departments of government has been placed in the hands of the people; the referendum has been introduced and approved by the courts, while the initiative and other methods of ascertaining and enforcing the will of the people are being held in reserve for use if conditions shall arise demanding them. The influences that I have traced in the development of these democratic principles are as potent today as at any time in our history, and must be reckoned with by those of us who desire a continuation of this development. The democracy that we now enjoy is a perfectly natural evolution out of the history, character and life conditions of the people of North Carolina. If this natural process of evolution is permitted to go on without interruption from outside forces, democracy will continue to go forward approaching ever nearer and nearer to the democratic ideal; but if any effort is made to force the people of this State to wear the ready made garments of the democracy of other communities without regard to their fit, it will as inevitably arrest the progress of democracy among us in the twentieth century as it did in the nineteenth. Democracy is a sentiment, a spirit, and not a form of government. "The mere machinery of democracy," as an eminent English writer has recently said, "is nothing. It is of value only as it avails to express the spirit of a people; and if that spirit is set on vain things, on amassing wealth which it has not the taste or judgment to spend, on the acquisition of territory which it does not need, or on the unreal show of military glory, then neither the ballot box nor the party machine will help it. But if it cares for things of more humdrum sound, but of more vital meaning, to combat disease at its source, to make of the city a thing of beauty and comfort for the people instead of a home of dirt and din, to secure for every willing worker a fair share of the fruits of his work, and to provide out of the surplus for those who have fallen by the way, then it has a will that is worth expressing, and the forms of political democracy give it the means of realization." Let us not forget, however, that it is not more fatal to real democracy to force the spirit of a people to remain encased in forms of government

which it has outgrown, than it is to force upon it forms of government for which it is not ready. To do either is to force democracy to run its race in hobble skirts.

Another important characteristic of the evolution of democratic institutions in North Carolina is that democracy at every stage of its growth, save one, has recognized the existence of certain great principles of right, justice and liberty, fundamental, eternal and unchanging, which even it can not overthrow with impunity, but for its own salvation must maintain unimpaired at all hazards. These fundamental principles are the "fetiches" which excite so much contempt among modern reformers. As for myself, if to hold in deepest reverence these great political principles upon which not only liberty, but democracy itself is dependent, is to worship a "fetich," then I plead guilty of the sacrilege, if sacrilege it be. If I am to be deprived of my life, liberty, or property otherwise than "by the law of the land,"—or by "due process of law"—it is no comfort to me to know that the outrage was perpetrated by the tyranny of a million despots instead of a single despot. No one will dispute the proposition that in every self-governing community, the well considered will of the majority of those upon whom political power is conferred must ultimately prevail; nevertheless it has always been a cardinal principle with English-speaking peoples that before any majority is fit for the task of self-government it must accept certain fundamental principles as restraints imposed upon its own will for the protection of the minority against wrong and injustice. To destroy these principles, no matter in what manner, or in whose name the destruction may be wrought, is to destroy at a single blow the foundation of both liberty and democracy.

Thus I have attempted to point out the historical foundations of our present day democracy in North Carolina. It remains for us to consider very briefly the democracy of the future. First of all, What is democracy? Lincoln defines democracy as a scheme of government that is builded on three political principles as its corner stones. Democracy is first of all government of the people. It is secondly government by the people. It is lastly government for the people. Government of the people we have always had in North Carolina. We have now, as I have attempted to show, government by the people. However, if changes in our present methods of ascertaining the will of the people be found necessary for more effectively accomplishing that purpose no good reason can be urged against them unless it can be shown that they will undermine and weaken the great fundamental principles upon which our democracy is founded; but wise statesmanship will not confound these nonessentials, these mere forms of democracy, with the thing itself. Democracy is primarily government for the people; and to achieve this

is the great work of the immediate future in North Carolina. The great tasks of our generation are to make our State government less an agent for repressive measures and a more effective agent for progressive measures; a government resting on a revenue system, yielding an ample income for all its legitimate purposes, in which the burdens of taxation are so adjusted that every man shall contribute his proportionate share, and neither more nor less than his proportionate share toward its support; a government that shall shift its chief emphasis from courts and constables and prisons to farms and workshops and homes; a government in whose councils politics shall yield first place to the protection of childhood, the education of youth, and the conservation of the manhood and the womanhood of the State; a government that will recognize no higher duty than the enforcement of the laws of sanitation and the protection of the lives of its people from the insidious attacks of disease; a government that is concerned less in the size and wealth of its towns and cities than it is in directing their growth while they are yet small into centers of health and beauty and social comfort and industrial prosperity; a government that will lend its every effort to the reclamation of its wasted soils, the restoration of its forests, the construction of modern highways, and to the building of "a more complete and enduring rural civilization, where strong and vigorous manhood is reared and where the rarest and purest forms of womanhood are in bloom"; a government in which not only is no man so high that the law will not be enforced against him, but also, in the eloquent language of Governor Aycock, that higher and finer thing, a government in which "no man is so low that it shall not reach down to him to lift him up if may be and set him on his feet again and bid him Godspeed to better things."

The Country Man

ADDRESS OF WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR OF THE WORLD'S WORK, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 3, 1912.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Speaking of literature I should like to call your attention to a striking fact. The historians of literature entertain us with explanations how it happened. You will read of the spacious times of great Elizabeth, how it was an era of unprecedented adventure. Every man dreamed dreams of great fortunes and of good fighting and of fountains of youth beyond the seas. It was a time of intellectual ferment. And it was these unusual conditions that produced Shakespeare. Anybody can see how a Shakespeare was bound to come out of a life like this.

So, too, about the great outburst of Roman literature in the time of Augustus. Rome was acknowledged the mistress of the world. Such a state of political society was bound to produce great poets. Anybody can see that.

A similar argument is made about the Periclean Era of Athens. You couldn't have prevented a great literature then if you had tried.

The great Russian novelists of the last century are explained on a wholly different basis. Men's activities were so suppressed in Russia that they had to dream. There was nothing else to do. That, therefore, was an ideal soil for great fiction.

Nothing has happened in literature but it admits of an easy and obvious explanation—after the event. But I have not found any historian who foretold a time of rich production. Their explanations all work backward and never forward. It would be a great satisfaction to know just when or under what conditions a great outburst of literature will come in North Carolina; for then we might prepare for its coming and make sure that we should recognize it when it comes. I think that no people has ever recognized its greatest literature when it first appeared.

Now I am going to have the audacity to make such a prediction. A prophet is reasonably safe so long as he omits dates. I shall not give a date, and I am sure that as a literary prophet I can not cut a more amusing figure than most of our old friends, the historians of literature.

How, then, may we go about stimulating literary production in North Carolina? No doubt there are many ways; but I am going to venture a guess at two ways. One is by care of our land, and the other is by the care of our people. For I suspect that, after we have made all possible explanations of literature, the coming of a man with the right

kind of eyes in his head and the right kind of words on his tongue has something to do with it.

As for the care of the land—We have long wearied ourselves and the rest of the world by boasting of our particular slope of earth from our mountains to our sea. But it is one thing to boast about it and quite another thing to appreciate it and properly to care for it. You have, of course, observed that men who were born here, and have gone away and wandered over many lands and lived long elsewhere and come back again—you have, of course, observed how the beauty of the land smites them afresh. I should like to add my own experience to this general experience; for every time that I have come back here from any part of the United States or from any foreign land, the tonic of our air and the blue of our sky and the slope of our hills and the quiet richness of our lowlands, even to the ocean, thrust themselves afresh upon me. It is a good land to live in and, when one must die, a good land to die in. As men grow older (you will agree with me), we become more sensitive to a landscape, to a climate, to a sunset, to the azure heavens, to the smell of the earth, and to the bloom and perfume of our forests and fields. Really to feel and to know that Nature gave us every riot of her bounty—this is one thing—really to appreciate this priceless and incomparable gift of God.

But it is quite another thing properly to care for it and to make plans for saving and wisely using it, not only during our lifetime, but for all time to come, for men and women will be here millions of years after we are forgotten. Literature? Here is a hint. Describe our beneficent land as it is now. If you do that well enough, you will have readers after every man now living is forgotten.

To care for our land properly involves a wise and far seeing policy, national, State, county, and individual. We have begun the purchase of a great national forest reserve in our mountains—wisely. We have begun to make our mountains accessible. We have begun to appreciate the value of streams and trees. Our future history depends on the wisdom with which we work out such plans. There is not a foot of our land that is not precious and that may not be made healthful and beautiful. There is a part of this State known as Moore County. Forty years ago it was considered good to hold the rest of the earth together.

Well, Moore County has built roads, starting nowhere and going nowhere—the best automobile roads that I have found in any country; and men are coming from far and near to make the land bloom along those roads. And Moore County has authorized the building of a parkway—a continuous hardy garden, if you please—along these thoroughfares. Now nobody knew either the natural beauty of the country or

the possibilities of gardens till it was made possible to drive over the county in automobiles. Planting a public garden along roads that run through a wilderness of pine stumps and blackjacks—that, ladies and gentlemen, gives a hint of what I mean by caring for our land and preserving it. And what will you plant in such gardens of endless sand? They go to the swamp and find flowering shrubs enough to make gardens that may become famous the world over.

May I commend a survey of North Carolina that shall show the chances of doing such things on every mile of our soil? Such a survey as an engineer or a landscape architect would make for a park? We have a park—that is all that the whole State is.

We have come to a place in our development where we need to make sure that our whole land shall be wisely cared for. That is one way towards a great literature.

Do you know how much good literature has been written about Devonshire, in England? Go there and you will see why. And you will discover that hedges and lawns and roads and lanes have had one thousand years to increase in beauty since Englishmen first began to use that land well.

Now the next way to the production of literature, in my audacious prediction, is to care for our people; and our people are country people. We have no cities yet and are not likely to have the great evils of great cities for many a year to come. In this, also, God is very good to us.

Our fundamental task here is to make the countryman, the man in the fields, prosperous, care free, and happy. I can see how that would so change our life and the spirit of our life that some effervescence of joy would be bound to find fit expression. If this seem a long and indirect journey, I pray your patience while I explain certain things that you already know; and let us see where we may land after a little adventure, which at first may weary you, as most promising adventures do.

I now come to my mutton by a different path in the pasture, if you will follow me.

The two great economic facts of the last century that affected life in the United States were these:

First, the unprecedented rush of men to the farm which was caused by the homestead acts. The government gave away a domain of vast extent on conditions easy without parallel in human history; and millions of men from every part of the older States and from the Old World settled our great agricultural area. There never was before such a rush of men to the land. They grew a great deal more surplus wheat and corn than we needed. Decade after decade our chief export was food

products. In a word, they overdid the business of farming. There were far too many farmers in proportion to our population. There was, therefore, in the next generation and the next a reverse movement—a movement of the young fellows from the farms to the towns. Farming was too poorly paid a business for them. At the same time it so happened at first that the towns had a use for these young fellows; it was the first great era of our city building. Railroads had brought great business chances in the towns; and soon we run against the second great economic fact of the century.

This second economic fact was the development of all the great new machinery of modern life—railroads, telegraphs, telephones, banks, chains of banks, great corporations, trusts—all the vast machinery of doing business quickly and in great volume which has made our methods so different from the methods of our grandfathers.

Recall a fact like this: My father as a boy went with my grandfather's caravan of wagons, loaded with cotton, all the way from Wake County to Petersburg, Va., to sell it—over miserable roads, camping by the roadside at night and taking a week to make the journey either way; and in those days hogsheads of tobacco were rolled from Granville County to market at Petersburg. Now think of all the organization of business that came between that primitive time and our own day. That is what I mean by the modern reorganization of the world.

Well, all the business organization of the world was done in the towns for obvious reasons. A town is an organization; it is that fact which distinguishes it from the country. In the country every farm stands alone. It has very few relations to any other. In the city, trade, finance, social life—everything is organized, from the Board of Trade to the Daughters of Rebekah.

The town is organized life: the country is unorganized life. That's the difference that counts.

Add to that fact this other fact—that most of the towns of the United States were becoming organized first when farming was greatly overdone and consequently underpaid.

It was in this condition of things that men of my own age were born. The most enterprising men were going to the town. The least enterprising were staying in the country. This was the period when the average farmer was a mere clodhopper, a hayseed, a man who managed his little resources so badly that he was in debt to somebody in the town. Somebody in the town taxed him and owned him; and of course that made his lot worse and worse. What he ought to have had as his own profit went as profit to some master in some town.

But pretty soon two other great things came to pass.

Science was applied to agriculture and agricultural machinery was developed. These gave farming a new meaning and a new life.

At the same time our population grew so fast that it began to catch up with our agricultural production. Farm products now form a very small part of our exports. We are on the edge of the importation of food. We use all that we can grow. The farmer gets prices that yield him a profit and he has become a greatly more efficient farmer. The rise in the value of farm lands tells the story. It doubled during the last decade and it keeps rising in price. We are in sight of the day of the dominant farmer. And we are on the edge of the most interesting of all economic conditions in our history—we are coming within sight of the conditions when the equilibrium between town and country will be set up; when each will serve the other and neither will have an undue advantage of the other; when, in a word, American life will cease to be lopsided. And to help bring about this equilibrium is not only the most important thing that men now living have to do but it is the most interesting thing. And I know of no part of the United States where it can be better done than in this commonwealth.

The first aim is to make farm life more prosperous. A man who has no margin of profit can not do much for himself, nor can you do much for him—till he has bettered his condition. To make the farmer more prosperous is the first task.

Now the best method of doing that that was ever hit on in the whole history of the world was the simple and fundamental method of field demonstration worked out by Dr. Knapp. That simple, great old man deserves better of his country than any other man of his time, for he conferred on it a greater benefit than any other man. His method of instruction is now applied in Maine and in North Dakota. There is, in fact, no other method of making better farmers of all the men who now till the earth.

It is more than teaching: it goes a step further: it is organization. Remember that the one big problem of our time is the proper organization of country life. Corn clubs and canning clubs—these are the first steps in the organization of both men and women. And these lead us to the very door of several kinds of economic organization that other countries have already applied and worked out.

One such kind of organization is coöperative buying and selling. This helped Denmark to leap from the place of one of the poorest nations of Europe to the place of the most evenly distributed prosperity, as Mr. Poe has told us. As we go now, the farmer throws away a great profit by his lack of organized selling. You can work it out for yourself. I venture to say that the farmers of North Carolina throw away a great

every year to pay a big dividend on the market price of the tilled land in the State by not buying and selling in compact organizations. This sum is wasted—millions of money—in wrongly directed transportation and in unscientific marketing and buying costs.

Next comes organization for borrowing money for productive farm uses. Now what can be done for men or by men who are below the credit line? Especially what can such a man who lives in the country do to give him the benefit of as efficient organization as the town man has? The most fundamental advantage that the town man has over the country man is his access to money to do his business with.

And now we come to the starting point of the whole matter. The town has taken the surplus capital of the country for its own enterprises and activities and the country man can not get the capital that he needs to do his work with efficiency. And the still deeper trouble is, he hasn't as a rule yet learned to use it wisely if he had it. Now it is this fundamental problem that I especially invite your attention to. And I am willing to declare that if every acre of good land in North Carolina were skillfully tilled by the man that owns it, if the man that owns it were a good business man (that is, if he knew how to use money productively) and if he could get all the money that he could use productively so that he could cultivate his land to the very highest degree and make all the economics that the possession of capital permits—if you can imagine every productive acre in the hands of such a capable man with capital enough for his uses—men and brethren, what would that mean? Calculate it if you can, but you can't calculate it. There would be such plenty and such wealth and such ability and such leisure and such a state of society as no dreamer has ever dreamed of. For there is potential wealth enough between our mountains and our ocean—wealth in the soil—to put every civilization in history to shame.

More than that: the men who are now here are capable of developing it, or of beginning its right development so that more and more good men would come till we had the richest commonwealth in the world—especially since Dr. Ferrell's good work is removing one of the oldest enemies of mankind.

The job is to build up the man and he will build up the soil.

The first thing is to enable him to get money enough for his task. You can't give him money if you had it, for he would not use it wisely. How, then, can you enable him at once to get money and to use it wisely?

I will tell you a little story that Dr. Knapp told me which throws light on the subject. One Sunday he found himself in a village in one of the cotton States and he went to church with the friend at whose house he stayed. The preacher made an elaborate explanation of the

debts and needs of the church. The roof leaked; some of the benches needed mending. They must raise \$100 in some way. The Mothers' Sewing and Cradle Society had generously arranged to hold a fair and to give an oyster supper (canned oysters, of course); and the parson hoped the community would generously patronize this work of the good sisters. That was the conventional way to do the thing—to wring \$100 from the people who didn't have it to give and didn't wish to give it if they had.

It filled this wise and good old man with pity. After church he walked about the village with his friend. It was in the early spring. He saw a field not very far from the church that had not been planted the year before. "Whose field is that?" "Mr. Johnson's." "To what church does he belong?" "To the church that we attended." "Is he a good citizen, a generous, right-spirited man?" "Yes, pretty good. He didn't plant that field because he expected to sell it."

Well, the upshot of it was, Dr. Knapp went to see Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson said of course he would give one year's use of the field to the church, if that would do any good. The men of the church—rather, I should say, the husbands of the women of the church—agreed to work the field. So did the young people of the Sunday School. Dr. Knapp sent them enough selected cotton seed to plant it and one of his demonstrators to show them how to do it. Everybody volunteered a day's work. It was a frolic—a sort of picnic to work the church field. The fair and oyster supper yielded less than \$20 net and everybody begrudged the money. The field of cotton brought more than \$200 and everybody felt glad that he had worked a day or a half-day in it.

One method created something. The other merely robbed people of what they had. Nobody wanted canned oysters. Everybody wished to learn how to grow as good cotton as that village lot produced. That church was the country man.

Now, to come back, how can you give him the money he needs and teach him to use it?

The thing is so simple that you will not believe it. Let me tell you how it has been done in Germany, where it was begun sixty years ago.

There was a man in Germany sixty years ago named Raiffeisen, a burgomaster, who got it into his head that the debt-ridden and usurer-owned small German farmer could be helped out of his helpless condition by united action. He was a dreamer and a prophet, this Raiffeisen; and against the greatest odds and continuous discouragement he preached his doctrine, was laughed at and regarded as impracticable. At last he organized a society of poor farmers who would band themselves together to borrow small sums of money under the peculiar conditions that he

laid down and he found somebody who would lend them money—in all less than \$150 on these peculiar conditions. Then and there started the great economic movement that has made the German people. That is not too much to say. We speak of the German universities as the great makers of Germany, and of their technical schools. The German farmer makes them.

The Raiffeisen credit societies have of course been described many times. An incomplete and somewhat technical description of them will be found in a speech by Senator Fletcher, of Florida, reprinted from the Congressional Record of August 14, 1912.

They are organizations of farmers to borrow money on these terms:

Every member of a local society binds himself for all the debts of all the other members to the society. There is an unlimited liability. Every society is strictly local so that every member will and must know every other member and can have a friendly and neighborly knowledge of his methods of doing business; and it is directly to the interest of every member to help every other member to make his loan profitable.

Every borrower must use the borrowed money for some directly productive purpose approved by the committee of management; and he may use it for nothing else.

Here you will observe you have an organization that in some important respects is directly the antithesis of the joint stock company with which we are familiar and which colors all our thought.

A joint stock company (an incorporated company or corporation, as we call it) is an organization of capital to hire men. A Raiffeisen credit society is an organization of men to hire money.

A corporation is a company to make as much money as possible. A Raiffeisen credit society is an organization to make as little money as money can be borrowed for on the safest possible terms.

A corporation is a company in which shareholders are usually liable only for the amount of their stock. In a Raiffeisen society a member is liable for all the debts to the society of all the members.

A corporation is a machine to make money. A Raiffeisen credit society is a machine to make men—by training them to use money; to bring men who are below the credit line above it; to give the small farmer a chance to command capital and at least as good terms as the city merchant and manufacturer.

Of course there are many other forms of organization whereby farmers borrow money. There are societies whose members mortgage their land and the society issues debentures against these mortgages, which thus make mortgage values liquid—set them in general circulation. But there is no other form of organization to procure credit which so helps

to build up the borrower and to make him a good business man as the Raiffeisen method.

And what our country man wants is not only money. He wants help. He doesn't know how to manage money. But if his neighbors put themselves in the same boat with him and they all work together, the experience of more than half a century has shown that they all learn how to manage money—become economic men and get themselves above the credit line. These societies grew in Germany from 1,700 in 1890 to 15,000 in 1910. The average number of members of each society is 92. In 1909 they lent to their members more than two hundred millions of dollars and they had outstanding loans of more than four hundred million dollars.

The losses are less than in the usual forms of bank loans—a good deal less. In a word, poor country men when thus banded together for mutual help become the safest borrowers in the world—better than governments, or railroads, or cities, or States.

The credit societies spread from one country to another till they have covered the greater part of Europe except England and Russia. The Italian farmer has been made over, as the German and Belgian farmer has been saved by them. The transactions of these societies in Italy have become one of the great banking enterprises of the kingdom. They have been organized even in India. In Ireland they play an important part in the regeneration of the people and in the building up of the land.

Sir Horace Plunkett, the great leader of Irish regeneration, explained them to me by describing neighborhoods that had been transformed by such a society. The men were quarrelsome—more quarrelsome were their wives. No family had much to do with any neighboring family—except to criticise it. And they were all hopelessly poor.

After they were organized into a credit society, Pat borrowed \$50 to buy an additional cow and Mike \$50 to buy additional land and so on. Pat and Mike had despised one another and had expressed the polite opinion that neither was worth hell-room, which Sir Horace, himself an Irishman, remarked was true.

Very well: in a little while Mike concluded he'd go to see Pat and see how he was getting on with his new cow. For they were equally bound to pay for her. Bridget was doing very well with the cow. Bridget wasn't such an infernally quarrelsome woman after all. Pat soon returned the call to see what Mike was doing with his new land. Mike was working it pretty well. There might be something good in that fellow after all. And so all around those quarrelsome neighborhood families came to know one another by helping one another and by being

bound in a common bond. The whole community changed. They organized themselves for other purposes. They saved themselves and they can now command capital for any productive uses they have.

There are historic changes similar to this that have taken place in German neighborhoods.

But I do not wish to leave the impression that these credit societies are only for men who have fallen low in the economic and social scale. They are for all men on farms. They are simply machinery to get money in small sums on long loans at low interest—money to put into productive uses on the land, good alike for rich and poor.

And they have this supreme advantage over any mere mortgage plan of borrowing—they band men together so that they are obliged to help one another.

Consider this difference. A man mortgages his land and gets money. He doesn't even like to let his neighbors know that he has done such a thing. He carries his burden alone.

Another man pledges himself to help his neighbors borrow and his neighbor returns the compliment. They are both in the same boat. Not only does each know the other's condition: each is bound to help the other. There's a world of difference.

The fundamental problem of all is the building up of the country man. The main task in building up the country man is to enable him to get money to develop his land and to train him to the safe and wise use of money. See where this would lead. There is hardly an acre of land in North Carolina that would not well repay the wise investment of more money on it. Most of the acres in cultivation are bound to have money spent on them before they can yield good profits. And only a small part of the land in North Carolina is yet under any kind of cultivation at all.

Try to calculate the sum of money that could be wisely spent on all the arable land in North Carolina if it were all worked by men who knew their business and could manage money wisely—what a vast sum this investment calls for! Well, it's obliged to come; the sooner it comes the sooner shall we come into the wealth that awaits us. This is our great task and the task of several generations that come after us. Our wealth and our well being will increase as fast as we do it.

I have no doubt that the principle of the Raiffeisen credit society will be adopted in North Carolina sooner or later. I have come here to see if we may not do ourselves the honor to adopt it here before anybody else in the United States adopts it.

The farm demonstration organization leads in the right direction. These unselfish men are directly preparing the way for such credit societies. They bring men to the very door of such a thought.

The difficult part of the task is to make a beginning. To make a beginning two things are necessary—first, to find a community of farmers who are willing to borrow money cheap and for a long time on such conditions, each to pledge himself for the other's debt. Let them organize. Let them appoint a managing committee. Let the managing committee pass on the applications and reject or approve them. Let them select a cashier, who is the only paid officer of the organization and who is, in fact, little more than a responsible bookkeeper.

Then the money must be got at first from some outside source. In a little while these societies will have money of their own, for their members would deposit their earnings with them as in a savings bank. But at first somebody must lend the money.

Let us come down to practical action. We do not get far by merely discussing the general principle. Call a meeting in Raleigh of men who are willing to lend a little money at six per cent for say four years on this best of all security, to be paid back in installments; and let us get together a few thousand dollars. Then find a neighborhood in the country where men will band themselves together in the way I have described to borrow it and to put it to productive uses. Neither of these tasks will be hard to do.

You will start a great movement and make a great chapter in North Carolina history. You will be surprised to find how rapidly the idea will grow and spread and how many millions of dollars will very soon go through these channels to the productive development of the soil and to the making of our farmers into business men.

I should like the honor of being among the first group formed either to lend money in this way or I should like to have the honor to be one of the first group of borrowers, or I should be willing to be both. We need money down in Richmond and Moore counties where I have a farm, every man of us who has land there. I am not afraid to join my fortunes with the fortunes of my best neighbors and agree (all for each) to borrow your money for productive uses. I am not afraid to lend money to any such group of men in Wake County or in any county in the State.

Let us try it. And while we perfect our arrangements, let some good North Carolina lawyer who loves his fellows look into the State statutes to see what enactment may be needed to legalize this sort of a transaction, and if any be necessary, let us ask the incoming Legislature to enact it.

This is a wide vista—to work to the securing of capital enough properly to develop all the productive land in North Carolina, and at the same time to develop all the men on the land.

But this is only the beginning of such an enterprise. Remember that

this would require many hundreds of millions of dollars, that it would be invested productively, that it would be more safely secured than any other money that men now invest; and remember that every borrower of it would be using it not only to make his own independence but also to train himself and all his neighbors into better business habits, into a higher financial character and a greater economic force. All this is much. But there is another great task that this would do.

You have heard of a money trust in the United States or of a credit trust—an irresistible force which draws all our movable money into the reach of great money barons for their own uses, legitimate and speculative. Congress investigates this grave problem; politicians discuss it; economists write about it.

This great trust is not a consciously malevolent body of men who sat down and deliberately made this machinery that draws our money within their uses. It is the natural and necessary result of our financial and economic organization—of the organization by the town for the town.

Suppose we set a plan afoot which would draw one hundred million dollars to North Carolina farms. Suppose every other undeveloped rural State did the same thing. Then we should not hear more of a great national money trust. Our money would not be moved to New York. On the contrary, New York money would seek us because of the great safety of this form of investment which we had to offer.

A by-product of the proper organization of country finance would be the removal of our greatest financial evil.

It is always so when you set one class of men free here, you soon discover that you have set another class free somewhere else. Freedom begets freedom. And the only real freedom is economic freedom. The only sound basis of life is a sound economic basis.

We need money—incalculable millions of money—to save and rightly to use, to develop and to make beautiful this great heritage of ours. What have we to attract money, to pay money to come to us? We have our land and our country men. Money runs after a strong man. A little man runs after money; and money runs from a fool.

Now if the honest country men of North Carolina who own their own land will band together, trusting one another, and will borrow money to use in productively developing their land, they will be stronger than Wall Street or than any money trust. Money always runs to safe places. If we make this place safe, it will come to us. We can empty the savings banks; we can tap the great insurance funds; we can draw men and money from all the world. We need only so to preserve and to develop our land as to make it the most famous land in the world and so to use

money in getting riches out of it as to prove that it is the safest land in the world—and that our country men are the safest people.

And do you want literature? With this result you will have something better than literature; but literature will come along with the other arts.

For all things come in a great democracy of men who trust one another, a democracy that really believes in itself and that rests on a care free, happy people who till their own soil well. For this is the only form of wealth and the only basis of happiness that can not pass.

North Carolina Bibliography for 1912

REPORT BY MISS MINNIE W. LEATHERMAN, SECRETARY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
LIBRARY COMMISSION, TO THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

In the first place I want to apologize for any sins of omission which this bibliography may betray, and to ask to be informed of any item, or items, which I may unwittingly omit. Anyone attempting the compilation of such a bibliography is confronted with certain difficulties at the outset; but the *North Carolina Review* is of inestimable benefit in this connection, and I take pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to this publication.

The bibliography is arranged under the following heads: : General; Fiction; Compilations, Editions and Translations; Textbooks; and Continuations. Works are arranged alphabetically by author under each head.

I. GENERAL.

- CHESHIRE, RT. REV. JOSEPH BLOUNT. *The Church in the Confederate States; a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States.* Longmans (December 14), 1911. 291 pages, D., \$1.50 net.
- CONNOR, ROBERT DIGGES WIMBERLY and POE, C. H. *Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock.* Doubleday, 1912. 369 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.50; leather, \$2.50.
- ELLIS, ALEXANDER CASWELL and KYLE, E. J. *Fundamentals of Farming and Farm Life.* Scribner. 557 pages, illustrated.
- HAHN, GEORGE W. *Catawba Soldier of the Civil War.* Hickory, Clay Printing Company, 1911. 385 pages, illustrated, O., \$1.70.
- HOENE, HERMAN HARRELL. *Free Will and Human Responsibility: A Philosophical Argument.* Macmillan, 1912. 197 pages, D., \$1.50 net.
- JOHNSTON, CHARLES HUGHES. *High School Education; Professional Treatments of the Administrative, Supervisory, and Specifically Pedagogical. Functions of Secondary Education, with Special Reference to American Conditions.* Scribner, 1912. 555 pages, D., \$1.50 net.
- LYLE, SAMUEL HARLEY, JR. *By-Ways Franklin, North Carolina.* Published by the author, 1912. 28 pages, O., paper, 50 cents net.
- MCBEE, SILAS. *An Eirenic Itinerary: Impressions of Our Tour; with Addresses and Papers on the Unity of Christian Churches.* Longmans (November), 1911. 227 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.00 net.

- MOOSE, J. ROBERT. *Village Life in Korea*. Nashville, Publishing House M. E. Church, South (September), 1911. 242 pages, O., \$1.00.
- PEMBERTON, VIRGINIA CARROLL. *Letters From Italy, Switzerland, and Germany*. Cincinnati. Jennings, 1912. 196 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.
- POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. *Where Half the World is Waking Up; the Old and the New in Japan, China, the Philippines, and India; reported with special reference to American conditions*. Doubleday (December), 1911. 276 pages, illustrated, O., \$1.25 net.
- POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. Joint Author. See Connor, Robert Digges Wimberly.
- RAPER, CHARLES LEE. *Railway Transportation: a History of Its Economics and of Its Relation to the States; Based, with the Author's Permission, upon President Hadley's "Railroad Transportation: Its History and Its Laws."* Putnam, 1912. 331 pages, O., \$1.50 net.
- SHEPHERD, HENRY ELLIOTT. *Representative Authors of Maryland, from the Earliest Time to the Present Day; With Biographical Notes and Comments Upon Their Work*. Whitehall Publishing Company (May 15), 1911. 234 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.50.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. *American Short Story*. Ginn, 1912. 50 pages, D., 60 cents net. School edition, 50 cents net.
- This is Chapter XVI of his *Die Amerikanische Literatur*.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. *Die Amerikanische Literatur; vorlesungen gehalten an der koeniglichen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universitat zu Berlin*. Lemcke, 1912. 388 pages, D., \$1.65 net.

II. FICTION.

- DIXON, THOMAS, JR. *Sins of the Father; a Romance of the South*. Appleton, 1912. 462 pages, illustrated, D., \$1.35 net.
- MORGAN, ALICE. *Boy Who Brought Christmas; illustrated by John Jackson*. Doubleday (October), 1911. 139 pages, D. Boards, 50 cents net.
- ROBINSON, CELLA MYROVER. *Rowena's Happy Summer; with pictures by Hope Dunlap*. Rand, McNally, 1912. 104 pages, D., 60 cents net.
- TIERNAN, MRS. FRANCES CHRISTINE (Fisher). (Christian Reid, pseud). *Light of the Vision*. Notre Dame, Ave Maria Press, 1911. 362 pages, D., \$1.25.
- Noel: *A Christmas Story*. Columbia Press, 1911. 10 cents.
- Wargrave Trust, Benziger (November), 1911. 384 pages, D., \$1.25.

III. COMPILATIONS, EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS.

- GRIMES, J. BRYAN, Compiler. North Carolina Wills and Inventories, Copied from Original and Recorded Wills and Inventories in the Office of the Secretary of State. Edwards & Broughton, 1912. 578 pages, O., \$3.00.
- HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD, and HENDERSON, MRS. BARBARA. Translators. Bontroux, Emile. William James; translated from the second edition. Longmans, 1912. 126 pages, D., \$1.00 net.
- REGISTER OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA. Raleigh. Printed for the Society (Edwards & Broughton), 1912. 233 pages.
- ROYSTER, JAMES F., Editor. Shakespeare, William. Love's Labour's Lost. Macmillan, 1912. 149 pages (Tudor Shakespeare).

IV. TEXTBOOKS.

- BROOKS, EUGENE CLYDE, Compiler and Editor. North Carolina Poems; selected and edited with an introduction, notes, and biographical sketches. Raleigh, North Carolina Education, 1912. 160 pages; paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.00.
- FULTON, MAURICE GARLAND. Expository Writing; Materials for a College Course in Exposition by Analysis and Imitation. Macmillan, 1912. 555 pages, D., \$1.40 net.
- HOWE, GEORGE. Latin Sight Reader. Raleigh, Thompson Publishing Company, 1912. 87 pages, D., \$1.50.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO, Editor. Selections from Huxley. Holt, 1912. 151 pages, S., 35 cents net. (English readings for schools).

V. CONTINUATIONS.

JAMES SPRUNT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS:

Volume X, No. 1, Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick.

Volume X, No. 2, Bartlett Yancey, by George A. Anderson; The Political and Professional Career of Bartlett Yancey, by J. G. de R. Hamilton; Letters to Bartlett Yancey, edited by Dr. Hamilton.

NORTH CAROLINA YEARBOOK AND BUSINESS DIRECTORY, 1912. *News and Observer*. 564 pages, map, D., \$2.00.

WEEKS, STEPHEN B. Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, Volume 3, M-R. Charlotte, Observer Printing House, 1911.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET:

Volume XI, No. 3, Connor, R. D. W., "Sir Walter Raleigh and His Associates" Collier, "Governor Benjamin Smith"; Haywood, M., "Story of Queen's College."

Volume XI, No. 4, Connor, H. G., "James Iredell, 1751-1799"; Smith, C. L., "Davidson Caldwell, Teacher, Preacher, Patriot"; Connor, R. D. W., "Governor Samuel Johnston."

Volume XII, No. 1. Wiley, Calvin H., "Swannanoa"; McNeely, R. N., "Union County and the Old Waxhaw Settlement"; Haywood, M. deL., "The Masonic Revolutionary Patriots of North Carolina"; Diary of George Washington; Cameron, Rebecca, "A Partisan Leader in 1776."

Volume XII, No. 2, Henderson, Archibald, "Elizabeth Maxwell Steel: Patriot"; Patterson, Mrs. Lindsay, "Palmyra in the Hoppy Valley"; Cobb, Collier, "Forests of North Carolina"; Trinity College Historical Society, "Annual Publication of Historical Papers, Series IX."

The *North Carolina Review*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *North Carolina Education*, *North Carolina Library Bulletin*, and the magazines of the various colleges and universities have been issued as usual. The *Alumni Review* is a new publication of the University of North Carolina.

It may be of some slight interest to compare the foregoing with the literary output of the entire United States. As a critic has recently said, "Books are still being published in this country." Statistics for the present year are not yet available, but last year there were published 10,400, an average of about 206 for each State. Considering the number of new books from the standpoint of population North Carolina should have produced about 260 books. To her credit be it said that she is responsible for only 31. We are not so much concerned with quantity as with quality. A State that has to her credit in a single year such books as Bishop Cheshire's, Dr. Smith's, Professor Horne's, Dr. Raper's, Mr. Poe's, Dr. and Mrs. Henderson's translation, and "The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock" may well be proud of her record, and indifferent to the fact that the saying of Solomon on this subject, "Of making many books there is no end," is not applicable to North Carolina.

Neglected Phases of North Carolina History

ADDRESS BY W. K. BOYD, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TRINITY COLLEGE,
BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
DECEMBER 4, 1912.

"The world's memory must be kept alive or we shall never see an end of its old mistakes. We are in danger to become infantile in every generation. This is the real menace under which we cower in this age of change."

In these words the President-elect of the United States has stated the practical value of history and the function of the historian. Accurate knowledge, sympathy, and prophetic insight, which give ability to meet the problems of today, can not be secured without an acquaintance with the conditions of yesterday. It is the high privilege of the historian to furnish that knowledge, to awaken that sympathy, and to inspire a vision of humanity's real needs. He must, therefore, continually refresh the world's memory, ever recalling events and ideas half forgotten in order that a proper conception of cause and effect may be established between the new experience of today and the phenomena of yesterday. For this reason history must be constantly rewritten. The experience of each generation must be correlated with that of the preceding; its predominant interests must be analyzed as forces of the past as well as of the present.

Indeed the historiography of Europe and America has been little more than a series of appeals to memory whose nature has been shaped by the rise and decline of the varied interests of humanity. In the primitive stages of historical activity the ancestral motive has always been predominant, and biography is the earliest type of history. Witness the heroic myths of the early Greeks, the lives of Plutarch, the legends of the mediæval saints, and in our own country Jared Sparks's biographies of the founders of the republic. Gradually interest in the fathers widens into a sense of national existence; the story of expansion and conquest and to some extent that of governmental organization, are then emphasized. Polybius told the story of the rise and expansion of the Roman state; Macchiavelli brought a similar interest to the historiography of early modern history; Voltaire and Montesquieu to that of the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the world's memory was invoked concerning two phases of experience comparatively neglected; these were the institutional and the economic. The political reorganiza-

tion of Europe required new adjustments in government; light on the problem was sought from the past. Scholars and publicists searched the customs of the early Germans and the provincials of the Roman Empire in order to find an institutional basis for a new Germany and a new France. From the continent the study of institutional history spread first to England, then to the United States, creating a host of books too large, and many of them too dull, to be read in one short lifetime. Contemporary with political reorganization occurred those changes in the production and distribution of wealth generally known as the industrial revolution. In the hour of readjustment the world's memory was again invoked, and today a modest inquiry about the industrial experience of previous centuries is met by a veritable deluge of economic histories. In more recent years there has been a growing conviction that the solution of human problems does not lie entirely in institutions or "the meat that perishes"; the world's memory is again being invoked in order to recall what man has thought, how his knowledge has been transmitted, the nature of his religion, and even what he has hoped or dreamed to be. Thus more emphasis is being placed on social or cultural history; some call it the new history.

Now it is my purpose to inquire how far the study and writing of North Carolina history has kept pace with these world movements in historiography; how the memory of life in Carolina may contribute to the larger story of our country's development, and how our history may become of service in meeting the complex problems of the present.

Biography, the most primitive manifestation of the historical impulse, has long had an honorable place in the literature of North Carolina history. Indeed, the biographies of North Carolinians far outnumber the histories of the State, general or monographic. There are certain organizations whose chief purpose is to perpetuate the memory of distinguished men. The rotunda of the Capitol will soon be filled with memorial statues, and seven volumes of a Biographical History of North Carolina have been published, with others to follow. This instinct for biography is a worthy one, for to give leadership its proper place in the story of progress requires an insight and a creative art of the highest order; especially should it be fostered in the present day when there is an undue tendency in historical writings to emphasize impersonal forces to the exclusion of the power that comes from a great personality. Nor has there been lacking in North Carolina an active interest in political development, that second stage in the growth of historical interest. Francis Xavier Martin and Hugh Williamson, inspired by the success of the revolution and the promise before the nascent state, set for themselves the task of describing the origin and

growth of the commonwealth they loved so well. An insufficiency of sources, a lack of perspective on account of the very nearness of the past era they described, and the dominant taste in historical writing made their works little more than annals, but all who have since undertaken their task, with the exception of Hawks, have followed their method.

Here, then, the correlation of historical activity in North Carolina with the wide course of historiography, national and international, ceases. In this age that demands a rational explanation of all phenomena, where can be found a genetic treatment of those institutions of government and law, which, perhaps more than all other influences, convey a conception of North Carolina? The last four decades have witnessed a social and economic transformation among us equaled in modern history only by that from feudal to imperial Japan; but not only is the accurate knowledge of experience during these years so requisite to meet the problems of today lacking, but the more ancient landmarks antedating the present era are almost lost to view. Here, indeed, is the menace that confronts this "age of change"; flushed with a realization of its new-born power, it may become so infantile as to live without consciousness of a past; if so, that correlation of the problems of the present with previous experience, so essential in all human affairs, will be lacking, and old mistakes will be made anew.

The best evidence of this criticism is the fact that there is no comprehensive history of North Carolina from the close of the Revolution to 1860. It is true that a few monographs have been written and a few books published on some phases of the period, but there is no well rounded presentation that might be designated a history. Yet in the light of present conditions, those years were vastly important in the development of North Carolina. The fundamental economic, intellectual, and religious forces in the life of today were then either established or, if previously existing, they were profoundly affected. Also the normal political tendencies of the people were more active then than before or since. In short, life in North Carolina between the close of the Revolution and the opening of the Civil War underwent a profound transformation; no intelligent conception of progress in the State, social or industrial, can be formed without some intensive knowledge of this middle period. Yet there is no organization dedicated to its achievements and its workers, no group of students bending their efforts to its investigation, and little or no public historical interest in it.

A more concrete illustration of this limitation of our historical interests is that the history of a large, and I believe the most important section of the State, has been to a large degree neglected. I refer to the

Piedmont section, which extends from a line passing through Raleigh westward to the mountains. The attempted colonization at Roanoke Island, the early days of Albemarle, the development of the Cape Fear region, the rise of the Revolution, the Civil War, and to some extent Reconstruction, have secured a large and permanent place in our traditional history, but they were all primarily eastern movements, and the east suffered and triumphed most in them. It is true that there are a few works relating to the religious and racial origins of the Piedmont, as well as a few county histories, but in none of them is there an adequate treatment of the section in the period when it rose to power in politics and became a leader in intellectual life, viz.: from the close of the Revolution to 1860. In biography there are a number of volumes on eastern leaders and a host of biographical addresses and pamphlets, while on the makers of the Piedmont section there are less than six volumes and barely a handful of pamphlets. Moreover, eastern leaders are memorialized in the names of western counties to a far greater extent than the leaders of the Piedmont. In the light of these facts, the next advance in historical interest in North Carolina should be towards a better understanding of this neglected region, during an equally neglected period, viz., from the close of the Revolution to 1860. The material relating to its history should be reclaimed from the garret, the woodhouse, and other "corroding teeth of time," and certain phases of its development should be worked out. With no claims to prophecy and with knowledge of a limited number of sources, let me outline some questions for investigation in this section during the period of its rise to power and leadership.

First of all the economic conditions require serious consideration, for then as today they presented the most notable phenomena of the region. From 1790 to 1830 the relative rank of North Carolina among the States in respect to population declined from third to fifth. The valuation of the lands in 1833 showed a decline over that of 1815, although a million acres had been entered for occupation. A deep sense of depression characterized all discussions of the resources and opportunities of life in North Carolina. The cause most frequently given for this was the condition of trade. From colonial days a lack of harbors and a physiographic sectionalism forced the North Carolinian to seek markets beyond State borders. The cost of transportation made profits very small and wealth hard to acquire. Moreover, the absence of domestic trading centers prevented that mingling of people which was necessary to break down the prejudice born of divers racial elements and political sectionalism.

The effect of this condition of trade upon the Piedmont was especially

harmful. With the exception of Fayetteville its markets were Charleston, South Carolina, Petersburg and Norfolk, Virginia, and Philadelphia. No one can read the accounts of the disadvantages of the Piedmont farmer and the large amount he added to the profits of the South Carolina and Virginia merchants without being reminded of the advantage in freight rates which Virginia cities enjoy today. Doubtless this disadvantage in matters of trade was the basis of the characterization of North Carolina as "a valley of despondency between two mountains of conceit."

But the details of this condition of trade are scarcely known; for instance, what was the cost of living in that day of distant markets? The standard illustration in the pamphlets advocating roads and railways was the cost of salt in Statesville, fifty cents a bushel; might not other prices be obtained from diaries, account books, family correspondence, and advertisements in the newspapers? Then, how did these prices compare with those paid by the planters of Eastern Virginia and lower South Carolina? Not until an answer is found to these inquiries can the actual loss sustained by the Carolinian of the interior through trade conditions be estimated. Furthermore, the distance of markets retarded the growth of a credit system in commerce; this in turn created a demand for bank notes; and the consequent inflation of the currency brought about speculation and panics. Now the printed sources at present available describing this situation are limited; there is need for information showing the influence of commerce on the life of the people in various communities and sections, and the resulting attitude of the electorate toward public economic questions, State and national.

Such a condition of trade gave rise to the movement for better transportation facilities by State aid, first for canals and waterways, then for turnpikes and railroads. This was the chief economic feature of the epoch from 1850 to 1860, and it did much to create a prosperity that stands in strong contrast to the preceding years. From the reports of surveys and the various navigation, turnpike and railway companies, an outline of the new means of transportation can be obtained; but for the effects of the life of the people the sources are almost entirely silent. Illustrative of this fact is that nothing is known of the rise of land values except that which comes from the reassessment reported by the treasurer; nor to what extent prices were affected, or how the acquisition of wealth was improved, or the way in which sectional antagonism and provincialism were alleviated. A good example from unwritten local history is found in Anson County. For years its people had been compelled to make the long, difficult journey either to Fayetteville or

Charleston in search of a market. In the thirties the Fayetteville and Western Turnpike was chartered to connect Fayetteville and Salisbury; the surveys marked the road through Anson. At once property values increased and a new town was established along the proposed route which, by virtue of location, promised to be a commercial emporium for the surrounding country. Its name was Sneedsborough. But, alas, the Fayetteville and Western Turnpike never reached the Anson line. Deprived of its commercial asset, Sneedsborough languished, became a straggling village, and today is hardly known beyond the confines of the county. Now a student of Georgia history has enumerated a score of towns in that State, whose fate was determined by the process of economic development.* Who can tell how many Sneedsboroughs rose and declined during the age of road and railway building in North Carolina?

The material for reconstructing these phases of the life of the past lie largely in local or family records that are fast disappearing. For instance, a few years ago one of the contractors engaged in building the North Carolina Railroad died. He had been a large trader under the old system of commerce; his correspondence was extensive and he had kept the letters he had received; but these were sold with a lot of old furniture at the executor's sale, and the buyer burned them. How many similar collections of letters, old account books, diaries, or bills of sale yet survive in your community and mine?

Transportation was by no means the only economic problem of the Piedmont in the middle period. There was a strong impulse toward manufactures. Deprived of easy markets, the people were thrown on their own resources for manufactured goods. In 1794 Tench Coxe described a number of North Carolina industries; later, in 1810, he estimated that the value of manufactures in North Carolina produced under the old domestic system was greater than that of Massachusetts under both the domestic and factory systems. Now it is perfectly apparent that the prospects for a great development of manufactures was checked on the one hand by the industrial revolution in New England, and on the other by the extension into the Piedmont of an agricultural system based on slavery and cotton. But the manufacturing impulse was not obliterated by these forces. There was a class of small manufacturers such as makers of carriages, wagons, and farm implements, coopers, wheelwrights, distillers, tanners, hatters, and makers of boots and shoes, cabinets and chairs, who thrived down to 1860. Indeed, if the antebellum industrial promise had been entirely fulfilled today, manufactures would be more diversified than they are. The greatest

*Jones: Dead Towns of Georgia.

danger to these industries was really not slavery but the competition of manufactures of other States and the distant markets. Protection was sought in a series of laws which imposed discriminatory license taxes. Peddlers or salesmen of carriages not made in North Carolina were required to pay a tax of \$30 in each county, and establishments selling carriages, any part of which was made of material imported into the State, were taxed \$100; but if the carriages were made entirely of North Carolina material the tax was only \$50. Likewise drummers selling goods not grown or manufactured in the State were taxed \$50; peddlers retailing on land the manufactures of other States paid a tax of \$20 in each county; the retailer of liquors was required to pay ten per cent if his stock was bought outside of North Carolina; if he patronized home distillers he paid only five per cent. Now these laws were clearly in conflict with the Federal Constitution; but the North Carolina legislators either never read that document or, if they did, they disregarded it. Nothing better illustrates the contrast between interstate commerce regulations then and now than these provisions of the antebellum revenue code. Now if these taxes protecting the North Carolina manufacturer against his competitor in Virginia and South Carolina were a good thing, was not a national law affording protection to all American manufactures against foreign competition also something to be desired? It is not surprising therefore to find Governor Morehead explaining to the Legislature of 1842 the true doctrine and benefits of the protective principle.

There were two very suggestive manifestations of this industrial spirit in North Carolina worthy of emphasis. They were strongly in evidence in the decade before the Civil War. First was a tendency toward industrial independence of other States, especially those of the North and East. The number of manufacturing establishments increased thirty-eight per cent from 1850 to 1860, the capital invested thirty per cent and the products eighty-three per cent. Contemporary with this development the *Raleigh Standard*, the most influential newspaper of the time, called on the people to patronize home merchants and manufactures in preference to those of the North. "We must learn," said the editor, "as a people to stand alone and to live as much as possible within ourselves." Thus a conviction grew that North Carolina was different from the sister States, a kind of industrial State pride developed which tended to widen into a sense of sectional nationality. Undoubtedly here was an economic basis for the secession sentiment that triumphed in 1861. The other manifestation of the industrial spirit was the rise of class consciousness on the part of the mechanics and those not identified with the slave system. It found expression in the

ad valorem taxation campaign of 1858 and 1860, and had it not been for the national issue of the latter year the Whig party would probably have carried the State on the *ad valorem* issue.

Now all the information at present available regarding the industries and the industrial class in North Carolina is in a comparatively small number of sources. We need a search for more information. Moreover, how thoroughly the manufacturing spirit permeated the Piedmont, and the continuity between it and the industrial phenomena of today, have yet to be revealed; also, the amount and the distribution of the wealth derived from the State protection to industries offers a worthy subject for study as well as the class feeling against slavery prior to the *ad valorem* campaign. Here is an opportunity to make a study of those conditions which most differentiated North Carolina from the larger slave holding States in the past and which have established its industrial supremacy of today.

These economic conditions are not merely of local importance; they are vitally related to the social history of the Southwest and the Northwest. Attracted by better opportunities hosts of North Carolinians joined the endless procession of the migration to those regions. All estimates of the migration from North Carolina prior to 1830 run into the hundreds of thousands, and from 1830 to 1840 population, on account of it, was at a standstill. The North Carolinians in Alabama and Georgia stood together in politics and often shaped the results of elections. Yet for specific information regarding the contribution of North Carolina to the life of other regions, one must turn to the local histories of other States.[†] Here is an opportunity for a genealogist with a feeling for the larger social movements among the people, a socialized genealogist, who will trace the families or members of families that migrated from North Carolina, find where they settled, and what they individually and collectively contributed to the life of the new region.

Economic problems were not the only phenomena of the Piedmont section during the middle period. It is very significant that while improvements were being made in transportation from 1830 to 1860, a corresponding advance was made in intellectual conditions. The public school laws of 1838 and 1840 were the first of their kind in the South and they stimulated the cause of education elsewhere. But of the intellectual equipment of the schools we know very little; what, for instance, was the curriculum, what were the textbooks, and how did these compare with the educational activity in other States? Older than the public schools, and surviving long after they were established,

[†]Gilmer: Sketches of the First Settlers of Early Georgia. Saunders and Stubbs: Early Settlers of Alabama.

were the private academies. Of them even less is known than of the public schools. What were the influences that established them, and the relation of these influences to the movement for public education? What were the curriculum and equipment of the private academies? The descent of the academy in New England from the English-Latin schools has been established; were the academies in North Carolina an isolated phenomena, or have they, too, a part in the evolution of education in the United States?

The question of the schools naturally leads to that of popular standards of education and illiteracy. Much light on these matters might be found in the local records. One of the leading investigators of Virginia history has examined the court records and noted the educational requirements in the bonds given by those to whom children were apprenticed or bound out. Thus a conception is obtained of the standard of the educational needs of the common man. How far that standard was effective, so far as illiteracy was concerned, is then ascertained by taking a thousand signatures in the court records and noting how many of them were made by mark. The proportion of this illiteracy to the thousand is taken for the average of the county.¹ Would not a similar examination of the court records of certain typical counties in North Carolina give a better idea than we now have of the educational efficiency of the old time schools? Intellectual life, both in the sense of the development of ideas and the story of a cultivated class, has not been the subject of extensive historical inquiry. What aid its investigation would give in understanding mankind, past and present, remains to be realized.

Any inquiry into the educational history of a people necessarily involves questions pertaining to religion. The more primitive the conditions of life, the more powerful are the religious perceptions. Comparative religion explains this by finding that creeds grow up of customs, and in the early stages of religion customs are shaped by social needs, as protection against the blind forces of nature, public enemies, or "the pestilence of noonday." Consequently in the transfer of religious institutions from other colonies and the Old World to North Carolina, creeds had a larger hold on the minds of the people than today, because religion was a social bond as well as an attitude toward the Infinite. A familiar example is the Quakers of Albemarle; less widely known is that of the Baptists of the Piedmont. About the middle of the eighteenth century a group of New Jersey Baptists settled on the Yadkin and two other groups left Virginia and found new homes in Alamance and Anson counties. Here are examples of that coloniza-

¹Bruce: Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.

tion by groups and congregations which characterized New England; a further study of the matter would doubtless forever destroy that ancient contrast between the Cavalier of the South and the Puritan of New England. The same bond that caused such settlements welded the people together in later years. Around it developed an educational sentiment when public schools were a dreamer's vision. It shaped opinions on such important social questions as Free Masonry, the morality of slavery, and prohibition. Finally it became a factor in politics. David Caldwell had a part in framing the first Constitution of the State and did much to save the Piedmont for the Revolution. Elkanah Watson heard a sermon against the Federal Constitution in a church in Warren County; a number of ministers were elected to the Legislature and two to Congress. But the story of religion as a large social bond among people not only remains to be written, but the sources from which it might be written are widely scattered or lost. I believe that the records can best be rescued and the story written by small sections, perhaps county by county.

With these fundamental economic and social conditions explained, the course of political development can be understood. Too long has the study of politics been divorced from an adequate knowledge of what the people needed, of what they thought, or of what they dreamed to be. Especially is this true of Piedmont North Carolina. Here has always been a restiveness and an uncertainty in political opinion which has made, then destroyed, more than one promising political career. The ancient antagonism of the West and the East grew out of an economic and social, as well as a political, cleavage. Moreover, it was the economic and social need that created the two great anomalies in our antebellum history; one, that North Carolina should have supported the movement to recharter the second Bank of the United States, the protective tariff, and internal improvements by Federal aid, when these measures were opposed by the South at large; the other, that the Whig party should have found its strength in those portions of North Carolina in which the slave system did not dominate, and the democracy in those where it did, while the situation in the far South was just the reverse.

For every need there is a remedy, for every task a method. How can these neglected phases of the past be best recalled to memory and given their proper place in our history? I believe only by a twofold survey of the political, economic and social heritage of North Carolina; one based on the smallest available local unit, presumably the county and the sources relating to it; the other based on a State-wide organization, general sources and archives. For each the following suggestions are offered.

In the investigation by counties more emphasis than has been customary should be placed on economic conditions. An estimate of the natural resources can be obtained from the various publications of the State Geological Survey, of which an excellent bibliography has been published.¹ How these resources have been utilized is a more difficult question. Such matters as the average size of farms, the development of the labor system, the products of the land and land values, trade routes, prices, industries, and population, should be analyzed as far as possible. For this purpose the United States Census official records, printed and manuscript, private correspondence, diaries, and account books should be carefully examined. To collect and classify such details requires an almost infinite amount of patience, and often an apparently undue attention to useless details. But such information, culled from a variety of sources, plantation by plantation, county by county, are the material used in reconstructing the economic life of Europe; they will prove equally illuminating, not only for the economic history of North Carolina, but for that of the entire South.

Closely related to economic conditions are racial origins, for they have been quite a factor in shaping industries in the new world. Admirable examples of what may be done with this phase of the past is found in Mr. Frank Nash's "History of Orange County" and Nixon's "German Settlements of Lincoln County."² More difficult is a proper use of the art of genealogy. Names of departed citizens may be found in large numbers; but such essential data as their occupation, and, if they left their homes, whence they migrated and why, are rarely stated, though they might throw considerable light on the larger economic questions of the past.

The history of religion may best be given a reality when studied locally, for questions of theology are necessarily eliminated and the church as a factor in social life naturally has a clearer perspective than in the general histories of denominations. Consequently the local church records should be collected and carefully examined; in them much information will be found regarding amusements, relations between whites and blacks, standards of education, as well as the ways in which organized religion has expressed itself. If nothing more was done than to bring together in one place the records of the churches, the attempt at a county history would be justified, for a sense of the value of material too often left to waste and oblivion would be diffused, and this would lead to the collection of other sources.

Educational history in the sense of the rise of a public opinion con-

¹Laney and Wood: Bibliography of North Carolina Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography. Bulletin 18, North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

²North Carolina Booklet, October, 1910; James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. XI, No. 2.

cerning knowledge and the duty to impart it, can best be visualized through county history. For example, there is in the collections of the Trinity College Historical Society a letter written in 1884 from John C. Scarborough, Superintendent of Education, to an officer of Lenoir County interpreting the Dortch School Law of 1877 to mean that a local tax for school purposes, once voted, to be permanent; also there is an affidavit by a citizen of that county that he had not signed a petition for a second election on school taxes. These documents at once suggest an inquiry into the early steps in the reconstruction of public education since the war; the Dortch law must be read; then the sentiment for local tax in Lenoir County must be examined as well as the schools that were developed; and finally the case in the Supreme Court interpreting the law must be consulted. Thus the study of local school history leads into the general educational history of the State.

As previously stated, political history is to a large degree determined by economic and social factors. Indeed these have been issues in local more frequently than in general State history, for in State politics national affairs often have an undue prominence. The real genius of the people is seen best of all in local or county affairs. An intensive study of politics, industry, and economic conditions in a dozen North Carolina counties since 1876 would explain many State-wide issues. Equally effective would be such a survey of county affairs in the Piedmont section prior to 1860. So far as I know the only study of any period of State history by the county method is now being conducted at the University of Mississippi. There the advanced students in history are writing the story of reconstruction of counties, although a good general history of reconstruction in Mississippi was published a decade ago.¹

All of the neglected life of the past can not be recalled through local records. The results of investigation by localities must be synthesized and information supplementary to it must be culled from other than county sources. Here lies the opportunity of a central organization or authority basing its work on matters of State-wide interest. For instance, a bibliography of the material in the State archives relating to county history, also one of pamphlets and printed sources, would prove of inestimable value. This work could hardly be undertaken by a local, but it might be by a general organization. Also studies in some of the larger social movements which have touched the life of the people should be undertaken, such as the construction of turnpikes and highways, temperance and prohibition, and the rise of an educational sentiment. A study of such topics of general importance as public finances, the

¹See publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Vols. XI and XII, for studies in Mississippi counties during Reconstruction.

history of party machinery and organization, the development of the judicial system, and local government would greatly aid in the local investigation, and local research in turn would illuminate these general questions. As a contribution to political history maps showing the votes by counties and districts in State and Federal elections might prove of value to the politician as well as those interested in local history. Charts might also be made showing the growth of educational facilities, county by county and decade by decade, the growth of certain industries and their antecedents, or the types of plantations. The possible value of such surveys of the State, supplemented by studies of local conditions, can hardly be estimated; the educator might find in them some definite knowledge of the attitude toward intellectual improvement in the community in which he works, the capitalist of the antecedents of his employees, the politician a sense of the solidarity or uncertainty of the electorate, and those interested in history a storehouse of helpful data.

Is such an intensive study of North Carolina history possible? The answer is found in the experience and example of other States. In this matter as in shaping political issues the Northwest holds the leadership. In Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa there are a number of county and local historical societies, and in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society there is a card index of material relating to county history. That organization, also the Iowa Historical Society, provides for affiliation with local historical societies.

More important than this superiority in organization is the new interest in social and economic factors which has characterized the study of local history in the Northwestern States. This has been fostered by general historical organizations. In two States marked progress has been made. In Iowa the *Annals of Iowa*, an historical magazine of the conventional type, has been supplemented by the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, devoted largely to economic and social movements in the history of the State. The State Historical Society of Iowa, through appropriations for research, has done much towards putting the writing of Iowa history on a new plane. During the past summer eight mature students were engaged at Iowa City investigating as many topics in the political and social history of the State.

In Illinois, the State Historical Survey was organized in 1909 to bring about coöperation between the colleges and universities and the State Historical Society. Its activities have included an examination of county archives, the collection of manuscripts, and a bibliography of travels and guide books of Illinois. In addition to this kind of activity, which has long characterized historical organizations, new possibilities

in the local field have been realized. I quote from a forthcoming report of the Survey:

"In addition to making available the books and manuscripts from which the history of Illinois must be written, the Survey is paving the way for definite studies of certain aspects of that history. In the field of politics, for example, no attempt has been made until very recently to study the subject on the basis of election returns by counties, the investigators being content with general results and a superficial study of conventions and campaigns. The Survey has obtained from the office of the Secretary of State complete returns by counties for all important elections prior to 1880. These have been tabulated in the form of percentages and on the basis of the statistics thus obtained a series of maps is being constructed illustrating by colors and gradations the distribution of the vote at the various elections. With such material before him it is possible for the student of political history to say something definite about the attitude of the electorate in different parts of the State.

"For the interpretation of political statistics of this sort a knowledge of the different elements which make up the population of the State and of their respective proportions in different sections is essential. Many generalizations on this topic have been made but the Survey is attempting by the study of the census schedules and of representative lists of inhabitants of different counties to secure accurate and reliable data. Tables are also being compiled on the basis of the State and national censuses, statistics of elections and other data, by which it is hoped to show the approximate population of each county in the State for every year. Still another way in which the spread of population across the State is to be illustrated is by a map showing the date of the first settlement of each township or precinct. Data for this is to be found principally in the county histories, but the untrustworthiness of these sources renders a large amount of verification necessary before the information can be used. Similar studies of the progressive advance of settlement will be made from the land office data of the taking up of the public domain.

"Another tool which will be of great service in editorial and research work is a biographical index which is being compiled by the Survey. This contains at present cards for about seven thousand names of men including all who have held State office from Member of Assembly up, with enough information about the man to identify him, and references to places where further information can be found. This index will probably serve in time as a starting point for the compilation for a publication of a biographical dictionary of Illinois people."

The work thus underway in the Northwest has already been the means of recalling forgotten phases of the history of that region; it will undoubtedly bring to light a vast amount of new data in the future; it will also stimulate the work of county historical societies. Who shall say how effective might be a concerted movement by local and State historical societies in the South toward a better understanding of the past, in the interest of history and of those movements for social betterment which will inevitably come in the future?

Democracy and Literature

ADDRESS BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

A great issue which we all face in the North Carolina of today is the problem of literature in a democracy. If I appeal for guidance to the life of the past, it is in recognition of the principle that we must "read the lesson of the past in order to teach the present how to shape the future." The economic life is the fundamental condition of all life. "To economic causes," says Seligman, "must be traced, in last instance, those transformations in the structure of society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the manifestations of social life." Only in the life of the sovereign people, as reflected in our history, are to be found the creative seeds from which the flower of a great literature may spring. It is that power originally lodged in the people, and once more asserted by them in the tremendous political upheaval of this hour, to which we confidently look for the rediscovery of economic liberty, of equality of opportunity, and of spiritual freedom in the nation, under the guidance of such great Southerners—Southerners by birth or by inheritance—as Woodrow Wilson, Oscar Underwood, and Thomas Marshall. It is to that same power of a risen people, awakened in the intellectual as in the political realm, that we look for the realization in our midst of a new, a golden age of literary culture.

"Art," says Tolstoy, "knows the true ideal of our times, and tends towards it." If we may but discover and body forth this "true ideal of our times," then may we look hopefully for the art which tends towards it—"art transmitting the simplest feelings of common life, but such always as are accessible to all men in the whole world—the art of common life—the art of a people—universal art." The literature of the future is the literature truly autochthonous—literary products which seem as if self-risen from some miraculous soil, nourished by the mind and the soul. Today the whole world is one vast democracy—the democracy of the spirit. "It is from the struggle of the great duty of charity and justice against our egoism and ignorance," says Maeterlinck, "that the supreme literature of this new century shall spring."

In the intellectual and cultural history of the South we are confronted with four distinctive periods, each leaving its ineffaceable impress upon the life of the nation. The first of these eras in Southern

cultural development is the era of the courtly country gentleman, profound student of politics and history, leisurely reader of the classics and the humanities. In this era the South was far more than the co-partner of the North in shaping the early history of the Union. In a memorable speech in the Senate, Charles Sumner frankly stated that for sixty years the South governed the country through its able men in Congress and the Presidency. In constructive statesmanship, continental thinking, and inspiring nationalism, this era of Southern dominance in national affairs is without a parallel or a comparable equal in our national annals. The writings of the elder Southern statesmen, beyond all doubt, were an invaluable contribution to the literature of America. The State papers of these men, of vast intellectual scope and imaginative reach, breathing lofty ideals yet stiffened by the hardy practicality of the founders of the Republic, stand as yet unrivaled in the nation's intellectual history. They owe their chief eminence less to originality of thought than to adequate interpretation of the needs of a new nation and their universality of application to the problems of our civilization.

Coincident with, and consequent to, this magnificent first cycle in our intellectual evolution came the second era, stretching approximately from 1830 until 1861. There is no era in American history, in relation to the state of culture and the feelings of class consciousness in the South, which has been so crassly misunderstood. One can not wholly blame the romantic novelists for throwing into high focus, if false perspective, the aristocratic and oligarchic features of Southern life—the picturesque and romantic survival upon American soil of a belated feudalism. These were the beautiful and picturesque phases of Southern life, ready made to the hands of the fictive artist; and it is no wonder that people still innocently think of the War between the States as simply a struggle of Puritan and Cavalier, a clash of the ideals of the Lees of Virginia with the ideals of the Adamses of Massachusetts.

There is falsehood—and, I think, vicious falsehood—in this seductive but distorted picture. Recent economic investigations conclusively demonstrate that life in the rural South in antebellum days was democratic, and that the political leaders owed their selection not to a landed aristocracy but to the great masses of the people. There is need for clearer thinking and a truer perspective upon this sociological phase of our development. A State which gave two men to the Presidency prior to 1860, one born in a log cabin, the other in a log house, and at the close of the war a third, born in an attic in this town, can not with any semblance of reason preen itself upon the grasping leadership of a landed aristocracy. The aristocracy of leadership in the South was an aristocracy not of birth but of merit; not of blood, but of sheer, efficient

achievement. The truly typical home of the South was not a Monticello or an Arlington, but a simple four room house, the home of a homogeneous and pure blooded people, breeding the democratic ideals of a Macon and a Vance.

The leaders came from all classes of the people, high and low, rich and poor alike. But the vital deficiency in the situation, it must be clearly indicated, was that whilst all classes furnished leaders the aristocratic, semi-oligarchic class, of lordly leisure and patriarchal dignity, reveled in a monopoly of culture, the great middle class, the structural and preponderant element of the population, remaining submerged in a twilight of sectionalism, provinciality, and obscured vision.

History confirms the familiar theory that epoch-making movements in industrial prosperity are contemporaneous with a quickening of the national life and a vitalization of the intellectual resources. We should expect in the antebellum South an era of fertility in inventiveness and power in imaginative creativeness during the great industrial era subsequent to 1830. New England responded nobly to the economic quickening of the national life with the classic and permanent monuments of American literature, the works of Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Holmes. What explanation shall we give of the dearth of literary productivity in the South during the same period?

In the South a local exigency of supreme significance effectually diverted the genius of our people from the library to the rostrum, from the study to the forum. Within the body politic was encysted, like extraneous metal in irritated flesh, the vexing problem of the negro and his destiny. The need of the hour, the subconscious pressure for a vindication of her position on constitutional grounds, summoned the South's great orators and supreme debaters. In this era of secret introspection yet passionate public defense, literature was thrust into the background by the clamorous dominance of orator and statesman. The spoken word came to exercise a relentless tyranny over the written word—a tyranny, let me forcibly remind you, which perseveres in the South to this very day. The superhuman effort to safeguard the rights and interests of the people left little time for the intensive study so indispensable for the production and publication of a body of great literature.

The error of historians in affirming that literary culture found no lodgment in the antebellum South is one of the grave errors which only the documentary facts of the era will effectually combat. I have more than once taken occasion to point out the obstacles which militated then—and which in considerable measure militate today—against wide-

spread preoccupation with literature and the obligations of creative scholarship. The people, an agricultural class, were widely scattered. There were no great cosmopolitan cities to serve as centers of literary activity and forges of creative workmanship. In the South there were no great publishing houses which by their very existence furnish a perpetual incentive to productivity and publication. The political exigency of the hour, the ambition of the Southerner to maintain that political eminence which he had already so effectually established, monopolized the supply of dynamic literary force. If the Southerner, conservative to the backbone, neglected the native authors, it was because of his absorption in the reading of the great classics of English and Continental literature. In his recent book, "The House of Harper," Mr. J. Henry Harper tells of the vast quantity of books, especially important publications of standard literary works, sold by his firm to Southern book buyers in the antebellum period. Another New York publisher acknowledges that his costliest invoices of European literature went "to the old mansions on the banks of the James and the Savannah and the bluffs of the Mississippi." In the recently published account of the publishing firm of the Putnams, established by his father, Dr. George Haven Putnam tells of the great shipments of standard literary works to the South, notably to New Orleans, before the war—greater then, says he most significantly, *than they have ever been since*. "Nothing could be more remarkable," says Joseph LeConte in his Autobiography, "than the wide reading, the deep reflection, the refined culture, and the originality of thought and observation of the Southern planters; and yet the idea of publication never entered their heads."

Following the War between the States, that tragic crisis when the South in the dimness of anguish beheld the loss of wealth, the abolition of prosperity, the violation of the very sanctities of her civilization, this people sternly set themselves to the task of repairing those fallen fortunes and restoring that fair civilization upon broader and more universal outlines. The history of that titanic economic struggle is so integral a part of the life of those in my hearing that I shall dispense with its resumption. From the side of cultural value, it is sufficient to point out two clearly marked phases in the resurgence of the postbellum South.

First, the South has devoted her utmost energies to the rebuilding of a civilization economically laid waste by the ravages of civil war. This she has triumphantly begun; and today the new South moves without restraint and with propulsive impetus along the path of normal industrial and economic progress. The primal and distinctive characteristic of this prosperity is its universal diffusion—the emergence of the aver-

age man from the pressure of economic necessity and the blight of arrested cultural development. The way has been cleared, economically, for the future *rapprochement* of culture and commercialism. The most brilliant social study ever written by a North Carolinian, under the title "Culture and Commercialism," outlining a rational basis for the reconciliation of these two great forces in the future evolution of our commonwealth, is the work of that clear thinker and polished speaker, Edward K. Graham.

Following, if virtually coincident with, the economic restoration of the fallen South, the disestablishment of an individualistic democracy and a pervasively agricultural industry by a communistic democracy and a fully diversified industrial life, has proceeded the tremendous educational crusade of our period. The keynote of that splendid crusade may be found in the words of Pasteur, noblest exemplar of modern civilization: "Democracy is that order in the State which permits each individual to put forth his utmost effort." The Southern people have accepted with an almost fatalistic optimism the doctrine of Socrates that knowledge will lead to right and useful action and conduct. Here in our midst was a vast, untrained democratic mass of people, destined for leadership, but educationally untrained to meet its obligations. Unhesitatingly the South recognized the "common man as the truest asset of democracy," and determined to educate that precious common man to the tasks of leadership in all the avenues of an advancing civilization. The educational leaders of the South of today recognize in universal education the supreme potential force in the moulding of national character, the indispensable prerequisite to the intellectual, literary, and cultural awakening of the future.

"Great is the good fortune of a State," says Aristotle, "in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient prosperity." Fortunate then is this old Commonwealth of North Carolina, poor in millionaires, but rarely rich in the diffusion of a "moderate and sufficient prosperity." It is matter of experience, Aristotle has elsewhere observed, that happiness is "more often found with those who are most highly cultivated in their mind and in their character and have only a moderate share of external goods, than among those who possess external goods to a useless extent but are deficient in higher qualities." If Aristotle be right in his lesson, drawn from human experience, North Carolina possesses in preëminent degree one of the indispensable prerequisites to happiness—a moderate prosperity. Does she still await the acquisition of that equally valuable asset, the highest intellectual culture?

"Art," says the great Spanish novelist, Palacio-Valdes, "is a necessary outcome of a certain degree of prosperity attained by countries when

man, having overcome the obstacles which were opposed to his subsistence, recovered from his fatigue and enjoyed life quietly." We in the South have overcome the obstacles opposed to material subsistence; we have established the régime of a perfect democracy; have formulated and are striving to realize the millennial dream of universal education. We have passed strenuously into the iron age of economic prosperity, idealistically into the silver age of educational optimism. We stand today at the portals of the golden age of culture. In our time we have seen the ideals of our civilization shift from symbol to symbol. The symbols of the first era were the bench, the bar, and the manor; of the antebellum era, the rostrum and the forum; of the recent era, the school-house and the academy, the college and the university. Is the time far distant when the symbols of our civilization shall become the shrines of culture, of literature, and of art?

Certain modern thinkers have advanced the doctrine that democracy is not the ideal atmosphere for the development of art and the ripening of the fruits of culture. De Tocqueville expressed the opinion that the very structure of a democratic society is unsuited to meditation and inimical to it. In the words of Frederic Harrison, "vast numbers and the passion for equality tend to low averages in thought, in manners, and in public opinion, which the zeal of the devoted minority tends gradually to raise to higher planes of thought and conduct." These pessimistic observations come to us from England and Europe, the centers of culture of world-civilization. But it should be pointed out, in defense of democracy, that these strictures apply almost exclusively to the pioneer phases of democracy. "Then the struggle and pressure for power and for gain, the unending tumult which accompanies the task of economic and political organization, and the practical interpretation of underlying formulas and principles, as well as the novelty of the conditions of life, all unite to compel the attention outward, and to make reflection an impossible luxury." The simple faith in the doctrine of equality tends to foster the delusion that any man is fit for any task, and breeds a certain contempt for special knowledge, refined culture, and expert literary skill. "But after a democratic state of society has established itself, and traditions have become fixed," says Nicholas Murray Butler, "there seems no reason to believe that reflection and meditation will not take and hold the commanding place among civilized men." Intellectual vigor and dominance tread hard upon the heels of wealth and commercial supremacy.

As I study this democracy of ours through the variegated vicissitudes of its evolution, I see in it two supreme streams of tendency which give rich promise for a great literary and cultural awakening. Contrary to

the current conventionalism that the primal instinct of the American is love of money, I am convinced that our legacy from a century of pioneers is a passion for successful self-expression, for efficiency, and for creative conquest.

Again, contrary to convention, I am convinced that the American race is not merely a race of getters and spenders, but the most imaginative of all races, on a grandiose and colossal scale. That imagination which inspired Sir Walter Raleigh to dispatch expedition after expedition to fabled Roanoke symbolized the soaring imagination of the sturdy Elizabethans of the spacious days of Marlowe, Milton, Spenser, and Shakespeare. In two centuries and a half the sons of these stalwart Englishmen have lost none of their ancient power to dream dreams, to see visions, and to give firm base to their castles in the air.

It was creative imagination which spurred Richard Henderson, Daniel Boone, and George Rogers Clark across the Alleghany Mountains in their arduous labors to win the imperial domain of Kentucky and to secure the Great Northwest to the American nation. It was prophetic imagination which inspired the men of Mecklenburg to speak for American liberty in May, 1775. It was martial imagination which drove the South to fight for constitutional freedom in the supreme crisis of the Republic. It was cosmic imagination which inspired the American engineers in the epic construction of the Panama Canal. It was inventive imagination which inspired Edison to incandescent world-illumination, which enabled the Wright brothers to achieve the conquest of a new realm—the domain of the air. It was the pioneering imagination which sent Peary upon that frozen, trackless journey which ended in the pole. Let but that same colossal and grandiose imagination be dedicated to the service of literature and we shall have upon American soil the supreme imaginative artists of the world.

Fortunate indeed is North Carolina in the possession of the stuff out of which true literature is created, ready to the creative hand of the imaginative artist.

Our history is charged with picturesque beauty and redolent of romantic charm. What themes for the great imaginative artist lie dormant in the story of the birth, baptism, and mystic disappearance of the White Fawn of Roanoke; the romantic fable of the Lost Colony; the arduous voyages to Pamlico of Raleigh's ardent adventurers; the tragic wanderings of De Graffenried and the Swiss Palatines, the social migrations of Huguenots, Moravians, and Scotch Covenanters! What great social dramas lie inchoate in the tragic epic of Reconstruction, the vast *Comédie Humaine* stretching from 1860 until this hour!

Responsive to the art of the biographer are the lives of our leaders—William Richardson Davie, one of the greatest men in an age of great men; the true Leatherstocking, Daniel Boone, whose definitive biography yet remains unwritten; the jurist-pioneer, Richard Henderson, described by one of his contemporaries as "one of the most eccentric geniuses in America, and perhaps in the world"; James Johnston Pettigrew, the most versatile and brilliant figure in our annals; that great tribune of the people, Zebulon Baird Vance; and many other classic exemplars of our native genius.

Before the critic of literature, as well, lies the unaccomplished task of making manifest the contributions of our native authors to imaginative literature. If literature has hitherto held an inferior place in our life, it is in no small measure due to the lack of that "acute and mature criticism" which Henry James posits as the prime requisite for the full appreciation of literature. We await the critical work of highly trained craftsmen to reveal to us these buried treasures, to appreciate their significance and to appraise their worth.

As I look about me and observe the signs of intellectual awakening, the forces setting irresistibly toward the creation of a real literature in our midst, I feel the thrill and the hope of splendid future accomplishment. Societies of every sort are devoting their best energies to restoring the traditions and glories of our native history to public recognition and prestige. The North Carolina Historical Commission, dedicated primarily to all causes in the interest of our history, both local and national, is properly achieving its initial function in collecting and rendering accessible to historical students the crude material out of which history is made.

While numerous forces are thus at work, laying the foundations of a rational pride in our State, what do we find in the domain of letters? Has literature gone hand in hand with history in the intellectual awakening of the hour? Historical investigation, monument building, the marking of historic sites, the writing of historical works, all minister to the glory of history. May I beg, however, here in the capital of this commonwealth, to advance the strange and novel idea that literature is an indispensable part of history. The literature of North Carolina is an unforgettable part of the history of North Carolina. Literature not only *is* history—it *makes* history. Literature is national and international autobiography, since it is "the presentation of civilization in its best products, its most significant moments" sublimated and illuminated with the highest literary brilliancy. If history is in some sense the biography of great men and great women, in a far deeper sense literature is the autobiography of a nation's life, ideals and destiny.

In history, it is abundantly clear that we are now sectionally self-conscious, and fast becoming nationally self-conscious in the highest and best sense of the term. But it is a fact, as lamentable as it is actual, that little attempt has been made, thus far, to foster or develop the spirit of literature in our midst. This year, thanks to our crescent literary spirit, we make a notable beginning in the presence of our two distinguished guests, Edwin Markham and Walter Page. Until now, barring the fortuitous annual conferring of an honor to literary achievement, conceived by a patriotic woman, this society, which bears so proudly the word *literary* as the co-equal with historical in its title, has paid all its court, not to literature, but to history. I were recreant to all my instincts did I not here lay a lance in rest in behalf of literature. I would sound the clarion call of a living poet—

Come! Let us lay a crazy lance in rest,
And tilt at windmills under the wild sky!
For who would live so petty and unblest
That dare not tilt at something ere he die,
Rather than, screened by safe majority,
Preserve his little life to little ends,
And never raise a rebel battlecry!

I never think of the literature of my native State that I do not recall the classic lines of that famous bard of our sister Carolina, J. Gordon Coogler:

Alas for the South! Her books have grown fewer;
She never was much given to literature.

Blink it as we may, it must be frankly acknowledged that, in cultural accomplishment and literary supremacy, the North Carolina of the past does not fill in the history of American literature anything like the relative space which she covers, geographically, upon the American continent. Few of our native writers have succeeded in waking a responsive chord in the national consciousness, or reached out to the larger recompenses of international renown. Upon one occasion William Gaston, in reply to some defamer, proudly declared that North Carolina was a plain and a slow State, and that he hoped it would be long before she exchanged that reputation for a more equivocal characterization. Gaston here struck the keynote of this old commonwealth—its rugged virtues of democracy and a wise conservatism, its dread of novelty, its scorn of the pretentious, its ineradicable passion for sincerity, so laconically embodied in the State motto, *esse quam videri*. Whilst North Carolina revels in all the homely virtues of a rugged democracy, yet her past literary history, with its record for honorable achievement and sound ability, has been in no sense commensurate with her political and

martial history, which has been national in its significance, continental in its scope.

My high hope for the future of our literary and cultural development finds its firm justification in the striking figures and potent forces which have been at work in our midst during the last decade. Any State in the Union, I affirm, might well be proud of an honor roll which numbers such names, in history and biography, as Hannis Taylor, Battle, Ashe, Alderman, Bassett, Haywood, Cheshire, Raper, Hamilton, Nash, Boyd, Connor, and Poe; nor can I omit mention of the Biographical History of North Carolina, the writings of Dr. Weeks, and his collection of North Caroliniana, which confers distinction upon the State in which it is found, and the Hall of History, fostered by Colonel Olds, whose enlightened unselfishness deserves official recognition at the hands of the State.

In literature as distinguished from history, for the recent past and the present, there is a roll of honor full of distinction and of genuine promise for a greater future—including such names as O. Henry, McNeill, Boner, Christian Reid, Avery, Stockard, Sledd, Alphonso Smith, Mims, Horne, Walter Page, Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Thomas Dixon. Nor should one forget to mention the invaluable *Library of Southern Literature*, the source book for the future study of Southern literary genius; and the *South in the Building of the Nation*, careful *précis* of the multifarious activities of one of the grand divisions of the Republic. Remembering the words of De Tocqueville, who attributed the "singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people" to the superiority of their women, I think of the numerous Woman's Clubs of the State, devoted in part—though not always, I fear, with directed intensiveness—to the study of literature. I think of that admirable publication, national in importance, which has recently celebrated its first decennial of invaluable service as agent of culture, the *South Atlantic Quarterly*; and of a local publication, already of far more than local repute, which has performed with conspicuous ability the indispensable service of acquainting the people of this and other States with the literary activities of our people, the *North Carolina Review*.

In the face of such an efflorescence of literary talent and genius, I can no longer share in the mournful threnody of Coogler. I can, however, make quite luminous the fact that this fine mass of literary accomplishment owes singularly little to incentive furnished by the State itself. It is true that we can legislate history into existence—we have done it here in North Carolina. We can not legislate literature into existence. It must flower up out of a *rootage* of hidden beauty, and from a soil of native appreciation and spontaneous praise. I think that if our

people realized the value of literature, its tremendous power to promote culture, to widen horizons, to advance civilization, we should be all the more ready to give it our immediate and efficient aid. Ibsen and Björnson projected little Norway into the focus of international renown; Sweden was well-nigh forgotten by the world until the advent of Strindberg. Illustrations multiply spontaneously. The novelist is the maker of history in the double sense—that he projects authentic pictures of life already lived, and directs the course of events in accordance with the ideals which he embodies. The poet is the Interpreter and the Seer, whose winged words inspire the soul and become the mainspring of action. We are truly fortunate to have with us this year the man who has done more than any other since Walt Whitman to realize in song the vast democratic ideals and visions of America—Edwin Markham.

To literature, then, let us turn our attention in the next great era of cultural development in our commonwealth. It is fitting that we should celebrate the historical traditions of our State in monuments of marble and of bronze. It is significant of the larger vision of our educational era that two great memorials have been or will be erected to the educational statesmen of our time, the true patriot, Charles McIver, and the high-keyed, idealistic statesman, Charles Aycock. It is noteworthy, however, that thus far our men and women of letters await in vain the recognition of the universities and the colleges, the appreciative attention of the scholar, the enthusiastic approval of the public. Where there is no vision the people perish. If the day is ever to come when the author, the literator, is to share with minister, statesman, educator, warrior, and industrial leader, the reward of merit, the meed of praise, the honor of recognition, and the statue of renown, it must be because we have joined together with enthusiasm and the true spirit of service, to inaugurate the next step demanded in our rapidly evolving civilization—a Crusade for Culture.

In our preoccupation with the literature of our State and of the South, let us not forget the blighting dangers of arrogant sectionalism. The literature of a homogeneous people, the purest section of the Anglo-Saxon race still surviving upon the globe, will inevitably reflect the ideals, the passions, and the life of that people. It is a far cry from sectionalism, with its devastating self-sufficiency, to the healthy virtues of a sane provincialism. But in this era in world civilization I would beg to remind you that the master word which strikes the pitch of the art of the future is Internationalism. If our literature is to represent the best that is thought and felt in the world today it must be surcharged with a sense of human solidarity. Marcus Aurelius said: "The intelligence of the universe is social." We profoundly need that cul-

tural and spiritual illumination which has come in Europe from a Carlyle, an Ibsen and a Meredith, a Taine, a Brandès and a Brunetière.

We shall not acquire a literature truly *autochthonous* in character until we realize the supreme criterion of literature as set forth by Paul Bourget: that there is in every work of art something more than an esthetic effort, that each creation is almost unconsciously a manifestation of all the elements which go to make up the national character, the specific moment of history, the definite climatic condition. We shall not acquire a literature truly *international* in character until we realize the ideal of art as defined by Stendhal, "the analysis of human passions and the artistic expression of those passions." The ideal Southern writer, says that great Southern genius, Joel Chandler Harris, "must be Southern and yet cosmopolitan, he must be intensely local in feeling but utterly unprejudiced and unpartisan as to opinions, tradition and sentiment. Whenever we have a genuine Southern literature it will be American and cosmopolitan as well. Only let it be a work of genius, and it will take all sections by storm."

Let us then dedicate ourselves to the supreme task that lies before us—the realization, through individual effort, communion of spirit and intellectual sympathy, of the republic of letters in the commonwealth of democracy.

County Records as Sources of Local History

PAPER READ BY FRANK NASH BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

In the whole range of literature there is nothing more sublime than the incomparable vision of Ezekiel—the valley of the dry bones. "And he set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, and caused me to pass by them, round about; and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. * * * So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said He unto me, Prophecy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live. So I prophesied as He commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army."

A few broad strokes, a few deft touches, here and there, by the divinely inspired poet and prophet, and do we not see the rapidly changing panorama, as it passes before us? First, the valley of desolation, strewn with sun-dried and sun-whitened bones, the hills about it barren and rock bound—no living thing there; then, the blooming flowers, the singing birds, the spring verdure and the exceeding great army.

Though the work of the historian as he deals with county records is very small compared with this divine revivification, yet it is the same in kind. They, these records, are, after all, but valleys of very dry bones, and it is the breathing of the historian's enlightened but restrained imagination upon them that clothes them with sinews and flesh and life. They touch the life and activities of the inhabitants of the country at nearly every point. If one should be an infant, owning property, they show the appointment of a guardian, the nature of his property and how it is managed. When he comes of age, they show this by the return of his guardian and by his assessment for poll tax. The tax lists, after the Revolution, as well as the deed and mortgage books, show whether he is managing his property well, or is a spendthrift. If we wish to know whether he was a slaveholder, the tax lists will show that, and also the number of these slaves between twelve and fifty years of age. If we should wish to know his trade or profession, sometimes the deed books will show that, from his designation as weaver, hatter, smith,

merchant, farmer, doctor, lawyer, planter, or gentleman. If he was an office holder the court records will show that,—overseer of the roads, constable, deputy sheriff, sheriff, justice of the peace, clerk of the court, register of deeds, colonel, captain or lieutenant of militia, whatever he may be, they will show it. His marriage, when and to whom, will be found among the marriage bonds, his crimes on the State dockets and his lawsuits on the civil dockets. The time of his death will be known from the appointment of his administrator, or the probate of his will, and quite frequently the number and names of his children, as well as the amount and character of the property he leaves to them.

Of course this assumes that all the records have been preserved. Unfortunately what from fire, loss, moths or other destructive agencies, there are very few of the older counties which have perfect records. Yet these very blanks stimulate historical investigation, for they should be accounted for in some way. Using Orange County as an illustration of the difficulties here, we have no county court records for the period extending from 1766 to 1777, eleven very active years in the political and economic development of the county. Now McKerral, Register of the county, swore in 1835 (see *Jackson v. Commissioners*, 1 Dev. and Bat. Law, 177), that the records of the county were buried at the coming of Lord Cornwallis in February, 1781, and when they were afterwards recovered many of them were obliterated, and that nothing, to that time, had happened since to cause the destruction of any of these records; yet all the books of administrators' accounts from 1786 to 1800 have been lost. When we ascertain that previous to 1846 no records were kept in the courthouse but remained in the office of each particular officeholder, that loss is also accounted for.

But the view that I have been taking of these records appeals more to the genealogist and biographer than to the historian, and there is a larger view. What part of the county was first settled, and why? What was the character of the settlers, their religion, their educational advantages and their political outlook? What part of the county, after its first settlement, most attracted immigration, and why? Why was the county seat located where it was, and who was principally interested in securing that location? What was the character of the county court, and of its officers, and why and how were those officers appointed? If there were different races among the settlers, what was the contribution of each to the development of the county? What was the daily life of the people, what their sports, what their amusements? What interest did they take in public affairs and how did they manifest it? What crimes were most prevalent among them, and why? Were they litigious or peaceably inclined? From what race came the greatest number of

criminals, and why? *et cetera*. All these questions and many more can be answered by vitalizing the dry bones of county records with a glowing but intelligent imagination, that which is able to reconstruct and realize the past and its actors, and make them live again on the pages of history.

Again, it may be that hid away in these records is some fact, or some evidence of the existence of a fact, which will throw a clear light upon an obscure or controverted point in our history. For instance, take Miss Fries' translation of the Moravian Records and their allusion to the Mecklenburg Declaration, as an illustration, though they are not strictly county records; or, the extract from the Minutes of the Cane Creek Quaker Meeting in the office of the Register of Deeds at Graham, which shows that the Regulators were, in early 1776, identified with the Loyalists in the province; or, the Superior Court records in Orange County during the Regulator trouble, as the "event speaking through its actors," and many other instances too numerous to mention.

Again these records are an invaluable aid to the biographer. There was scarcely a prominent man in the Province or the State who did not figure largely upon them. If he was a lawyer, and most of them were, we can, from them, form some estimate of the extent of his practice and of his weight and influence in the community. If he was a planter we can ascertain how much land he owned and how many slaves. If he was a merchant, the dockets will supply some indication whether he had a good credit and if he was, himself, a harsh collector from his own debtors. If he was a court officer, for instance clerk, his personality is apparent, in a certain sense, in all of his records, etc.

Quite frequently, too, traits of character appear in unexpected places, traits that sometimes cause a modification, if not an alteration, in one's previous estimate of the man.

Again, they are valuable as verifying or disproving tradition. Every student of history knows that, quite often, tradition is but thousand tongued rumor transferred from the past to the present, and, as rumor deals almost wholly with the bizarre, the unusual, the exciting, tradition carries with it much of the scandal and evil speaking of the past. The evil that men are thought to do lives after them, as well as that they do. Remembering this the historian has a difficult problem in determining how much of tradition is false and how much is true. If he has an adequate knowledge of human nature and of the springs of human action, a thorough examination of these county records will often direct him to a correct conclusion. Let me give two illustrations of this. In the first the record refutes the tradition; in the other it sustains it. Tradition charges Edmund Faith having become rich from ille-

gal fees extorted from the people while he held a public office. The record shows that he, while he lived in North Carolina, held but one county office—Register of Deeds for Orange County,—and he held that for five years and six months, not doing the work of the office himself but having a deputy who was compensated from the income of the office. We have a record of every deed, or paper of like kind, probated during that period, and assuming that all the deeds probated were registered, which is not a fact, and allowing six shillings for each deed, the charge that was made, the total gross income of the office for five years and six months was a little less than three hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling, and from this his deputy, James Watson, must be paid. So, allowing everything to the purchasing power of money at that day compared with what it is now, it is proven that the tradition is false.

There are many traditions about Colonel William Shepperd, but I will deal with one only. He is said to have been small and thin, but active and wiry as a cat. He was also blind of one eye, and, when occasion demanded it, would fight anything or anybody with zest and eagerness,—generally with entire success. One of his fights was with Jesse Benton, the father of Thomas Hart, in which, it is said, he beat Benton, though he was a much larger man, very severely. Now turning to the records, we find that the two men were, about that time, indicted for an affray, and both were convicted. Benton then brought an action against Shepperd for the assault, and recovered fifty pounds, which he (Benton) afterwards donated to the Hillsboro Academy. Shepperd also took a hand in the further proceedings, had Benton indicted for perjury and sued him for slander, and lost in both instances. So here the tradition is true.

Finally, there is a still broader view to take of these old county records. The counties are, after all, but parts of the State and separated from each other by only imaginary lines. He who is to write the history of the people of North Carolina must be familiar with them if his story is to be true and full. These people, as individuals, in some form or other make their marks, for good or for evil, upon these records, marks which are sometimes pregnant with meaning to the intelligent investigator. Hints there are, here and there, to the skilful interpreter, of their manner of life, of their habit of thought and of their social, economic and political development: and he who is not content to deal only with the surface of things but wishes to get at their heart can not disregard them without being false to his own high calling—as interpreter of the people to the people.

County Records as Sources of Local History

PAPER READ BY CHARLES L. COON, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

Mr. Nash's interesting paper shows without doubt that our county records are rich in matter directly valuable to those who are interested in purely local history. But I am interested in these records for larger reasons than those which merely concern the purely local. To me the records of Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan and neighboring counties have been the principal source of the information I possess relating to the educational, industrial, religious, social, and political life of the people of the middle section of the State, especially the German people and their contribution to our North Carolina life. In the county records of that section I find lists of books which individual men and women had in their possession at the time of their death, lists of their household furniture, lists of the articles sold in the stores, articles of agreement entered into between teachers and parents, bills for tuition which indicate the subjects taught in the schools, references to the games and sports of the people, receipted bills showing the payment of the preacher's salary, invaluable data relating to slavery, receipted bills showing the amounts contributed by individuals toward the erection of churches and schoolhouses, data relating to local customs such as having liquor and cakes at funerals, data showing the fees charged by the German preachers for baptisms and funerals, data relating to the manufacturing enterprises carried on in the pioneer days, and data showing the treatment accorded the helpless and delinquent members of the community.

I have often wished I had time to collect all such information now sleeping in our county archives and arrange it for students of our State history. What an interesting story of the evolution of our institutions could be constructed out of such valuable dormant material!

I want to suggest that this society, together with the North Carolina Historical Commission, undertake the work of compiling and publishing the vital parts of the county archives of at least a number of typical counties. I believe that a number of local historians can be found in such counties as Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Rowan and other counties to aid this Society and the Commission. I have in mind the valuable work of Mr. Alfred Nixon, of Lincoln. He has already made much research in the archives of his county, such work as I have in mind. I am certain there are other men and women in other counties who would undertake such a patriotic task. I am also confident that local history societies

could be formed to aid in carrying on such a plan of work. I do not propose that these persons and societies write history; I propose that they collect historical material.

I also suggest that the high school history teachers and pupils be put to work to aid in carrying out this suggestion. I am sure it would be interesting and profitable for the scholars and the teachers to collect documents, copy and arrange records, form collections of historical material, in coöperation with this Society and the Commission. All the schools need is intelligent direction, which I feel sure can be supplied by the proper officers of this body and the Historical Commission. And thus in these present times we shall provide the basis on which some unborn Green or McMaster will be able in the years to come to construct for us the real story of the State.

Nathaniel Macon

AN ADDRESS BY JOSEPHUS DANIELS BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

Short and simple are the annals of the people's real representatives. Plain—so plain that he who runs may read—is the story of the life of a patriot of the Cincinnatus type, who goes from his plow to save or serve his country, and, when the service is rendered, returns to his toil in the field, without feeling that tilling the soil is less worthy than commanding "listening Senates" or leading cohorts into battle. Your truly great man has a single barrel mind, travels a straight line, reaches proper conclusions, does the work whereunto he is appointed, and seeks no fame through the performance of the duty that is so clear to him that he feels its compulsion, just as surely as the man called to preach has always ringing in his ears the inward monitor, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Every man's work is born when he comes into the world, and the man whose eyes are open to see his special service—to catch the heavenly vision, so to speak, and is not disobedient thereto—is the man who lives after his body returns to mother earth.

The country has heard much in recent years of the simple life, and not long ago a distinguished Frenchman came to America to study our ways and to commend to us the life that is marked by simplicity. At that time our ears were being so dinned by calls to the strenuous life that few gave heed to the call from the complex to the natural life. "I never had but one thing against Roosevelt," said a distinguished New York journalist to me a few weeks ago, "and that was because he came to New York to urge men to follow the strenuous life when the trouble with Americans is that they are weakening their powers and shortening their lives by trying to do too much in a few hours and a few years." We need an apostle of the simple, not the strenuous life.

I wish to call you back from the strenuous life and the complex problems of a complicated civilization to view a picture of a truly great man whose simple life was so natural and so well ordered that he never thought it exceptional. No man ever yet led the simple life who preached it or prated about it. No more does the brook proclaim "Listen to my song" hurrying to the sea as it "goes on forever," than does the man leading the simple life come to you and say: "Watch me lead the simple life." The Charles Wagner agitation for this needed return to nature was attempted to be propagated amid the orchids and hothouse plants and fruits in a crowded city. It must spring up spontaneously

in an environ of budding trees, singing birds, growing crops—the air redolent with the perfume of the dogwood, the jessamine, or the rhododendron. It is not exotic.

This age conspires against the truly simple and natural life, and to find it in its perfection and proper setting, we must go to the early days of our Republic when men had time to think clearly and to act in accordance with their reflections. I ask you to contemplate the stately simplicity of the most influential man ever born on the soil of North Carolina, "the last of the Romans," as Thomas Jefferson called Nathaniel Macon. I pronounce it Macon—for that is proper if we judge by the spelling, but for generations, though the spelling of the name was Macon, it was called "Meekins" by his neighbors and friends. Whenever in his home State Mr. Macon was addressed as Macon, he would reply "Meekins, if you please." His daughters, as they grew to womanhood, did not relish being called "Meekins" when their name spelled Macon, but the inflexible old man always insisted upon it that, inasmuch as his father and grandfather had been called "Meekins" by their neighbors, he must answer to that pronunciation. Hoping to change her father, one of his daughters addressed him at the breakfast table one morning thus: "Mr. Meekins, will you have some beekins?" proffering him some bacon from a Buck Spring larder and asked: "Father, if M-a-c-o-n spells Meekins, doesn't b-a-c-o-n spell beekins?"

Two theories illustrate perhaps more than any words of mine, Mr. Macon's belief and devotion to the rural and simple life. The first one was, he did not believe any man ought to have a neighbor near enough to his home for him to hear his dog bark. Land was plentiful in those days and the old English idea was dominant in his thought. The ideal of a man's home was his castle, and, if he could not have his castle turreted and surrounded by moats, he might in this new country have quietness and privacy, but he believed in neighborliness and thought every man ought to have a neighbor near enough so when his fire went out he might go over to his neighbor and get a chunk of fire to relight the fires of the family hearth.

He had another theory, which has more wisdom in it probably than we of this age, on first blush, may appreciate. He advised young people never to marry outside their own neighborhood or section; he held that the girl ought to marry a boy who was a son of a neighbor or friend and that a man should choose his wife likewise. There is profound philosophy in this. Marriage, to be happy, should be an equal partnership and the persons should know each other, not from a casual acquaintance but in their homes and their surroundings should not be very different. You rarely hear of a divorce or incompatibility when two young people

mate, whose parents are friends and pursue the same avocation and live in somewhat the same style. Most of the infelicities of married life can be traced to inequalities, the lack of knowledge before marriage and the inability for one to adapt himself or herself to the markedly different life of the other.

Mr. Macon had no theory he did not put into practice and he put both of these into practice, building his home at Buck Springs, where he was "monarch of all he surveyed," and when he came to marry, he did not go out of his own county for his wife. There is a very interesting story of his courtship that has been handed down from generation to generation, illustrative of his tenacity and of the spirit of the day. The belle of that section was Miss Hannah Plummer and her admirers were many, but of them all, Mr. Macon and one other whose name I do not recall, were the favorites. It seemed that one was as much esteemed by the fair damsel as the other, and, being unable to obtain from her any decision, upon the occasion when both of them were at her home, the proposition was made that the two suitors should play a game of cards and whichever one should lose the game would retire from the contest, leaving the young lady to the winner. The stake was high and Mr. Macon played and lost, but, as he arose from the table, he turned his eyes upon Hannah and said: "I have lost you fairly but I love you too much to give you up," and he did not give her up and she afterwards became his wife. His single-barrel mind worked in his devotion to his wife and her memory as in everything else, for, although she lived only a few years and he lived to be eighty-seven, he never remarried. His affection was so abiding and eternal that he never considered dividing the affection he had given her with another woman. No man ever has but one master passion—if he loves one woman he never loves but one woman with the intensity that makes their lives indissoluble. He may marry more than once—and I am not opposing second or third marriages. Often the master passion with a man or woman is the second or third marriage rather than the first, but there is only one, and the man to whom it is a reality and his very life for time and eternity, as it was with Macon, can never share it with but one woman.

If it is true that every noble institution is but the lengthened shadow of a great man, it is equally true that every notable epoch in history is the biography of its accepted leader. Only one man in North Carolina, in all its history, has been its undisputed guide and mentor for half a century. That man was Nathaniel Macon, whose wisdom, ripe judgment and freedom from ambition caused men of his generation in every section of the Commonwealth to turn to him for counsel and advice. Men who thought of a public career, in Bute or Lincoln coun-

ties, turned to the sage of Buck Springs and asked Macon's approval. He gave his opinion, when asked, frankly and always without any desire except to serve his party *in order that his party might truly serve his country*. In modern parlance, because his word was accepted as final in politics, he would be called a Boss, but there is not on record anywhere that he exercised the influence (which came to him without the seeking) to aid any relative or personal friend by dispensing office. In those days, particularly in Macon's early political experience, it was not easy to secure men of talent to become candidates for Congress in the Jefferson party, and Macon's leadership was rather taxed to see that his party secured acceptable candidates than to try to manipulate primaries for a favorite. The bulk of men trained for public office in that day in North Carolina were Federalists, or men who were not ready to accept unreservedly the truth that the whole people—and nobody but the people—were capable of giving just government. Macon's faith in the people, expressed in his own words, was, "I do not think there is any need to direct the people how to think. I believe the great body of them will always think right if left to themselves." Therefore Macon and other leaders of that party had to induce men to enter public service—a situation that does not now exist in any party! Then the men, following Jefferson in organizing the "Democratic Societies," were mainly farmers who were not ambitious for place, willing to accept only to insure government of and by and for the people. Because of the disinclination of the early North Carolina Republicans, so called, to take office, men of opposing political views were often chosen to office, and sometimes they gave a Federalistic bias in a State that at heart never, in any public convention, had more Federalists than were in the hopeless minority in the Hillsboro Convention that rejected the Federal Constitution. The majority in that body was the bravest and most far seeing and unambitious body of men ever assembled in a convention or legislature in North Carolina. Macon was then a boy at home, getting ready for Princeton, but his brother was there and that action profoundly influenced his life.

What gave Macon this long public career, and caused his people to call him from retirement in two crises in his last days? He was not a man of eloquence, in the ordinary acceptance of that much misunderstood word. He did not speak often and when he spoke it was usually briefly and without the use of a superfluous word. He has left us no prepared address. He never spent any time in rounding his periods. Washington, Jefferson and Franklin occupied less time on the floor in the Continental Congress than any other influential members, and yet that trio had more wisdom and more weight than all the others com-

bined. Macon was of that type of leader whose judgment is so unerring that it is accepted without argument or persuasion. His simple statements were more convincing than the eloquence of other men.

He was not an organizer. He never rounded up his followers or tried to do so. The sort of political organization that obtains today was as foreign to his nature as it was unknown in his time in rural sections. He was never dominated by a convention or primary. He was kept in public office nearly fifty years because the people believed in him, shared his political faith and knew him to be a fixed star. Though he served almost continuously in legislative bodies forty-seven years, before his retirement, he wrote: "I never solicited any man to vote for me, or hinted to him that I wished him to do so, nor did I ever solicit any person to make interest for me to be elected to any place. When elected to the United States Senate did not receive double pay for traveling." What a contrast between the excessive mileage graft of our day! He served in the Continental Army and never accepted a cent and declined the donation of public land voted to soldiers. He declined also to receive his *per diem* as member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Indeed, in those and other respects, he was truly, "the last of the Romans."

He was not a great scholar, did not write for the magazines, and was not a master in any learned profession; he had no business connections that gave him wealth or influence. He had no machine, no press agents and used none of the tactics of the demagogue. He had peculiarities and eccentricities that militated against the popular idea of greatness.

What then gave him undisputed leadership? Though educated far above his neighbors, his chief employment unto the day of his death was working with his slaves in his shirt sleeves in his field. He never felt abashed at Princeton in the company of the great Witherspoon who stimulated his ambition. He never felt above his unlettered neighbors or dressed so as to make his constituents feel that they were different. He exemplified in his person the most honored North Carolina virtues—economy, hospitality, industry, integrity, and interest in public affairs. Macon was North Carolina incarnate. Even the Creator, when He would bring salvation to the race, brought light through His Son who, in the flesh, let the dull people see the goodness of God. The South's cause was incarnate in Lee. Macon was the highest product of North Carolina's hopes, North Carolina's faith, North Carolina virtues and provincialisms. He was the voice, the representative, the expression of North Carolina. Graham would have fitted into the life of Pennsylvania, Badger would have shown in Boston, but you could not think of Macon in any other but a North Carolina rural environment. He was bigger than his neighbors only in vision and knowledge. He was the

incarnation of their best, as of their local traits and provincial traditions. And that is why he was the best beloved, the most honored and the first public man the State has produced. The biography of Macon, necessarily brief, is the best story of the fall of Federalism and the rise of Democracy in a State almost wholly Anglo-Saxon in population—of the coming about of the rule of the people that took the place of the rule for the people. He was the apostle of the new spirit of democracy, with a little d, that fought England, not so much because of the tea tax (for we drank "corn licker" and apple brandy instead of tea), but because of the conviction that the people had a right to govern themselves.

The big issue that, in one shape or another, agitated the country after Washington's administration, was whether the people would garner the harvests their valor had saved. Surrounded by men of learning and character, who distrusted the capacity of the people to rule, the fight of Jefferson and Macon was to resist every encroachment that jeopardized popular government. In the light of that day, Macon's hostility to certain measures and men can be justified as essential to secure government then to the people. Because some of the measures he opposed were not *per se* injurious, some historians have criticized certain of his votes, which, in another day and another setting, might not have been wise but Macon felt that Jefferson's election was essential in 1800 to prevent the Republic's lapsing into a government ruled by class. Later on, when Class and Privilege again would make government an agency of special interests, Macon's voice was raised for Jackson's election. He had but one dominating passion in all his public career: to let the people control their government. Every vote that he cast, if seen through the microscope of that master passion, is a consistent one, even if in the light of a later generation we may lack the wisdom to always see that it was influenced by the test of devotion to popular government. But apply his chemical test,—put the vote in the crucible of the hour and the period,—and you will see that, from his point of view, the measures he antagonized had in them the germ of danger to real rule by the people, whose only protection is in upholding the safeguards of the Constitution and in preventing, even in a good measure, the acceptance or approval of some act that may open the door for usurpation and centralization. Macon was so jealous of the people's rights and the reserved rights of the sovereign States that he gave every doubt to safeguarding them, preferring to go forward slowly than to jeopardizing any right that guaranteed that this government should be the people's government. He knew the insidious dangers and the pitfalls of Federalistic teaching and practice, and, if at times he seemed overcautious, it will be remembered that he knew the miners and the sappers will outwit the most patriotic leaders who fail to sleep on their arms.

Macon may be said to have received his first inspiration for public service from his brother Gideon, Willie Jones, and his teacher from Princeton, who brought him up in the creed of Jefferson. As student at Princeton he came under the influence of John Witherspoon, statesman and scholar, and, like other influential leaders in the early history of North Carolina, was licked into shape for patriotic service by the atmosphere of patriotism, as well as by the instruction, at that fountain of patriotism and learning. What a light was Princeton, under Witherspoon, and how he influenced the North Carolina folks who, denied college training at home, looked to the light in Jersey to furnish leaders in the struggle for liberty and constitutional government! History is repeating itself, and in this year of grace the country looked again and not in vain, for a vitalizing and inspiring president of Princeton to lead in restoring government to the ideals of Witherspoon and Macon. Our great man quit Princeton for a time to serve in Delaware in the American Army, and, when the war shifted to the South, closed his college course and came home to enlist in his brother's company as a private. It was while in camp on the Yadkin, in the famous retreat from South Carolina, when the news came, by a summons from the Governor to attend, that Macon learned that he had been without his knowledge elected to the Legislature. He told his comrades that he would decline the office and stay in the army. General Greene heard with surprise that a young private soldier had declined office when many were seeking places of ease and safety. Curious to see the strange specimen, Greene sent for young Macon. He was tall, straight as an Indian, and had a bearing of conscious dignity and ease in any presence. "Why is it," asked Greene, "that you have decided to stay here and suffer the privations of a private soldier instead of accepting a seat in the Legislature?" Macon, always a man of few words, made the frank answer, "As a soldier, I have seen the *faces* of the British many times, but I have never seen their *backs*, and I mean to stay here until I have a good view of their *backs*." The army was suffering for the need of the commonest necessities and General Greene persuaded Macon that in the Legislature he might lead in securing better equipment for the soldiers, and at General Greene's request Macon went to the Legislature. He was able to give firsthand knowledge to his fellow legislators of the needs of the army, and he was unceasing in his efforts until the Legislature made provision for the pressing necessities of the patriot soldiers. He served five terms in the State Senate, beginning in 1781, and rose to the rank of leadership and made a State reputation.

The supremacy of the Federalists in the national government was converting the republic into a halfway monarchy that alarmed Jefferson,

Willie Jones, Macon and the bulk of the soldiers, who felt they were losing by legislation and usurpation of reserved powers, much of what they had won by their arms. The call came for opponents of a centralized and privileged national government to make a stand for republican principles. Macon took his seat in the Second Congress on October 28, 1791, and from that day until he resigned as Senator in 1828 he was a consistent, uncompromising, honest and able upholder of the Jefferson doctrines as opposed to everything that was Hamiltonian in theory or in practice. Nothing ever turned him a hair's breadth from his firm conviction that centralized power at Washington menaced the liberty of the people, and that legislation that aided particular individuals or sections would build up giant monopolies that would oppress the masses. We have lived to see and to taste to our sorrow the baleful fruits of the Hamiltonian tree of Centralization and Privilege. They are bitter on our tongues and they have put people's teeth on edge. Macon's prophecy that the Federalistic tree would bring forth fruits after its kind has demonstrated that he was a prophet-statesman, as well as upholder of sound doctrines. After Macon had made a strong speech against what he thought was the Toryism of centralized power, Mr. Jefferson in one of his last letters, wrote him: "I am particularly happy to perceive that you retain health and spirits still manfully to maintain our good old principles of cherishing and fortifying the rights and authorities of the people in opposition to those who fear them, who wish to take all power from them and transfer all to Washington. The latter may call themselves republicans if they please, but the school of Venice and all their principles I call tories; for consolidation is but toryism in disguise, its object being to withdraw their acts as far as possible from the ken of the people. God bless you and preserve you many and long years."

During his term in the House of Congress, Macon was three times chosen Speaker of the House and only absence due to illness caused his retirement from that office—the greatest in America except the Presidency. After his election to the Senate, such was his reputation as a wise and impartial and just presiding officer (he was at his best as moderator of any assembly) that he was chosen President of the Senate. His service as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee at a time when that Committee was the most important in Congress showed his high standing. He three times refused to leave his seat in Congress to accept portfolios in the Cabinet, and the honor and esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, from Jefferson to the youngest member of Congress, are conclusive proofs of his greatness and of the large part he played in national affairs of the republic—a part extending for a

longer period than enjoyed by any other North Carolinian. Graham in comprehensive grasp and executive ability was the ablest man the State has furnished in national annals after Macon, and in administrative and executive station better fitted for service in the Cabinet, but not even the immortal Vance could be reckoned as sharing with Macon the long and commanding influence which "the last of the Romans" exerted by his wisdom, consistency and devotion to the principles of representative government.

Governor Swain, who was Superior Court Judge before he became the State's chief executive, relates an incident, which more than any other contemporaneous tradition or fact, conveys to those of this generation the impression that Mr. Macon made upon strangers, and explains the esteem and admiration which he inspired. After Mr. Macon had retired to private life, litigation began in an adjoining county to Warren—an attempt was made to set aside a will. Its validity depended upon Mr. Macon's testimony. Those who wished to break the will knew that it would be necessary to break down his testimony to win their case. The theory was that by reason of his advanced years Mr. Macon's memory was impaired and therefore that his recollection was not to be accepted as accurate. The local counsel advised their clients that it would be necessary to employ the ablest lawyer in the State to cross-examine Mr. Macon if they hoped to show that his memory could not be trusted. At that time, Gavin Hogg, of Raleigh, was reported to be so gifted in cross-examinations of witnesses as to be able to show up any defect of memory or any contradiction of even the best witness. He was retained in the case and his whole employment was based on the hope that he could break the force of Mr. Macon's testimony. To that purpose he attended the court, having been paid the largest fee known then in the practice of that county. Of course, neither Mr. Macon nor any one except the lawyers and their clients knew of Mr. Hogg's appearance for that purpose.

"As I was starting over to the courthouse," said Judge Swain, telling the story to Gen. Matt W. Ransom, who told it to me, "Mr. Hogg joined me and said that he had heard that Mr. Macon was in town, that he had never met him and asked me to introduce him. I looked out and saw Mr. Macon in the courtyard, dressed in homemade clothes like those worn by his neighbors, and told Mr. Hogg to go with me and I would gladly make the introduction. We paused near the stile, and, after introducing the lawyer and the former Senator, I went on into the courthouse to open court. From my seat I could look out of the window, and soon saw that Mr. Macon and Mr. Hogg were engaged in conversation; they seemed so interested in their interview that neither one

of them seemed to move during the four hours of the session of the court and they were still engrossed in conversation as I passed them at the hotel at the dinner recess. Just after supper that night, Mr. Hogg came to me and said: 'Judge, I wish to ask a favor. Will you permit me to come to your room with my local associates and clients for a few minutes after supper? I wish to make a statement at a short conference and wish you to be present.' "Of course," said Judge Swain, "I consented. Later Mr. Hogg, his associate attorneys and clients came into my room. I welcomed them and saw that Mr. Hogg was laboring under some unusual feeling. In a few minutes he said to his clients and associate counsel: 'Gentlemen, I asked you in here tonight and requested the Judge to be present that I might make you a statement. You know I accepted a retainer of \$500 in this case, with the understanding that I was retained principally to cross-examine Mr. Macon with a view to breaking down his testimony. Here is the \$500. I wish to return it and withdraw from the case.' "The greatest surprise was manifested by all in the room," said Judge Swain, "and Mr. Hogg went on: 'I had never seen Mr. Macon until this morning. It had been represented to me that his mind was failing and I had often been told that his success in public life was due more to accident than to any greatness. But this morning I have talked with him for four hours, and wish to say that never in my life before have I met any man of his mould and breadth and bigness. If I tried ever so hard I could not make a dent in any testimony he might give; and I would not try—it would seem a cruel wrong and an indignity to even question any statement of that benign and noble man, and I could not do it. You must excuse me. I had no conception that we had so great a philosopher and statesman in the State as Mr. Macon. Never have I spent such a morning or known such a man. The opportunity of this morning's conversation with him has amply repaid me for my trip. Take the money and let me retire from the case.'

"The attorneys and the clients were dumbfounded and I was astonished. None of us could speak for a moment and I waited for the others, being only a witness and a wholly disinterested party. When the local attorneys found their tongues, one of them turned to his clients and said: 'There goes your only hope. The case can not be won if the jury believes Mr. Macon's memory is good—you may as well drop the case.' "The case was dropped, Mr. Hogg returned to Raleigh, strengthened by communing with the simple old statesman, and Judge Swain told the story years after to Senator Ransom as the most remarkable case he had come across in history or in his experience of the impression made by one man upon another.

And yet, although this suncrowned man, who towered as the Colossus of this good State, and for half a century was its political mentor and the idol of the people, we have for some years had a school of teachers and writers and historians in North Carolina who have sought to teach the younger generations that old Nat Macon was little more than a country squire of a moderator size. The inception of this misapprehension of his true greatness came in his own lifetime, when he made every Federalist, who denied the right of the people to rule, bite the dust; and it has been handed down until you will find many people in North Carolina, when you speak of him as his contemporaries measured him, who have no conception of his true greatness. The men who have tried to write down Macon have not been satisfied in their determination to blot out many of the brightest pages in the history of North Carolina. I wish here tonight to enter my solemn protest against the iconoclastic spirit, posing under the name of "historical research," that has sought to traduce the memory of Herman Husbands and the patriotic band of Regulators who, long before any other, were willing to risk their lives for liberty. In a crude and unorganized way they showed that they were the John the Baptists of the Revolutionary War. It is a crime to deny to those men the high place they have always held in our history without dispute until recently. It is cruel, no matter how honest the efforts, and unjust to all our history to try to brand the men who bore valiant part in that early struggle for liberty and justice as lawless marauders, when, in truth, they were the pioneers of patriotism.

Moreover, I wish to enter my earnest protest against the organized propaganda that would make us go to Independence Square in Charlotte and lay profane hands upon the monument erected there to commemorate the patriotism of the Signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. There is no page in the history of North Carolina that glows with more ardor and reflects greater glory upon the Commonwealth than the gathering in that little town on the 20th of May, 1775, of John McKnitt Alexander and other plain farmers, who had the courage, when others were serving the King, to declare their independence, and yet, we are asked to tear out this glorious date from the flag of North Carolina and seek to write "Imposter" upon the monument of every man who testified that he signed that Declaration.

The innovators do not stop at tearing down these two glorious historical achievements. They go further and they demand that we shall revise our opinion of Tyron, whom his contemporaries among the patriots of North Carolina declared to be a tyrant, and put him on a pedestal as a patriot and to place him in our Hall of Fame. Some of them go even a step further and wish to blot out the Battle of Alamance. It

took Judge Schenck the best part of his mature life to restore the fame of the men who fought at Guilford Court House.

We have no knowledge, yet, of this propaganda attempting to repudiate the Edenton Tea Party, but I wake up every morning and pick up the paper with fear unless a descendant of some beautiful woman who declined an invitation to the tea party fearing she might offend the King, has procured or manufactured evidence seeking to prove that, instead, of being a patriotic gathering, it was an accidental gathering of old ladies who were knitting stockings to send to the children of Booriboola Ghu, and unless we can have some respect for the traditions of the elders and the well founded facts of history (which these modern iconoclasts seem to be determined shall be destroyed) I am fearful that some so called historian, itching for notoriety, will go to England and return with some documents trying to show that this aforesaid Tory ancestor wrote a letter from Wilmington at that time to the effect that, instead of being a patriotic tea party, the men who threw the tea overboard were a lot of drunken ruffians seek nothing but loot. I tell you, gentlemen of the Historical Commission, the people of North Carolina expect you to preserve the true history of the State and I warn you that they will not approve this modern spirit of iconoclasm. If you do not put your heel on this propaganda you invite the anathema of the Almighty who thundered, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which the fathers have set."

Macon never held any but a legislative office and had declined all others. These positions gave him much time at home, so that, during all the years of his public life he was able to carry on his farming operations, direct the work of his slaves and labor with them himself in the fields in the week and worship with them on the Sabbath. No Lord's day ever passed on his farm when his slaves were not gathered together to hear their humane master read the Scripture to them. Intensely Southern and a firm believer in the doctrines of the State's right as interpreted by his party leaders, Macon did not like slavery. He declared in Congress upon one occasion: "Slavery is a lamentable thing, and I should be glad if there were not an African in this country." But he declared he saw no way of getting rid of "the curse of slavery."

From 1828 until he died, Macon lived quietly at his home, which was the Mecca of North Carolina, many distinguished men from all parts of the country stopping to see the great man whose sound judgment and patriotism was undimmed until the day of his death, in 1837. After his retirement there came two crises in his State when his friends and party associates felt the need of his wisdom and leadership—one the Constitutional Convention in 1835, to which he was elected and was unanimously

chosen President. The most important act of that body was repealing the Constitutional prohibition of Catholics holding office in North Carolina. Mr. Macon made a brief speech in favor of its repeal, breathing the largest view of religious liberty, and in the course of his speech stating that he himself, in religious preference, was "of the Baptist persuasion." The other crisis was in 1836 when he consented to be a Van Buren presidential elector because that service seemed essential to secure the electoral vote of his State to the Democratic candidate for President. In the August election, the Whigs had elected their candidate for Governor, and the Democrats felt that nothing but the prestige of Macon's name as elector would enable Van Buren to carry the State. Glorious old partisan that he was, Macon consented and wrote: "If the wisest man living had predicted that Jackson would have done half the good things he has for the people, no one would have believed him. His doings are known to everybody and need not be repeated. He was manfully abused, because France would not execute the treaty, but the people have manfully supported him and will, I hope, elect a successor who will be like him." Macon's name was a tower of strength to the Democratic party in all the South. His influence turned the tide in North Carolina, and, though the Whigs elected their Governor in August by more than four thousand majority, Van Buren carried the State by more than five thousand. Mr. Macon's last official act was as president of the electoral college that cast its vote for Van Buren.

"He had now reached the age of seventy years, the age in his mature life he had fixed upon as a period of his retirement from public life. More than once he had said to his close friends in the words of the Psalmist: 'The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow, for it is soon cut off and we fly away.' He was true to all his purposes, he was true to his resolve in this, and executed it with a quietude and indifference of an ordinary transaction. He was in the middle of a third senatorial term, and in the full possession of all his faculties of mind and body, but his time for retirement had come—the time fixed by himself, but fixed upon conviction and for well considered reasons, and as inexorable to him as if fixed by fate. All of his friends urged him to remain until the end of his term, and they insisted that his mind was as good as ever. He answered that it was good enough to let him know that he ought to quit office before his mind quit him and that he did not mean to risk the fate of the Archbishop of Grenada. He resigned his senatorial honors as he had worn them—meekly, unostentatiously, in a letter of thanks and gratitude to the General Assembly of his State, and gave to repose at home that interval of thought.

quietude which every wise man would wish to place between the turmoil of strife and the stillness of eternity. He had nine years of tranquil enjoyment and died without pain or suffering on June 29, 1837—characteristic in death as in life. It was eight o'clock in the morning when he felt that the supreme hour had come. He shaved himself, had himself fully dressed with his habitual neatness, walked into the room and lay upon the bed, by turns conversing kindly with those who were about him, and showing by his conduct that he was ready and waiting, but hurrying nothing. He sent for his physician, paid him and gave directions for his burial. It was the death of Socrates all but the hemlock, and in that full faith of which the Grecian sage had only a glimmering."

The poet had some such noble man as Nathaniel Macon in mind when he wrote these lines:

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,
That round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on his head."

America and the South as a Field for New Poetry

ADDRESS BY EDWIN MARKHAM BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

The South can claim to have given to America the national poet with the most original and distinctive note—Edgar Allan Poe. Poe brought to his work the strictest *credenda* known to the poetic art. He insisted that the poet must be looked on as the creator of beauty—yes, that he must bring us a wilder beauty than earth supplies. He fought the heresy of the didactic; for he well knew that in mere preachment we get only a half truth. He knew that only when truth is added to beauty do we get the perfect orb. He taught us that poetry should aspire forever toward that supernal loveliness we call the Ideal.

The very antithesis appeared in the North in the shaggy personality of Walt Whitman. Here was a man with a stentorian voice, a mastodon step. He swept aside the old criteria of the poet's art; he did not seek for the strange beauty of the ineffable, nor for the delicate and reticent beauty of earth. And yet in his way he was also a nourishing magnetic spirit of poesy—albeit, he lacked a feeling for the restraints that belong to the higher walks of both the muses and the graces of existence. Nevertheless, he does revive our interest in the common way and the common man. He flouted the past with its tradition; for he came to voice "these immediate days of current America."

Here are two poets standing at the opposite foci of the human ellipse. One is seeking for weird beauty in the distant and the dead; the other is seeking for robust emotion in the humanity that surges around us. Poe is aspiration, Whitman is sympathy. The poetry of Poe rises toward the Supernal Loveliness; the poetry of Whitman reaches outward toward the familiar and the human. But neither Poe of the South nor Whitman of the North gave us the whole gospel of poesy.

Poe was too wholly detached from the common and human life, too pallid a pursuer of the fugitive, the irrecoverable joys, the pathos of love and death. Whitman, on the other hand, was too wholly immersed in the prosaic, familiar present. He had too much of the mere sweat and dust of the common road.

The New Poetry must include in her orb both of these hemispheres—the Muse.

It is charged that our America reeks with materialism, that she breast deep in the mire of the market place, that she knows no the cynical philosophy of worldly success.

There is, alas, too much truth in this; and it is a fact that mere selfish politics and money making tend to send a chill upon the artistic spirit of our people. It is true that the high music of Apollo's lyre is easily drowned by the callous click of the cash register.

Yet there is a divine side to politics and to money making. It is right to upraise and maintain the pillars of the State, for the State is the organ of the social safety. It is also right to make money, for money can procure for us the social and material resources for living a complete life.

And here comes in the function of the poet. It is the poet's high mission to caution us that the forum and the market place must be lifted above the level of the wolf's den and the swine's trough. It is his mission to rouse men to righteousness, to proclaim that every right should be wedded to a duty. If at times the poet sounds the soft pipings of peace, there are other times when he must sound the loud clarion of revolt. In all these ways, the poet is the heavensent seer, who comes to counsel and command, comes ordained to throw upon these concerns of time a light from the eternal world.

So it is that the poet, dwelling on exalted heights, comes to judge the world as it is, in the light of the world as it ought to be; comes to infuse into the hearts of men the lofty courage of life; to create for their consolation and joy that nobler, "wilder beauty than earth supplies." He gives us his "Tintern Abbey," his "Oberman Once More," his "Rabbi Ben Ezra," his "Men of England," his "Locksley Hall," his "Parable," his "Eve of Revolution,"—poems that face the tragic facts of life, and help to build up the hope of the world. The poet is forever chastening our souls with a strange beauty, forever disturbing our easy optimism with a bugle of battle. He sends a noble discontent—a divine impatience—the impatience of the acorn to be an oak. Into the world of the Imperfect, he sends not peace but a sword—a sword bathed in heaven. He points away from the selfish, ephemeral concerns, to the eternal concerns; thunders his averments that to be something is more than to get something; that to make a life is more than to make a living; that to be just, to be brotherly, are the highest interests of practical men.

But where can the poet find the stuff of song? Does he need a great personage, a great spectacle, a great event? No; even simple things are great to the cunning listener and the far looker. There is poetry in the commonplace and nearby, if one goes deep enough to find it. The lines of all things, seen under the revealing light of the imagination, run out into infinite orbits. All things somewhere touch infinity. To the seer no life is commonplace. To him the meanest life may come freighted with tragedy. To him the meanest life may come clothed with beauty. The broken figure

of an old woman leaning wearily against a wall may carry more import to the poet's eye than the pageant of a dead queen borne in purple to her sepulcher. To the poet the world is forever young, forever strange, forever springing up out of the abyss of wonder and mystery and silence. It is necessary only to look steadily, with the eyes of the heart, at any thing, for that thing to grow significant and impressive.

It all depends upon the soul that surveys. The genius, the man with the seeing eye, finds field for his powers in any nation, any epoch. The shallow mind is always waiting for a great crisis upon which to spend itself,—the woes of Thebes or Pelops' line. The discerning man sees the great in the little, the uncommon in the commonplace, the abiding in the fugitive. To Keats a moldered urn calls up an hour of buried Hellas to live immortal in the memory of man. To Blake a fly upon a leaf touches him with kindling sympathy and sends upon his heart a vision of the oneness and the wonder of all life. To Lowell the aimless circling of a goldfish in a globe calls forth a lyric scripture on the meaning and the mystery of existence.

While it is true that the material of the poet is everywhere, still, in our America, there is an especial affluence of the stuff for a noble poetry.

The field, however, is not wholly virgin; a stray sickle, from time to time, has already touched its edges, from the sterile hour of Mistress Anne Bradstreet down to the greatening hour of Edith Thomas and Anna Hempstead Branch. We are clear of that old, weary time of artificial, secondhand, ready made landscape, warmed-over emotion, and sucked-out philosophy. Our poets no longer walk by the Merrimac and the Charles to gather English primroses and hawthorn, or to listen to Philomel and the skylark! At last our poets have discovered America! The rhodora, the dandelion, the wild poppy, now glow through their meters; the bluebird, the bobolink, the mockingbird, now carol through their rhymes.

But not only have we flower and bird to tempt the poet's heart, but we have also beauties and glories, myriad and marvelous,—mountains, rivers, lakes, forests stretching a thousand leagues away,—America,—home! The mere vastness of our land appeals to the imaginative passion. All the spaces and faces of our country, like the ideas of our people, have the large outline, the limitless sweep.

Our Niagaras, our Sierras, our Yosemite, our Inland Seas, our tragic deserts, our starless swamps, the tremendous journey of our Mississippi, the eternal thunder of our Oregon, the illimitable stretches of our prairies, the twilight silence of our primeval forests—from these must come our "As You like It," our "The Skylark," our "Sunrise Hymn to Chamouni." And not a of Europe, from Land's

End to the Golden Horn; not all the leagues of Asia, from Ararat to Fujiyama, afford so white a field for a harvest of the Muses.

Of course, we are not bereft of poets who have seen some of these larger grandeurs of our land and framed them into song. We have Emerson's "Monadnock," Lanier's "Marshes of Glynn." Hamlin Garland has sung the prairies, Joaquin Miller, the sundown seas. But there are yet long reaches of land and water and sky untouched by song. They await the hour when some poet, with a splendid word, shall give them to man and to immortal memory.

It is the poets of the Old World who have cast the color of romance upon the yellow Tiber, the blue Danube, the brooks of Vallombrosa; who have irradiated the dark pines of Pelion and Ossa; and given to the *Ægean* a lyric fame that shall endure—

"Till glory and song and story and all things cease."

It is the poet who has given immortality to the towers of Notre Dame, the arches of the Colosseum, the dungeons of Chillon. And it is the poet who must give to the beloved paths and places of America a fadeless charm, a fair eternity.

Our people, too, are unique and picturesque, made of the mixings of all the tribes of men. As they will gather at the last trump in the Valley of Jehosaphat, so they are gathered here,—Caucasian, Malay, African, Mongolian; men from Moses's land, Homer's land, Dante's land, Goethe's land; from the land of Omar, of Cervantes, of Hugo, of Ibsen, of Turgenieff.

This blending of many nations into one new nation gives a fresh impulse to literature, a new spirit to poetry. From this massing and adjusting and inbrothering, spring new activities and audacities of the soul, new purposes, new perils. Out of this melting pot of the race, with its traditions, its superstitions, its nobilities, its vulgarities, its seething potentialities of good and evil, must come an organic unity—a new type of man. And it is the flame and hammer of imagination that must accomplish this mighty mixing and molding. Through the power of imagination God made and poised the worlds. Through the power of it men and nations are banded and held in social unities. It was imagination that shaped and held together the stupendous dream of the Middle Ages,—the Holy Roman Empire. It was imagination, fired by the poet and fed by tradition, that fused England into a solid wall that has held against the havoc of time for nearly a thousand years. It is the imagination that must shape the plaster clay of our commonwealth into a stuff that will endure the chances and changes of time.

Great then is the opportunity—shall I say the duty?—of the poet of

democracy. The old nations are partly held in solidarity by the iron bands of custom and heredity, by the pressure of ages. But in the Old World sense, we have no custom, no heredity. We must be held in oneness by the power of the idea,—the idea of progress and fraternity. Let the American poet hold aloft that great idea till we shall feel that we are not only compatriots, but also brothers; that we are conscripts of one heroic hope, comrades of one destiny.

It will be a new poetry. And yet we have already heard the preludes of its loud and lofty chords. We have heard its beginning in Hoof's "Song of the Shirt," and in Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children." We have heard it, too, in a larger volume and splendor in Edward Carpenter's "Towards Democracy," and in Swinburne's "Songs Before Sunrise." Also in the cries of protest and prophecy in the pages of the immortal Shelley.

And in our own land, the opening notes of the new song of humanity are heard sounding from the poems of Lowell and Lanier; as well as from some of the younger and later singers in our choir.

And in all this work we find the note of hope, an echo of the buoyant faith of our people. This is the mood of all high creative work. America goes forth to the future with step of power and dawn-illuminated face. She goes forth like another Winged Victory treading the Fates under her swift feet. Her brow is lit with dreams that dare the towers of the Impossible.

America furnishes to the poet the inspiration of great achievement. She has won high place in the constellations of nations; she has snatched secret powers from the sphere of nature; she is on her way to vast victories in the markets of the world. It is to the poet that we must look for an interpretation of the glories of our stronger Carthage, our greater Tyre. It is he who will throw upon our Patent Office reports, our census returns, our ledger accounts, and our enlarging maps, some light from the ideal; who will speak the spiritual significance of events. It is he who, in the perils of our prosperity, must keep alive in the people a faith in the unworldly enterprise, "the unprofitable risk."

Our America lacks one source of poetry,—a shadowy antiquity; the shrines, ruins, and memories of a long-reaching, fateful, and pathetic past.

As a nation we are only in the youth of things. It was but yesterday, as run the calends of time, that we set our adventurous faces toward this western wilderness. It was but yesterday that the little brigs of England folded weary wings at Plymouth Rock, and the caravels of Spain went blundering up the coast of the Californias. Brief as our p nevertheless holds men and events worthy of song and story

we have an epic for the Indian, a genial rhyme for the Yankee, a pastoral for the Puritan, a dithyrambic for the "*Camerado*." But there wait unsung many an idyl and many an epic of the home making of the Pioneer, of the gold seeking of the Argonaut, of the passing of the Spaniard, of the chaining and the unchaining of the African.

As for our border balladry, we have hardly heard only the first notes of it. And yet a nation without its balladry is like a dawn without its morning star. Still we have a wide and varied field for such lyric adventures. We have the weird witchcraft era of New England; the homely Dutch period of New Amsterdam; the vivid and earnest epoch of the Huguenot fugitives; the courtly cycle of the Tidewater Cavaliers of Virginia; the perilous explorings of the French about the Great Lakes; the idyllic pastoral occupation of the Spanish Missions of the Far West; the romantic career of the Creole in old Louisiana.

These touch a few of the high lights of the past, peoples and events rich in possibility for the poet. But the present also lifts its beckoning hand to the poet. Some minstrel must come to sing the battle of man with the mysterious and colossal forests of the great Northwest—to sing of the gigantic spectacle of seedtime and harvest in our Middle West, where enormous wheat fields go billowing over States as large as kingdoms,—to sing of the tragic mystery of our blanched and barren deserts of far Arizona,—to sing of the immemorial struggle of the fisherfolk of New England who go out to dare the dangers of wind and wave—of the snowy cotton fields that run as white foam to meet the dancing foam of the Gulf.

But more than this, there waits for the poet the great spectacle of the modern workers in their toils and battles.

As the years go on, the old types of the hero—the soldier and the explorer—will fade into the background, and the workingman, upon whom depends our safety and our comfort, will come more and more into the front of the world's affairs. We are all beginning to see that the soldier should be given less work; and we all know that the explorer's work is nearly done; only the poles are left for him to seek. So the trusted man who works is becoming the chief power in civilization, the foremost figure in our new romance of industry. He is harnessing our rivers; he is caving our mountains; he is bridging our canyons; he is making our deserts to blossom; he is building and beautifying our cities.

The Southerners, the most daring leaders of American thought in the time of the Revolution, went back after the war to their quiet plantations, their classic libraries, their courtly leisure with their troops of slaves. They resumed the old life scarce touched by the currents of trade and commerce which were seething over the rest of the world. The

unequal conditions of life and labor shut them more and more into the past.

It was not the age of letters in the South. Literature was only a chance diversion, no one thought of it as a profession. The newer literature sifted slowly among the people. Literary magazines died out one by one. Story tellers worked over old situations and old conventions, taking little account of the things at hand, the problems of the day.

But the South in its new germinal burst of the spirit has begun, in its friction, to utter itself in a sort of *vita nuovo*. Yet still its forces are greater than literature. Craddock, Glasgow, Thomas Nelson Page, James Lane Allen, Mrs. Corra Harris,—each is an artist in his or her degree and touches the large elemental things, yet keeps also the pulse of the near and the familiar.

The South has a peculiar treasure in its rich store of material waiting to be turned into literature. It has preserved the flavor of its past as no other region of this country has. There is an atmosphere about the South that is peculiarly its own. Owen Wister catches it in *Lady Baltimore*; Mrs. Pryor and Marion Harland in biography have reflected this gracious and spacious air. From this fund of history and memory writers of the future will draw phases of morals and manners, of struggles and passions, of ardors, agonies, expiations of all the human experiences.

Out of the rich soil of the past will spring up the literature of a newer and richer humanity, for the South has again caught step with the world spirit.

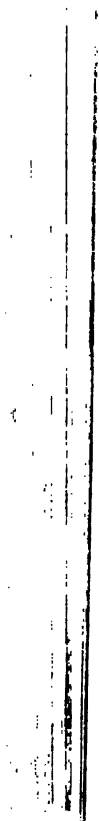
In the past the workers toiled in obscurity with little recognition; but now they are beginning to take their honorable place in the world's eye. Indeed they are to help mightily in molding our nation nearer and nearer to the ideals of justice and brotherhood. The future is in their strong hands—in the hands of the trusted workers who put mind into muscle and heart into handiwork.

But, if America has no spacious past, she has a spacious future. She has a Messianic mission to the nations of the earth. What poet's heart can fail to believe that she has been reserved to these later ages by the Higher Power for some vast purpose, some transcendent manifestation? Here certainly is to be worked out the highest freedom the world has ever known.

So democracy comes as the supreme fact of the century. The rise of the democratic spirit has sent new impulses, new accents on all art. We are beginning to see the significance in the common and the human. The sabot is pushing aside the purfled shoe; the blouse is obscuring the velvet mantle.

To the life of the people, then, the life of the toiling millions, art is beginning to look for a new inspiration, a new courage, a new joy. Painters have caught its homely tragedy. Poets are realizing its terrible pathos, its tender beauty, its epical force. And, with this new art ideal, a new economic ideal is beginning to demand a new world, wherein I shall ask nothing for myself or my child that all others can not have on equal terms. Man is progressing, but each step of his progress seems only to reveal new rights to demand and new freedom to conquer. We have achieved religious and political freedom, but now we are in the beginnings of a struggle for industrial freedom,—the greatest struggle that has yet come upon civilization. It will not be the conquest of princes but the conquest of poverties. But the realization of this new liberty will demand the sinews of heroes, the wisdom of sages, the passion of poets. The Crusades, the Christianization of Europe, the emancipation of chattel slaves in two worlds,—all the moral adventures of the past are dwarfed in the presence of this new ideal that now begins to press upon the conscience of nations. Into this world-struggle the poet of America will be drawn for a new and prophetic utterance.

What is the meaning of it all? It means that the old epic was "Arms and the man"; but that the new epic is "Tools and the Man." It means that the Book of Kings is closed and the Book of the People is opening.



EXERCISES IN CONNECTION
WITH THE
PRESENTATION TO THE STATE
BY THE
North Carolina Historical Commission
OF A BUST
OF
JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD

**Hall of the House of Representatives,
December 4, 1912**

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

Introductory Note

On December 4, 1912, in the Hall of the House of Representatives and in the rotunda of the State Capitol, the North Carolina Historical Commission presented to the State a handsome marble bust of John Motley Morehead, Governor of North Carolina, 1840-1844. The bust was a donation to the Commission from Governor Morehead's grandsons, John Motley Morehead and J. Lindsay Patterson, and was executed by the wellknown sculptor, Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl. The exercises in connection with the presentation consisted of an address on "John Motley Morehead: Architect and Builder of Public Works," by R. D. W. Connor; the Address of Presentation, by Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission; and the Address of Acceptance on behalf of the Governor, by Hon. J. Y. Joyner, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

duce more than their own families could use.³ In 1853 a traveler, within thirty miles of the State Capitol, saw "three thousand barrels of an article worth a dollar and a half a barrel in New York, thrown away, a mere heap of useless offal, because it would cost more to transport it than it would be worth."⁴

Under such conditions there could be, of course, no commerce, and without commerce no markets. Such commerce as the produce of the fertile valleys and plateaux of the Piedmont section created found its way to the markets of Virginia and South Carolina; and among the people who dwelt west of Greensboro, declared Governor Morehead in 1842, "Cheraw, Camden, Columbia, * * * Augusta, and Charleston are much more familiarly known than even Fayetteville and Raleigh."⁵ In all the region from Goldsboro to Charlotte, Raleigh, then a straggling country village, was the only town of sufficient importance to be noted in the United States census of 1850. This section, now the heart of the manufacturing region of the South, reported to the census takers of that year no other manufactures than a handful of "homemade" articles valued at \$396,473. The social and labor systems upon which the civilization of the State was founded confined the energies of the people almost exclusively to agriculture, yet their farming operations were so crude and unproductive that a traveler, commenting on the agriculture in the vicinity of Raleigh, found it "a mystery how a town of 2,500 inhabitants can obtain sufficient supplies from it to exist."⁶ This was not the view merely of an unsympathetic stranger. Calvin H. Wiley, attempting to arouse his fellow members of the Legislature of 1852 from their indifference and lethargy, after referring to the "magnificent capitol" in which they sat, exclaimed, "But what is the view from these porticoes, and what do we see as we travel hither? Wasted fields and decaying tenements; long stretches of silent desolation with here and there a rudely cultivated farm and a tottering barn."⁷

But more forcible than any other evidence, because incontrovertible, is the testimony of the United States census. The census reports of 1840 show that nearly one-third of the adult white population of the State could neither read nor write. The population of the State was at

³Speaking of the building of a turnpike, from Raleigh westward, Governor Morehead in his message of 1842, said: "Labor can not be difficult to obtain in a region now growing cotton at six cents per pound, corn at one dollar per barrel, and wheat so low that it takes one half to transport the other to market."—*Journals of the Legislature 1842-'43*, page 411. "A farmer told me that he considered twenty-five bushels of corn a large crop, and that he generally got as much as fifteen. He said that no money was to be got by raising corn, and very few farmers here [about ten miles from Raleigh] 'made' any more than they needed for their own force. It cost too much to get it to market."—*Ibid.*

⁴*board Slave States*, Vol. I, page 358.

⁵Olmsted: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States. 1853-1854*. Vol. I, .

⁶Annual Message. *Legislative Journals, 1842-'43*, page 409.

⁷Olmsted.

⁸Speech in favor of his bill to appoint a State Superintendent of Comm

a standstill. From 1830 to 1840, thirty-two of the sixty-eight counties of North Carolina lost in population, while the increase in the State as a whole was less than two and a half per cent.⁸ The best blood of North Carolina, refusing to remain at home and stagnate, was flowing in a steady stream into the vast and fertile regions of the South and West; and that brain and energy which should have been utilized in developing the resources of North Carolina was being forced to seek an outlet in other regions where it went to lay the foundations of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Dr. Wiley was guilty of no exaggeration when he declared that North Carolina had "long been regarded by her own citizens as a mere nursery to grow up in"; that the State had become a great camping ground on which the inhabitants were merely tenanted for a while; and that thousands were annually seeking homes elsewhere whose sacrifices in moving would have paid for twenty years their share of taxation sufficient to give to North Carolina all the fancied advantages of those regions whither they went to be taxed with disease and suffering. The melancholy sign "For Sale" seemed plowed in deep black characters over the whole State, and the State flag which floated over the Capitol was jestingly called by our neighbors of Virginia and South Carolina an auctioneer's sign. "The ruinous effects," said he, "are eloquently recorded in deserted farms, in wide wastes of guttered sedgefields, in neglected resources, in the absence of improvements, and in the hardships, sacrifices and sorrows of constant emigration."

Such was the view which Central North Carolina presented to the keen eyes of John M. Morehead when, in the closing days of 1840, he journeyed from Greensboro to Raleigh to assume his duties and responsibilities as Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. As desolate as the prospect was, however, Morehead's foresight saw in it not a little to give him courage. He must have realized that North Carolina was standing at the turn of the road and that much depended on the wisdom and prudence with which he himself directed her choice of future routes. Four years before a new Constitution, profoundly affecting the political life of the State, had gone into operation, from which Morehead, and other leaders who thought as he did, had prophesied great results for the upbuilding of the State. This new Constitution had paved the way for the work of a small group of constructive statesmen, of whom Morehead was now the chosen leader, who were destined to direct and lead the public thought of North Carolina during the quarter century from 1835 to 1860.

Among these men two distinct types of genius were represented. On

the one hand there were the dreamers,—men who had the power of vision to see what the future held in store for their country, who wrote and spoke forcibly of what they foresaw, but lacked the power to convince men of the practicability of their visions. On the other hand there were the so called practical men,—men who knew well enough how to construct what other men had planned, but lacked the power of vision necessary to see beyond the common everyday affairs that surrounded and engrossed them. Once in an age appears that rare individual, both architect and contractor, both poet and man of action, to whom is given both the power to dream and the power to execute. Such men write themselves deep in their country's annals and make the epochs of history.

In the history of North Carolina such a man was John M. Morehead. Those who have written and spoken of Governor Morehead heretofore have been chiefly impressed with his great practical wisdom,⁹ and this he certainly had as much as any other man in our history. As for myself, what most impresses me after a careful study of his life and works, is his wonderful power of vision. He was our most visionary builder, our greatest practical dreamer. No other man of his day had so clear a vision of the future to which North Carolina was destined, or did so much to bring about its realization as Governor Morehead. It is no exaggeration to say that we have not now in process of construction, and have not had since his day, a single great work of internal improvement of which he did not dream and for which he did not labor. He dreamed of great lines of railroad binding together not only all sections of North Carolina, but connecting this State with every part of the American Union. He dreamed of a network of improved country roads leading from every farm in the State to all her markets. He dreamed of a great central highway, fed by these roads, finding its origin in the waters of the Atlantic at Morehead City and finally losing itself in the clouds that hang about the crests of the Blue Ridge. He dreamed of the day when the channels of our rivers would be so deepened and widened that they could bear upon their waters our share of the commerce of the world. He dreamed of an inland waterway connecting the harbor of Beaufort with the waters of Pamlico Sound and through the opening of Roanoke Inlet, affording a safe inland passage for coastwise vessels around the whitecaps of Cape Hatteras. He dreamed of the day when the flags of all nations might be seen floating from the masts of their fleets riding at anchor in the harbors of Beaufort and

⁹Kerr, John, "Oration on the Life and Character of John M. Morehead"; In Memoriam of John M. Morehead, Raleigh, 1868; Scott, William Lafayette, "Tribute to the Genius and Worth of John M. Morehead"; *Ibid*: Smith, C. Alphonso, "John Motley Morehead"; The Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VI, pp. 250-258; Wooten, Council, "Governor Morehead"; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 30, 1901.

Wilmington. He dreamed of a chain of mills and factories dotting every river bank in the State and distributing over these highways of commerce a variety of products bearing the brand of North Carolina manufacturers.

Such were his dreams, and the history of North Carolina during the last half-century is largely the story of their realization. It is this fact that gives to Morehead his unique place in our history. He had a distinguished political career, but his fame is not the fame of the office holder.¹⁰ Indeed, no other man in our history, save Charles B. Aycock alone, in so brief a public career, made so deep an impression on the life of the State. The explanation is simple. The public service of each was inspired by a genuine love of the State and consecrated to the accomplishment of a great purpose. The educational and intellectual development which Aycock stimulated was based on the material prosperity of which Morehead laid the foundation. It is, then, his service as architect and builder of great and enduring public works that gives to Morehead his distinctive place in our annals, and it is of this service that I shall speak today.

When Morehead began his public career the prevailing political thought of the State was, in modern political vernacular, reactionary. Representation was distributed equally among the counties, regardless of population. East of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery was most strongly entrenched, thirty-five counties with a combined population of 294,312, sent to the General Assembly sixteen more Commoners and eight more Senators than twenty-seven counties west of Raleigh which had a combined population of 50,205 more people. A property qualification was requisite for membership in the General Assembly and inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the Legislature, not by the people directly, Property, not Men, controlled the government. The theory of Property was that the best government is that which governs least. Adherents of this school of politics taught, therefore, that government had fulfilled its mission when it had preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. But another school of political thought, originating in the counties west of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery had not secured so strong a foothold, was now beginning to make itself heard. Its adherents favored a constitutional

¹⁰In 1821 he represented Rockingham County in the House of Commons; in 1826, 1827 and 1838 he represented Guilford County in the House, and in 1860 in the Senate. He was one of the delegates from Guilford in the Convention of 1835. In 1840 he was elected Governor, and in 1842 was re-elected. He was the permanent presiding officer of the National Whig Convention, which met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency. By the act establishing the North Carolina Insane Asylum he was designated as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners to locate and build the asylum. In 1857 he was elected President of the association organized for the purpose of erecting at Greensboro a monument to General Nathaniel Greene. He was one of the delegates from North Carolina to the Peace Congress at Washington in 1861. In 1861-'62 he was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. He died at Greensboro, August 27, 1862.

convention to revise the basis of representation, to give to the people the right to elect their chief magistrate, and in other respects to make the government popular in practice as well as in form; and they advocated internal improvements, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, asylums for the insane, public schools, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, and numerous other progressive measures which all right thinking people now acknowledge to be governmental in their nature. These men were the Progressives of their day.

Morehead found his place among these Progressives. As a member of the General Assembly he was among the foremost in advocating a constitutional convention. He supported measures for the building of good roads, for the digging of canals, for the improvement of inland navigation, for drainage of swamps, and for railroad surveys.¹¹ He opposed a bill to prevent the education of negroes, moved the appointment of a select committee on the colonization of slaves, introduced a bill providing for their emancipation under certain conditions, and displayed so much interest in measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves that his opponents, when he became a candidate for Governor, charged him with being at heart an Abolitionist.¹² He endeavored to secure the appropriation of funds for the collection of material for the preservation of the history of North Carolina¹³ and took a deep interest in all measures for the promotion of public education. In 1827, while he was chairman of the Committee on Education, a bill came before his committee to repeal the Act of 1825 which had created the Literary Fund "for the establishment of common schools." Morehead submitted the report of the committee, in which he said:

Your committee believe that the passage of that act [to establish common schools] must have been greeted by every philanthropist and friend of civil liberty as the foundation on which was to rest the future happiness of our citizens and the perpetuity of our political institutions. * * * From the very nature of our civil institutions, the people must act; it is wisdom and policy to teach them to act from the lights of reason, and not from the blind impulse of deluded feeling. * * * Independent of any political influence that general education might have, your committee are of opinion that any State or sovereign, having the means at command, are morally criminal if they neglect to contribute to each citizen or subject that individual usefulness and happiness which arises from a well cultured understanding. * * * Your committee can not conceive a nobler idea than that of the genius of our coun-

¹¹In the Legislature of 1821 he voted with the minority for a resolution providing for the calling of a Constitutional Convention; for a bill "to provide an additional fund for internal improvements"; in 1826, for a bill to improve the navigation of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, and for a similar bill in 1827; for the survey of a route for a railroad from New Bern through Raleigh, to the western counties.

¹²The *Raleigh Standard* called him an Abolitionist because as a Member of the Legislature he "drew a report against the proposition of Mr. Stedman, from Chatham, forbidding the instruction of slaves." Quoted in the *Raleigh Register*, January 3, 1940.

¹³He introduced a resolution to advance money from the Literary Fund to be used "in aiding Archibald D. Murphey, of Orange County, in writing and publishing the History of this State," to be repaid from the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the Legislature for the purpose.

try, hovering over the tattered son of some miserable hovel, leading his infant but gigantic mind in the paths of useful knowledge, and pointing out to his noble ambition the open way by which talented merit may reach the highest honors and preferments of our government.

The committee, accordingly, unanimously recommended the rejection of the bill to discontinue the Literary Fund.¹⁴ The recommendation was accepted, the bill was lost, the Literary Fund was saved, and the foundation on which our common school system was afterwards built was preserved intact.

In the Convention of 1835, in which he represented Guilford County, Morehead supported the amendments offered to the Constitution designed to democratize the State Government. Two of these amendments in particular have had a far reaching influence on our history. One of them placed representation in the House of Commons on a basis of Federal population; the other took away from the Legislature the election of the Governor and gave it to the people. To this latter change we may trace the origin of two of the most important political institutions of our own day,—the party State Convention and the preëlection canvass of the State by the nominees for State offices.

The first party State Convention ever held in North Carolina was the Whig Convention which met in Raleigh, November 12, 1839, and nominated John M. Morehead for Governor.¹⁵ Reading the contemporary newspaper reports of this Convention shortly after attending the last State Convention held in this city in June of the present year, one is greatly impressed with the marked contrast in the two bodies. They were typical of the political conditions of the two eras in which they were held. The latter with its more than one thousand cheering, shouting, declaiming delegates, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, was truly representative of the aggressive direct democracy of the twentieth century. The former with its ninety-one sober, orderly, deliberative gentlemen of the old school, thoroughly responsive to the mallet of their chairman, was just as truly representative of the staid, self-restrained, representative democracy of the early nineteenth century.

¹⁴Coon, Charles L.: Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840; Vol. I, page 376.

¹⁵Ex-Gov. John Owen, delegate from Bladen, presided. A General Committee of Thirteen, one from each Congressional District, was appointed "to take into consideration the purposes for which the Convention had assembled" and to report thereon. November 13th, this committee reported, among other resolutions, the following: "Resolved, That having been inspired with a deep and lively sense of the eminent practical vigor, sound Republican principles, unblemished public and private virtues, ardent patriotism and decided abilities of John M. Morehead, of the County of Guilford, we do accordingly recommend him to our fellow citizens as a fit successor to our present enlightened Chief Magistrate, Governor Dudley."—Adopted *unanimously*. The platform of the Convention favored: (1) Economy in government; (2) Reform in the revenue system; (3) Reduction in the number of government employees; (4) Selection of government employees "without discrimination of parties"; (5) An Amendment to the Federal Constitution to abolish the Electoral College; (6) One term of four years for the President; (7) A National Bank; (8) A division of the proceeds of public lands among the States on a basis of Federal population; (9) Public education; (10) Strict Construction of the Constitution. It opposed: (1) Jackson's Spoil System; (2) Appointment of Members of Congress to Federal offices during their terms in Congress; (3) Making judicial appointments for partisan reasons; (4) Interference of Federal Officers in elections; (5) Protective tariff; (6) The Federal Government's making internal improvements "except such as may be stamped with a national character"; (7) The Sub-Treasury scheme; (8) Federal interference with slavery.

Morehead's election as Governor followed a campaign that is memorable in the history of North Carolina as the first in which candidates for public office ever made a canvass of the State.¹⁶ But in other respects also his election and inauguration as Chief Executive marks a turning point in our history. He was the first Governor to sit in this Capitol, in itself typical of the new era then dawning upon the State;¹⁷ and, what is more important still, he was the first of our Governors to discard the old *laissez faire* policy which his predecessors had followed since the Revolution, and to come into office with a distinct program in view. This program he outlined in very general terms in his Inaugural Address before the Members of the General Assembly, in the course of which he said:

I shall be happy to coöperate with you in bringing into active operation all the elements of greatness and usefulness with which our State is so abundantly blessed. Other States have outstripped us in the career of improvements, and in the development of their natural resources, but North Carolina will stand a favorable comparison with most of her sister States in her natural advantages,—her great extent of fertile soil, her great variety of production, her exhaustless deposits of mineral wealth, her extraordinary water-power, inviting to manufactures, all, all combine to give her advantages that few other States possess. Whatever measures you may adopt to encourage agriculture and to induce the husbandman while he toils and sweats to hope that his labors will be duly rewarded; whatever measures you may adopt to facilitate commerce and to aid industry in all departments of life to reap its full rewards, will meet with my cordial approbation. * * * It is equally our duty, fellow citizens, to attend to our moral and intellectual cultivation. * * * It is to our common schools, in which every child can receive the rudiments of an education, that our attention should be mainly directed. Our system is yet in its infancy; it will require time and experience to give to it its greatest perfection. * * * I doubt not, in due time, the legislative wisdom of the State will perfect the system as far as human sagacity can do it. And no part of my official duty will be performed with more pleasure than that part which may aid in bringing about that happy result.¹⁸

¹⁶Morehead's opponent in 1840 was Romulus M. Saunders. The vote was, Morehead 44,484; Saunders, 35,903; Morehead's majority, 8,581. In 1842 Morehead's opponent was Louis D. Henry. The vote was, Morehead, 37,943; Henry, 34,411; Morehead's majority, 3,532. The falling off in Morehead's vote is attributable to the disorganization of the Whig party following the death of President Harrison, and the defection of President Tyler. Morehead's first inauguration was January 1, 1841; his second, December 31, 1842.

¹⁷Referring to this fact in his Inaugural Address before the General Assembly he said:

"You are the first legislative body that ever had the honor to assemble in its splendid halls. I am the first Executive who ever had the honor to be installed within its durable walls. It will endure as a monument for ages to come of the munificence, the liberality and taste of the age in which we live. There is a moral effect produced by the erection of such an edifice as this,—it will serve in the chain of time to link the past with the future. And if ever that proud spirit that has ever characterized us, which has ever been ready to assert its rights and to avenge its wrongs, which exhibited itself at the Regulation Battle of 1770 [1771], which burnt with more brilliance at the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, and which boldly declared for independence in 1776,—if ever that proud spirit shall become craven in time to come, and shall not dare animate the bosom of a freeman, let it look upon this monument and remember the glorious institution under which its foundations were laid, and the noble people by whom it was reared, and then let it become a slave if it can. May it endure for ages to come—may it endure until time itself shall grow old; may a thousand years find these halls still occupied by freemen legislating for a free and happy people."—*Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.

¹⁸*Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.

But we should not expect a man of Governor Morehead's great practical wisdom to content himself with general observations. To reduce these general observations into a concrete, practical system was the work of his first two years in the Governor's office, and when the Legislature of 1842 met he was ready with a message outlining a complete system of internal improvements.¹⁹ His scheme embraced the further extension of the railroad lines already built in the State, the improvement of our rivers and harbors, the construction of extensive lines of turnpikes, and the linking of all three together in one general system of transportation. One of the ablest public documents in our history, this message, for its practical bearing on the problems of our own day, still repays a careful study. With reference to the great inland waterway now nearing completion, of which the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor forms an important link, he said:

Turning our attention to the eastern part of the State, two improvements said to be practicable, assume an importance that renders them national in their character. I allude to the opening of Roanoke Inlet and the connection of Pamlico Sound by a ship canal with Beaufort harbor. Frequent surveys of the first of these proposed improvements * * * establish the feasibility of this work. The advantages arising from this improvement to our commerce are too obvious to need pointing out. But the view to be taken of its vast importance is in the protection it will afford to our shipping and the lives of our seamen. The difficulty and dangers often encountered at Ocracoke Inlet render the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort harbor of vast importance to the convenience and security of our commerce and shipping. It will be an extension of that inland navigation, so essential to us in time of war, and give access to one of the safest harbors on our coast, and one from which a vessel can be quicker at sea than from any other, perhaps, on the continent. In these improvements the commerce of the nation is interested; it becomes the duty of the nation to make them, if they be practicable and proper. I therefore recommend that you bring the attention of Congress to the subject in the manner most likely to effect the object. * * * We should assert a continual claim to our right to have this work effected by the general government. * * * You would be saved the trouble of this appeal if the nation could witness one of those storms so frequent on our coast—could witness the war of elements which rage around Hatteras and the dangers which dance about Ocracoke—could witness the noble daring of our pilots and the ineffectual but manly struggles of our seamen—could see our coast fringed with wrecks and our towns filled with the widows and orphans of our gallant tars. Justice and humanity would extort what we now ask in vain.

¹⁹This message is published in the Journals of the Legislature, Session of 1842-'43, pp. 405-422; also in the Public Documents of the same year. Doc. No. 1.

Of the conditions of transportation and travel in the central section of the State, he said:

I would respectfully invite your attention to the public highways generally. * * * From Fayetteville, the highest point of good navigation, westward to the Buncombe Turnpike, a distance of some two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles, what navigable stream, railroad, turnpike, or macadamized highway gives to the laborer facilities of transportation? None! Literally none! This vast extent of territory, reaching from the Blue Ridge in the west to the alluvial region in the east, and extending across the whole State, it is believed, will compare with any spot upon the globe for the fertility of its soil, the variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, the beauty of its landscapes, the richness of its mines, the facilities for manufactures, and the intelligence and moral worth of its population. Can another such territory, combining all these advantages, be found upon the face of the whole earth, so wholly destitute of natural or artificial facilities for transportation?

"What scheme, that is practicable," he asked, "will afford the desired facilities?" And in answer to this query he made two recommendations.

The remedy for these evils is believed to be in good turnpikes. * * * I therefore recommend that a charter be granted to make a turnpike road from the city of Raleigh to some point westward selected with a view to its ultimate continuance to the extreme west. * * * Should this road be continued to Waynesboro [now Goldsboro], which might be done at comparatively small expense, the farmer would have the choice of markets, of Wilmington by the railroad, or New Bern by the river Neuse.

Further he recommended:

That a charter be granted to make a turnpike from Fayetteville to the Yadkin River at some point above the Narrows, or, if deemed more expedient, to some point on a similar road leading from Raleigh westward, thus giving the west the advantages of both markets. * * * Should this road ever reach the Yadkin, no doubt is entertained of its continuance across the Catawba westward—thus giving to this road the advantages which will arise from the navigation of these two noble rivers.

Nearly seventy years were to pass before the State was ready for the execution of these plans, and it was left for the engineers of 1912 to realize what the statesman of 1842 had dreamed. A vaster work was waiting the constructive genius of Morehead.

Turning his eyes farther westward, Governor Morehead foresaw the future development of the mountainous section of North Carolina. To make this region more interesting, he declared, we have only to make it more accessible, and continuing, he said:

The sublimity and beauty of its mountain scenery, the purity of its waters, the buoyancy and salubrity of its atmosphere, the fertility of its valleys, the

verdure of its mountains, and, above all, its energetic, intelligent and hospitable inhabitants, make it an inviting portion of the State. * * * When good roads shall be established in that region, it is believed the population will increase with rapidity, agriculture improve, grazing will be extended, and manufactures and the mechanic arts will flourish in a location combining so many advantages and inviting their growth. The improved highways will be additional inducements to the citizens of other sections of our State to abandon their usual northern tours, or visits to the Virginia watering places, for a tour much more interesting among our own mountains, much cheaper, and much more beautiful—a tour in which they will inspire health in every breath and drink in health at every draught.

Governor Morehead did not expect, indeed he did not desire that the General Assembly should proceed to put all of his recommendations into immediate effect. He realized only too well that such a procedure would require enormous outlays far beyond the resources of the State, and he never forgot that debts contracted today must be paid tomorrow. Sufficient warning of the effects of such a course was not lacking. Many of the Southern and Western States embarking in wild and extravagant schemes of internal improvements had made such vast expenditures that their treasuries had become bankrupt and their people oppressed with obligations which they could not meet; and to extricate themselves they had resorted to the very simple but very effective means of repudiation. If Governor Morehead loved progress much, he detested repudiation more; and the most vigorous passage in his message is that in which he warns the Legislature against such a course. Said he:

I would recommend that whatever schemes of expenditure you may embark in, you keep within the means at the command of the State; otherwise the people must be taxed more heavily or the State must contract a loan. The pressure of the times forbids the former—the tarnished honor of some of the States should make us, for the present, decline the latter. The mania for State banking and the mad career of internal improvements, which seized a number of the States, have involved them in an indebtedness very oppressive, but not hopeless. American credit and character requires that this stain of violated faith should be obliterated by our honest acknowledgment of the debt, and a still more honest effort to pay it. I therefore recommend the passage of resolutions expressive of the strong interest which this State feels in the full redemption of every pledge of public faith, and of its utter detestation of the abominable doctrine of Repudiation. That State which honestly owes a debt and has or can command the means of payment, and refuses to pay because it can not be compelled to do so, has already bartered Public Honor, and only waits an increase of price to barter Public Liberty. This recommendation will come with peculiar force from you. North Carolina has been jeered for sluggishness and indolence, because she has chosen to guard her treasury and protect her honor by avoiding debt and promptly meeting her engagements. She has yielded to others the glory of their

magnificent expenditures and will yield to them all that glory which will arise from a repudiation of their contracts. In the language of one of her noblest sons, "It is better for her to sleep on in indolence and innocence than to wake up in infamy and treason."

The schemes outlined in Morehead's message of 1842 were laid before a Legislature controlled by the Democratic party, and the policy of that party was hostile to internal improvements. Morehead accordingly was forced to wait upon events for the consummation of his great schemes. In outlining these schemes he had given evidences of his extraordinary power of vision; the next few years were to bring him an opportunity to demonstrate his ability to transform his dreams into actual realities. This opportunity, for which he had so long waited, came with the passage by the Legislature of 1849 of the act to charter "The North Carolina Railroad Company." The history of this measure—the long and bitter contest between the East and the West over the proposed railroad from Charlotte to Danville, the statesmanlike compromise of its advocates in accepting the road from Charlotte to Goldsboro, the prolonged struggle and ultimate victory in the House of Commons, the dramatic scene in the Senate wherein Calvin Graves immolated his own personal ambition on the altar of public duty,—all this has been described so often that it is not necessary to repeat the story here. The act authorized the organization of a corporation with stock of \$3,000,000, of which the State was to take \$2,000,000 when private individuals had subscribed \$1,000,000 and actually paid in \$500,000. North Carolina had long stood at the turn of the road hesitatingly. By the passage of this act she finally made her decision. The enthusiasm of Governor Morehead, who was not usually given to picturesque language, was too great for plain speech. "The passage of the act," he declared, "under which this company is organized was the dawning of hope to North Carolina; the securing its charter was the rising sun of that hope; the completion of the road will be the meridian glory of that hope, pregnant with the results that none living can divine."²⁰

For the next five years, during which the private subscription of \$1,000,000 was secured, the charter obtained, the company organized, the route surveyed, and the road constructed, the dominant figure in its history is the figure of John M. Morehead. In this period he performed his greatest service to the State and enrolled his name permanently among the builders of the Commonwealth. The experience of North Carolina in railroad building up to that time had not been encouraging. Both the Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston railroads

²⁰Report of the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad Company: Legislative Documents 1850-'51, Executive Document No. 9.

were bankrupt for the want of patronage. In the face of this fact, it was no slight achievement to raise a million dollars in North Carolina for another similar enterprise. Yet this is the task to which Governor Morehead now set himself. On June 15, 1849, he presided over a great Internal Improvements Convention at Salisbury at which measures, largely suggested by himself, were adopted for securing the stock.²¹ Placed by this convention at the head of an executive committee to carry out these measures, he pushed them with a vigor, determination, and wisdom that aroused the enthusiasm of the whole State and inspired confidence in the enterprise. Speaking of his work at a convention held in Greensboro, November 30, 1849, in the interest of the road, the Greensboro *Patriot* declared that "the determined spirit of this distinguished gentleman touched every heart in that assembly and awoke a feeling of enthusiasm and anxiety, deep, startling, and fervent as we have ever witnessed."²² On March 6, 1850, Morehead was able to announce to a convention at Hillsboro that only \$100,000 remained to be taken to complete the private subscription, and then announced his willingness to be one of the ten men to take the balance. Nine others promptly came forward, subscribed their proportionate part, and thus ensured the building of the road.²³ "It is worthy of remark," declared Major Walter Gwyn, the eminent engineer whose skill contributed so much to the construction of the road, "that the whole amount was subscribed by individuals, without the aid of corporations, the largest subscription

²¹This convention was attended by two hundred and twenty-five delegates from twenty-one counties and Norfolk, Virginia. Among those present were, ex-Gov. D. L. Swain, ex-Gov. W. A. Graham, ex-Gov. John M. Morehead, John W. Ellis, afterwards Governor, John A. Gilmer, Rufus Barringer, Victor Barringer, James W. Osborne, Calvin H. Wiley, Hamilton C. Jones. Morehead was unanimously elected president. The correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* wrote that the meetings of this convention "had been looked to for some time past with the most intense interest, by the friends of the Central Railroad, as determining, to a considerable extent, the probable success or failure of that enterprise." He declared that "the Convention in every respect—the numbers, intelligence and respectability of its members, its zeal and its harmony of action—was all that even the most sanguine would have desired." * * * The address of the President was, in all respects, worthy the importance of the occasion and the high reputation of the man." A Committee of Thirteen was appointed "to consider of and report upon the measures to be acted on by the Convention." This committee recommended a plan, which the Convention adopted, for securing stock subscriptions and the appointment of an Executive Committee of three to carry it into effect. Morehead was made Chairman of this Executive Committee. The other members were George W. Mordecai and Dr. W. R. Holt.—*The Raleigh Register*, June 23, 1849. Similar Conventions were held at Greensboro, November 29, 1849; Raleigh, December 15, 1849; Goldsboro, in January, 1850; and Hillsboro, March, 1850. At the Greensboro Convention Governor Morehead "passed a high eulogism upon Calvin Graves, of Caswell, who had given the casting vote by which this charter of the N. C. Railroad Company had been passed," and then nominated him for president. Morehead was appointed chairman of the committee on subscriptions. He reported subscriptions of \$190,800. John A. Gilmer suggested that one hundred men come forward to take the balance in equal parts. Morehead headed the list, but the requisite number was not secured. After several addresses had been delivered, Morehead rose and said "that as the speaking seemed to be over, he reckoned we had as well get to work now, and take the remainder of the stock." As only fifty-one men had taken up Mr. Gilmer's suggestion, Morehead agreed to double his subscription, if the others would. The proposition, however, was not accepted.—*Raleigh Star*, December 5, 1849. On December 15, Morehead addressed the Convention at Raleigh at which about \$40,000 of stock was subscribed. He was also at the Goldsboro Convention. At the Hillsboro Convention the subscription was completed, and a meeting of the stockholders called to be held at Salisbury, to organize the company.

²²Quoted in the *Raleigh Star*, December 5, 1849.

²³The others were George W. Mordecai, of Wake; John W. Thomas, of Davidson; Dr. (Edmund) Strudwick, of Orange; Paul Cameron, of Orange; William Boylan, of Wake; Alonzo T. Jenkins, of Craven; Dr. A. J. DeRoset, of New Hanover; Giles Mebane, of Alamance; and a group of ten individuals in Orange who subscribed the last ten thousand.—*Raleigh Star*, March 20, 1850.

thus made to any public improvement in the Southern country." The editor of the *Raleigh Star*,²⁴ announced the completion of the private subscription with the following comments:

We must be permitted to remark that the State owes much to that sterling man, Governor Morehead, for success in this enterprise; and that he who has heretofore been styled a "wheel horse" in this matter, may be justly entitled to the appellation of a "whole team." Whilst we pen these hasty lines, the deep-mouthed cannon is pealing forth from Union Square commemorative of this great deed for North Carolina. We are not of a very excitable disposition, but we must confess that it makes our blood run quicker at every peal, so that we can scarcely restrain ourselves from responding to its notes, "Huzza! Huzza! for the railroad."

On July 11, 1850, the private stockholders met at Salisbury and organized the company.²⁵ The board of directors unanimously elected John M. Morehead president. He was continuously reelected president until 1855, when declining further election he was succeeded by Charles F. Fisher. During these five years of President Morehead's administration the North Carolina Railroad, truly described as "the greatest of all enterprises so far attempted by the State of North Carolina in the nature of a public or internal improvement," was constructed and opened to traffic. The surveys were commenced August 21, 1850; on July 11, 1851, at Greensboro, in the presence of an immense throng, ground for the laying of the rails was broken;²⁶ on January 29, 1856, the road was ready for cars from Goldsboro to Charlotte, a distance of two hundred and twenty-three miles. In his last report to the board of directors, Engineer Gwyn said that the breaking of ground for this railroad "may be justly regarded as an event which will ever be memorable in the annals of North Carolina—an era which marks her engaging with

²⁴March 6, 1850.

²⁵The following Directors were elected: William C. Means, John B. Lord, John I. Shaver, Francis Fries, John W. Thomas, John M. Morehead, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Benjamin Trolinger, Romulus M. Saunders, Armand J. DeRosset, Alonzo T. Jenkins. The Directors elected the following officers: President, John M. Morehead; Secretary-Treasurer, John U. Kirkland; Engineer, Major Walter Gwyn.

²⁶This ceremony followed the regular annual meeting of the stockholders. The correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* gives the following account of it:

"A crowd of people appeared, ready for the celebration, such as we may safely say was never seen in our town before for numbers. It was one universal jam all out of doors. The young gentlemen who acted as marshals had hard enough work of it, to persuade this vast and unwieldy crowd into marching shape; but they at length succeeded to a degree which at first appeared impossible. The procession was formed on West Street, the clergy in front; then the stockholders; then the Orders of Odd Fellows and Free Masons, who turned out in great numbers and in full regalia; closing with the citizens generally. This immense line moved down South Street to a point on the Railroad survey nearly opposite the Caldwell Institute building, where a space of a hundred feet each way was enclosed by a line and reserved for the ceremony of the day. The north side of this space was occupied by the ladies, whose smiles are always ready for the encouragement of every good word and work. The other three sides were soon occupied by the male portion of the assemblage, from ten to twenty deep around. You may imagine, then, the difficulty which the 'rear rank' encountered in getting a glimpse of the proceedings within.

"Having the misfortune to be among the outsiders, our situation was of course unfavorable for hearing, and seeing was impossible. But we did hear nearly every word of Governor Morehead's clear, sonorous voice, as he introduced the Hon. Calvin Graves to the vast assemblage. He did this in terms eloquent and singularly appropriate to the occasion. After alluding to the necessity so long felt by our people for an outlet to the commercial world—to the inception of the great scheme, the commencement of which we had met today to celebrate—to the vicissitudes of the charter before the two houses

earnestness in honorable competition with her sister states in the great work of internal improvement which is to raise the State to that rank which the advantages of her situation entitle her to hold," and continuing, he said:

From this memorable day, July 11, 1851, there has been no faltering or despondency; all have been united heart and hand in the great undertaking; the whole State, her entire people, catching the enthusiasm which it engendered, have come forth in their might and majesty, battling in the cause of internal improvement, those heretofore signalized as laggards now pressing forward in the front rank. * * * The contractors on the North Carolina Railroad were all stockholders, and with only two or three exceptions entirely destitute of experience in the work they undertook; they commenced their contracts very generally in January, 1852, and on the first of January, 1853, without the aid of a single dollar from the treasury of the company, but relying entirely upon their own credit and means, their united labor amounted to \$500,000, which, carried to the credit of their stock subscription, fulfilled the second condition of the subscription on the part of the State and brought her in as a partner in the great enterprise. This (coupling the subscription of a million of dollars by individuals, chiefly farmers, and working out a half a million on their own resources) is an achievement unprecedented in the annals of the public works of this or any other country, and wherever known (and it ought to be published everywhere) will disabuse the public mind and vindicate the energy, enterprise and industry of the citizens of the State. I have repeatedly said publicly, and perceiving no impropriety in it, I avail myself of this occasion to say that in my experience, now exceeding thirty years, I have not found on any public work with which I have been connected a set of contractors more reliable than those with whom I have had to deal on the North Carolina Railroad, and none with whom my intercourse has been so pleasant and agreeable.

It is no small tribute to the wisdom and constructive genius of President Morehead to be able to say that, of all the contracts which, as president of the road, he had to make, the only one about which any controversy ever arose, or any charge of favoritism was ever made, was one

of the General Assembly, and the fact that it at last hung upon the decision of the Speaker of the Senate, and that its fate was decided in the affirmative by the unfaltering 'Aye' of that Speaker, Calvin Graves,—he said that no other citizen of North Carolina could so appropriately perform the ceremony of removing the first earth in the commencement of this work on which the hopes of the State so vitally depend, as to the man who pronounced the decisive 'Aye.'

"It was impossible for us to catch the full connection of Mr. Graves' speech. Some sentences we heard, glowing with that patriotic feeling which has so long distinguished him as one of the first and best sons of old North Carolina. We could only judge generally of its effect by the waving of parasols and handkerchiefs among the ladies, and the frequent and hearty applause that arose from the inner ranks of the citizens.

"At the conclusion of Mr. Graves' speech he 'broke' ground on the Railroad by digging up and depositing in a box prepared for that purpose a few spadeful of earth.

"Governor Morehead remarked that this was deposited in the box, to remain a hundred years, and then be reopened for our inspection! The crowd laughed at the ludicrousness of the idea and so did we. But it naturally awoke a graver thought. Before a tenth of a century shall pass, we dare say that numbers of those present will see the railroad cars swiftly traversing the spot where this interesting ceremony occurred.

"The annual meeting of stockholders closed on Friday morning. Nothing of importance was done during the afternoon sitting. The apprehension felt by a few that something fatal to the road would happen at this meeting was very agreeably dissipated. Conciliation and harmony, and a disposition to prosecute the enterprise with all power to a successful termination marked the proceedings."—*The Raleigh Register*, July 16, 1851.

which the State Directors, for partisan political purposes, took out of his hands and referred for settlement to a committee of their own choosing.²⁷

The North Carolina Railroad was only one link in the great State system which Morehead contemplated. As he himself expressed it this system was to include "one great leading trunk line of railway from the magnificent harbor of Beaufort to the Tennessee line." Writing in 1866, he attributed the conception of this scheme to Joseph Caldwell and Judge Gaston, adding:

Charter after charter, by the influence of these great men, was granted to effect the work, but the gigantic work was thought to be too much for the limited means the State and her citizens could then command, and the charters remain monuments of *their* wisdom and our folly, or inability to carry them out. A more successful plan it is hoped was finally adopted—to do this great work by sections. The North Carolina Railroad * * * was the first [section] undertaken.²⁸

The other sections were to be built between Goldsboro and Beaufort

²⁷This controversy was an incident in one of the most memorable events in Governor Morehead's career. Before the passage of the act to charter the North Carolina Railroad Company, the people of the Central section of the State had asked the Legislature to charter a company to build a railroad from Charlotte to Danville, Va. The people of the East opposed this charter, and in 1849 its advocates accepted in its place the railroad from Charlotte to Goldsboro. Nearly ten years passed, therefore, before anything more was heard of the Danville Connection. In 1858 the advocates of the Danville Connection again brought forward their scheme, and asked for a charter for a company to build a road, without any aid from the State, to connect the North Carolina Railroad at Greensboro with the Richmond and Danville at Danville. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons in 1858 by Francis L. Simpson, of Rockingham, but everybody understood that it was in reality Governor Morehead's bill and he was its principal champion. The members from the East, supported by the *Raleigh Register* and the *Raleigh Standard*, immediately assailed the project as inimical to the interests of the North Carolina Railroad. The debate continued several days. It was participated in by some of the ablest debaters in the State, and was extended to embrace the whole subject and history of the State's policy toward railroads. Governor Morehead's administration of the affairs of the North Carolina Railroad was bitterly assailed. He was charged with mismanagement and with a breach of faith and betrayal of the interests of the State, his opponents claiming that, while soliciting subscriptions to stock in the North Carolina Railroad Company, he had expressly promised to abandon forever all advocacy of the Danville Connection. No more formidable attack, perhaps, has ever been made on any public man in the history of North Carolina. Arrayed against Morehead, besides the two newspapers mentioned, were Robert R. Bridgers, of Edgecombe; W. T. Dortch, of Wayne; Pride Jones and John W. Norwood, of Orange, and Dennis D. Ferebee, of Camden, and others scarcely less distinguished for ability. Morehead's defence is still remembered as one of the really great forensic triumphs in our history. Mr. J. S. F. Baird, who represented Buncombe County in that Legislature, and who was not of Governor Morehead's political faith, under date of April 29, 1912, writes of the contest:

"After the lapse of fifty-four years it is impossible for me to recall many of the incidents of the debate but this much I do remember, that Colonel Bridgers' attack on Governor Morehead was futile and did the Governor no harm, for he vindicated himself in the most thorough manner."

Two other members who themselves participated in the debate have left their testimony. John Kerr, of Rockingham County, said of Morehead's defence:

"Never was a more brilliant victory won than he achieved that day. His assailants were driven from all their positions, were pursued and routed, 'horse, foot and dragoons' * * * They were *strong men*, and the House felt the shock of battle while the conflict lasted. But when he closed his defence his assailants bore the air of deep dejection and discomfiture. The House was enraptured with the display of power on the part of Governor Morehead, and no further charges were heard against him." Hon. Thomas Settle said: "For a time the attack seemed overwhelming, and Governor Morehead's friends feared that he would not be able to repel it. For five days he sat and received it in silence, but when he arose and as he proceeded with his defence, friend, foe, and everybody else was struck with amazement. We could scarcely realize that any man possessed such powers of argument and eloquence. His vindication was so complete that his assailants openly acknowledged it." Mr. C. S. Wooten, who did not hear the debate but remembers the impression it created in the State at the time, says of Morehead's effort: "I know of but one other instance in American history that can parallel Morehead's fight and that was when Benton, solitary and alone, made his fight against Calhoun, Clay and Webster in favor of his resolution expunging from the records of the Senate the resolution censuring General Jackson. There never has been such another instance in the history of the State of such moral courage, such heroic firmness, and such a grand exhibition of iron nerve." In the heat of the contest the Danville Connection was almost forgotten in the attack on Morehead. The former was defeated by a strictly sectional vote; but Morehead achieved, according to all testimony, both contemporary and subsequent, a great personal triumph. The newspaper reports of the debate are too meager to give one anything like an adequate idea of the speeches on either side.

²⁸Letter to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Co. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, July 17, 1866.

and between Salisbury and the Tennessee boundary. In accordance with this plan the Legislature, in 1853, incorporated "The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company," and "The North Carolina and Western Railroad Company," to which Governor Morehead referred as "the contemplated extensions of the North Carolina Railroad." Immediately after the passage of these acts, Governor Reid ordered President Morehead and the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad to make the necessary surveys. In an open letter to the Greensboro *Patriot*, Governor Morehead said of this order:

I desire to give this pleasing intelligence to the friends of these enterprises, through your valuable paper, with an assurance that the work will be commenced at as early a day as practicable. * * * Not a moment is to be lost. The deep, deep regret is that these extensions are not now in full progress of construction. The giant strides of improvement around us should arouse us to action. The ignominious and pusillanimous complaint that Nature has done so little for us is a libel upon the old dame. Let us see if it is not. * * * We have at the eastern terminus of one of these extensions one of the finest harbors, at Beaufort, for all commercial purposes, on the whole Atlantic coast. And if the improvements at the mouth of Cape Fear shall succeed, as it is hoped they will, we shall have another port surpassed by few, if any, in the South. * * * But it may be asked, what commerce have we to require such a port as Beaufort? Let the answer be, the commerce of the world. Look at the location of this port—placed at the end of the North Carolina coast, which projects like a promontory into the Atlantic, midway and within sight of the great line of navigation between the North and the South, and within thirty minutes' sail of the ocean. Nature made it for a stopping place of commerce—the halfway house between the North and the South, where steamers may get their supplies of anthracite, semi-bituminous and bituminous coal. * * * But let us take a western view of these extensions. The road running from Beaufort along the Central Railroad [the North Carolina Railroad] and to the Tennessee line and thence along the lines already in progress of construction to Memphis will not vary one degree from a due west course. Extend the same line westward (and I predict it will surely be done) to the city of San Francisco, which is to become the great emporium of the East India trade, and who can doubt that the trade of the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of the East Indies and China, will crowd our port.²⁹

Under Morehead's supervision, the work of both the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, and the Western North Carolina Railroad was inaugurated.³⁰ On June 17, 1858, the former was completed and

²⁹Raleigh *Register*, June 25, 1843.

³⁰Morehead was the pioneer in developing our system of internal improvements and was the leading spirit in the building of the North Carolina Railroad. He was President for four years of the Central Road and was the Chief Contractor in building the road from Morehead City to New Bern. * * * Badger was an abler lawyer, Bragg a more astute reasoner, Graham more polished and graceful, but Morehead, as a man of affairs, for broad scope and grasp of intellect, for vigor of thought, for practical common sense, for managing vast financial enterprises, was greater than either. He could stuff his pants in his boot legs, splash through the mud and build railroads while the others would rather recline in easy chairs in some cosy office and attend to their law practice, discuss literature, or talk on social topics. While building the road from New Bern to Morehead, I have seen him dressed, *as I have* described, and his boots besmeared with the red mud of Guilford County."—C. S. Wooten.

ready for trains from Goldsboro to Beaufort Harbor; and a few months thereafter found trains running over the latter to within four miles of Morganton, while the entire route to the Tennessee line had been surveyed and partly graded. In 1866 a bill drawn in accordance with the original plan, was introduced in the Senate to consolidate these two roads and the North Carolina Railroad under the name of "The North Carolina Railroad Company." Morehead, now approaching the end of his long and useful career, strongly endorsed and supported this measure. One of his last public utterances was an appeal to the stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company to throw their powerful influence in favor of the consummation of the great plans for which he had given the best service of his life. After giving a brief résumé of the railroad work done in the State he said:

Here let us pause and take a survey of what has been done in *seven* years towards this great work. From Beaufort harbor to Goldsboro the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company have built ninety-six miles. From Goldsboro to Charlotte you (the North Carolina Railroad) have built two hundred and twenty-three miles. From Salisbury to within four miles of Morganton the Western North Carolina Railroad have built seventy-six miles * * * making in all three hundred and ninety-five miles, from which deduct forty-three miles from Salisbury to Charlotte, and we have actually built of this great line three hundred and fifty-two miles in one continuous line. Think of it! Seven years! In the lifetime of a State or nation seven years is but as a moment in its existence. It would not cover the dawning of its existence. In the great day of a nation's improvements seven years would not be the sunrise of that day. We have done this great work in the twilight of our great day of internal improvement—a day which dawned so beautifully upon us, but which became enveloped in that gloom which shrouds the nation in mourning. But let us not despair. The day which dawned so beautifully upon us will yet reach its meridian splendor. Then let us be up and doing * * * and then the hopes, the dreams of the great and good Caldwell and Gaston will be realized. * * * You have the honor of being the pioneers in this great work executed in sections. Do yourselves now the honor to consolidate the whole and complete the original design. You, the most powerful and most independent of the three corporations, can, with much grace, propose to your sister corporations consolidations upon terms of justice and equity manifesting selfishness in naught but your name. Yield not that. The new consolidated corporation should be still "The North Carolina Railroad Company." This will be a corporation worthy of you, of your State, and of the great destinies that await it.³¹

What this great destiny was no man had foreseen so clearly as he. The traveler of 1912 along the line of the North Carolina Railroad sees the fulfilment of Morehead's dreams of 1850. He finds himself in one of the most productive regions of the new world. He traverses it from one end to the other at a speed of forty miles an hour, surrounded

³¹Letter of July 17, 1866, to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company.

by every comfort and convenience of modern travel. He passes through a region bound together by a thousand miles of steel rails, by telegraph and telephone lines, and by nearly two thousand miles of improved country roads. He finds a population engaged not only in agriculture, but in manufacturing, in commerce, in transportation, and in a hundred other enterprises. Instead of a few old fashioned handlooms turning out annually less than \$400,000 worth of "homemade" articles, he hears the hum of three hundred and sixty modern factories, operating two millions of spindles and looms by steam, water, electricity, employing more than fifty millions of capital, and sending their products to the uttermost ends of the earth. His train passes through farm lands that, since Morehead began his work, have increased six times in value, that produce annually ten times as much cotton and seventy-five times as much tobacco. From his car window instead of the four hundred and sixty-six log huts that passed for schoolhouses in 1850, with their handful of pupils, he beholds a thousand modern schoolhouses, alive with the energy and activity of one hundred thousand school children. His train carries him from Goldsboro through Raleigh, Durham, Burlington, Greenboro, High Point, Lexington, Salisbury, Concord, Charlotte,—villages that have grown into cities, old fields and cross roads that have become thriving centers of industry and culture. Better than all else, he finds himself among a people, no longer characterized by their lethargy, isolation and ignorance, but bristling with energy, alert to every opportunity, fired with the spirit of the modern world, and with their faces steadfastly set toward the future.

The foundation on which all this prosperity and progress rests is the work done by John M. Morehead or inspired by him. No well informed man can be found today in North Carolina who will dispute his primacy among the railroad builders of the State. The North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the Western North Carolina Railroad, the connecting link between the North Carolina and the Richmond and Danville railroads from Greensboro to Danville, all bear witness of his supremacy in this field. In one of the finest passages of his message to the General Assembly in 1842 he urged the building of good country roads; today there are five thousand miles of improved rural highways in North Carolina. He recommended the building of a Central Highway from Morehead City through Raleigh to the Tennessee line; today we have just witnessed the completion of a great State Highway piercing the very heart of the State almost along the very route he suggested seventy years ago. He suggested plans for extensive improvements of our rivers; today a "thirty foot channel to the sea" has become a reality, and the National Government is

spending annually hundreds of thousands of dollars in the improvement of the Cape Fear, the Neuse, the Pamlico and other rivers of Eastern North Carolina. He urged the construction by the National Government of an inland waterway for our coastwise vessels through Pamlico Sound to Beaufort harbor; seventy years have passed since then, this enterprise has become national in its scope, the Federal Government has assumed charge of it, and the whole nation is anticipating the completion in the near future of an inland waterway from Maine through Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor to Florida. First of all our statesmen Morehead realized the possibility of establishing at Beaufort a great world port; and although this dream has not yet been realized there are not lacking today men noted throughout the business world for their practical wisdom, inspired by no other purpose than commercial success, who have not hesitated to stake large fortunes on the ultimate realization of this dream also. A twentieth century statesman sent before his time into the world of the nineteenth century, Governor Morehead, as a distinguished scholar has declared, "would have been more at home in North Carolina today than would any other of our antebellum governors. He has been dead forty years, and they have been years of constant change and unceasing development. But so wide were his sympathies, so vital were his aims, so far sighted were his public policies, and so clearly did he foresee the larger North Carolina of schools, railroads and cotton mills, that he would be as truly a contemporary in the twentieth century as he was a leader in the nineteenth."²

²See sketch by C. Alphonso Smith in the "Biographical History of North Carolina," Vol. 2, pp. 250-59.

Address of Presentation

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is the good fortune of the North Carolina Historical Commission to be able to offer to the State a marble bust of Governor John Motley Morehead, a memorial gift from his grandsons, J. Lindsay Patterson and John Motley Morehead. Governor Morehead's career has been so ably and amply reviewed by Mr. Connor that it is unnecessary to recount his many services to his State. He was one of those remarkable men who left an indelible impression upon his people, and we should hold his memory in most grateful esteem. Far sighted beyond his time, he saw the needs of his State with seerlike wisdom, and with rare acumen he planned a great industrial commonwealth, and his popularity and power over the people enabled him to put into operation policies whose influence was far reaching and whose benefits are still accruing. Plans that might have been regarded as the dream of a visionist, under his master mind and great executive ability became realities. His administration was distinguished for the development of commerce, agriculture, the growth of the common schools and the establishment of an institution for the deaf and dumb and blind, but it was most famed for the great system of internal improvements with which his name is inseparably linked. His greatest achievement was the building of a trunk line of railroad from the mountains to the sea—from Morganton to Morehead City. He was the father of its development and was its first president.

This road is the State's greatest single financial asset, valued today at more than \$7,000,000 and built without a cent of taxation of the people. The North Carolina Railroad as planned by him to connect the Mississippi with the Atlantic at Beaufort Harbor was one of the greatest projects of the middle of the last century. His heart and brain were absorbed in uniting the East with the West, establishing a community of interest and making a homogeneous people, bound together with ties of steel. Its inestimable service in acquainting the sections and unifying our people have been its greatest value to our State. Its worth can hardly be overestimated.

Mr. Joyner, to you, representing the State, I, as Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission, have the honor to offer a bust of this master builder and great constructive statesman, John Motley Morehead.

Address of Acceptance

BY J. Y. JOYNER, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me has been assigned, in the absence of the Governor, the pleasant duty of accepting, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, this marble bust of John Motley Morehead.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." This man whose memory we are met to honor today, is *facile princeps* among North Carolina's great leaders of those silent revolutions by which alone are won the greatest victories of peace.

Father and builder of the North Carolina Railroad, pioneer manufacturer, promoter of inland waterways and public highways, successful champion of public education and of charitable institutions, able advocate of all that was best industrially, morally, and intellectually for his people, gifted with the vision and enthusiasm that characterizes every truly great soul, endowed with common sense, wisdom, courage, force of character, strength of will and devotion to duty that made him a great leader and a great executive in public and private business, he has won and merited his place in North Carolina history among "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." His bust deserves this honored niche in the Westminster Abbey of our State.

As his tongue was the first to proclaim from the granite halls of this Capitol North Carolina's declaration of commercial and industrial freedom, and to point the way thereto, may the spirit of the man, incarnate in this sculptured image, speak, trumpet-tongued, through these marble lips to the countless generations of noble youth that reverently pause before it, and hearten them for high endeavor and noble achievement.

In the name of the people of the State that he served with such distinguished ability, I now accept, with gratitude to the donors, this artistic image of one of her greatest Governors and noblest sons.



